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Investigation of Teacher Education Delivery of Bicultural Education

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Abstract: The national bicultural early childhood curriculum in New Zealand, Te Whāriki, and the Graduating Teacher Standards require that graduating teachers are competent in Māori language as well as English, and have an understanding of aspects of Māori knowledge. However, research shows that teachers are not yet proficient in the skills needed to deliver the bicultural curriculum effectively. This paper explores the role of teacher-education providers in equipping their graduates to deliver that curriculum. Framed by an appreciative inquiry approach, data were collected from courses displayed on the websites of ten early-childhood tertiary teacher-education providers, followed by interviews with four participants from one provider. Findings revealed that providers considered their key role was in developing student teachers' cultural understanding and commitment. Although the paper focuses on a bicultural curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand, the findings have implications internationally for lecturers who seek to provide student teachers with culturally inclusive programmes.

Introduction

This paper investigates how teacher-education providers equip their students to be effective in their bicultural practice and at the same time more effectively meet the New Zealand Government standards by which graduating students are assessed (Ministry of Education, 2007). It builds on a larger study (Jenkin, 2010) which explored mainstream early childhood teachers' implementation of the bicultural curriculum. That study found teachers struggled with the bicultural aspects of the early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996).

There is a mandate in New Zealand for all teachers regardless of sector (early childhood, primary, and secondary) to provide a bicultural curriculum, which in this context refers to Māori (indigenous) and British (colonisers). Whilst the term 'bicultural' in the Aotearoa New Zealand context refers to the cultures of Māori and British, the term is contested because of the perceived lack of balance in power relationships between the two peoples; as a result, defining it is problematic (Bishop, 1996; Jenkin, 2010; O'Sullivan, 2007; Spoonley, 1995). There are, however, two recurring themes within definitions, particularly with regards to Ministry of Education documentation: that of partnership between Māori and non-Māori and recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi / The Treaty of Waitangi.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is considered to be the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand as it was the treaty setting out the relationship between Māori and the British Crown in 1840. With the mandate that the treaty is incorporated into all sectors of the education system, what is crucial to understand is that this not only for Māori students but all students regardless of ethnicity. As Jenkin and Broadley (2013, p. 15) state "It is worth noting, that had Te Tiriti o Waitangi not been signed, there would be no bicultural curriculum, and

although there may have been indigenous education, it may not have been the concern of mainstream education". This means that teachers and, therefore, lecturers need to be competent in Māori language, knowledge and customs.

The overarching statement for the New Zealand Graduating Teacher Standards (GTS) from the Ministry of Education (2007) states clearly that teacher-education programmes are expected to ensure that graduates will be able to "recognise that the Treaty of Waitangi extends equal status and rights to Māori and Pākehā alike".

Since the early 1980s, there has been interest from the early childhood community in a curriculum honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Cubey, 1992), and this was officially established in the New Zealand national early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) means 'the woven mat'. The concept of the mat is derived from a Māori world view and is composed of four principles: whakamana (empowerment), kotahitanga (holistic development), whānau tangata (family and community), ngā hononga (relationships). It includes five strands: mana atua (well-being), mana whenua (belonging), mana tangata (contribution), mana reo (communication), and mana aotūroa (exploration) (Ministry of Education, 1996). These principles and strands can be 'woven' in different ways in unique programmes devised by teams of early childhood teachers which reflect their specific curriculum and philosophy. *Te Whāriki* contains 29 statements within the principles and strands as well as the accompanying reflective questions pertaining to Māori language, knowledges and world views (Jenkin, 2010). It is these that form the framework for the bicultural curriculum. It is the role of early childhood teacher-education providers to equip their graduates to be able to deliver this bicultural curriculum.

Not only are providers expected to ensure graduates are competent with *Te Whāriki* and, therefore, with the bicultural curriculum, but they must also make sure that each graduate can meet the GTS (Ministry of Education, 2007). All teacher-education providers are required to incorporate these standards when designing their courses. There are four statements in the GTS pertaining to graduates being able to incorporate Māori language, customs, and knowledge into their teaching practice. In New Zealand there are two official languages. These are te reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language, although English is the most commonly used language.

It is troubling that, despite it being twenty years since *Te Whāriki* was conceived, research (Burgess, 2006; Forsyth & Leaf, 2010; Jenkin, 2010; Ritchie, 2002, 2013) has found that early childhood teachers lack the competence and skills to implement the bicultural curriculum. Given the mandate by the Government (Ministry of Education, 1996, 2007) the onus is on early-childhood teacher-education providers to better prepare their graduates.

The question that guided this current research was:

- What would enhance the bicultural aspects of the delivery of teacher-education programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand?

A secondary question stemming from this was:

- How can teacher education best equip students to meet the bicultural concepts of the Graduating Teacher Standards?

This article reports on the ways in which some tertiary early childhood education providers envisioned equipping their graduates to meet the bicultural aspects of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and the GTS (Ministry of Education, 2007). In this small pilot study, the strength-based approach of appreciative inquiry was the framework for the data

collection. The first step was an investigation of the websites of ten early childhood teacher-education providers to discover what content they were including in their programmes that would enable their students to meet the Māori content of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and the GTS (Ministry of Education, 2007).

The second source of data were semi-structured interviews with participants from a single teacher-education provider. The participants included the provider's early childhood education programme leader and three lecturers responsible for the material intended to prepare students with appropriate Māori language and culture. The Ethics Committee of the university where those who were interviewed worked gave approval for the study. Thematic analysis of interview transcripts enabled the researcher to highlight common features and to note differences in participants' responses.

Discoveries from the analysis of ten teacher-education provider websites revealed that, whilst all were offering *Te Whāriki* as well as other aspects of a bicultural curriculum, there were differences in focus and content. Key findings from the appreciative inquiry semi-structured interviews highlighted the importance of teachers' cultural understanding and commitment to te reo Māori/Māori language and tikanga/customs. Lecturers identified making links with Ngā Kōhanga Reo (indigenous early-childhood education movement) as one of the most effective ways to gain authentic knowledge and understanding for both lecturers and students. Additionally, participants reported that there was insufficient time to prepare graduates to deliver the bicultural curriculum. Whilst this article is focussed on the New Zealand context, there may be useful implications for international teacher-education providers in contexts where there is a need for teaching graduates to be responsive to indigenous and multi-ethnic perspectives.

This paper begins by examining the connections between Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the national bicultural early-childhood curriculum *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), followed by an exploration of the GTS (Ministry of Education, 2007). Next, key findings from the investigation of websites of ten early childhood teacher-education providers are described. The focal part of the article reports on the case of one tertiary teacher-education provider, exploring how lecturers can enhance the provision of the bicultural programme. Finally, the paper discusses the findings and considers the implications of the research for both Aotearoa New Zealand and international teacher-education programmes. Consideration is given to what graduates might draw from the strength-based approach of appreciative inquiry that would continue to develop their commitment to bicultural and multi-ethnic education. Garnering cultural knowledge from their peers, graduates can be encouraged to understand and incorporate aspects of indigenous cultures within their mainstream early-childhood settings.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and *Te Whāriki*

From the outset, the authors of *Te Whāriki* wanted their work "to reflect the Treaty partnership of Māori and Pākehā as a bicultural document model grounded in the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand" (May, 2001, pp. 244–245). The development process was very much one of collaboration and consultation with Māori (Jenkin, 2010) and the principles and strands of *Te Whāriki* derive from the indigenous world view. Ritchie (2003, p. 80) emphasised the clear connection between *Te Whāriki* and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in her statement, "The bicultural nature of *Te Whāriki* is a recognition of those Treaty obligations".

However, early childhood teachers struggle to implement bicultural aspects of *Te Whāriki*, as they lack the necessary skills, confidence, and knowledge (Burgess, 2006; Jenkin, 2010, 2012; Ritchie, 2002; Williams, Broadley, & Lawson Te-Aho, 2012). Early childhood

teachers, of whom only a small number are of Māori descent, are expected to implement *Te Whāriki*, but many report difficulties in implementing the Māori aspects of this curriculum (Burgess, 2006; Forsyth & Leaf, 2010; Jenkin, 2010, 2012; Ritchie, 2002). Nevertheless, the responsibility is on teacher-education providers to equip students to deliver the bicultural curriculum.

Effective Preparation of Students for Meeting Graduating Teacher Standards (GTS)

There is an expectation by the government that new graduates of all teacher-education programmes will meet the following standards with regard to the bicultural curriculum:

- recognise that the Treaty of Waitangi extends equal status and rights to Māori and Pākehā alike (overarching statement) …
- have knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori [customs and language] to work effectively within the bicultural contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand (Std 3b) …
- use te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi [Māori language and customs of the local tribe] appropriately in their practice (Std 4b) …
- demonstrate respect for te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi in their practice (Std 6e). (Ministry of Education, 2007)

In relation to the bicultural curriculum, Forsyth and Leaf (2010, p. 32) stated that many student teachers and practitioners "feel the existing education system does not prepare them adequately for creating, and working, in a bi-cultural environment". This has implications for teacher-education providers to ensure all their graduates must at least meet the above graduating standards with regard to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the bicultural curriculum.

Graduate teachers in the research by Williams et al. (2012) "felt bicultural content should be integrated across a programme of teacher education … not just chunking it into separate courses within a whole diploma or degree programme" (p. 38). Research suggests that it is imperative therefore to embed GTS into the programme, curriculum, and units of study in a transparent, accessible way. However, Kane (2005) noted in her report that, in practice, rather than weaving te reo Māori me ōna tikanga through all units, these appeared to be treated as 'add-ons' to Western pedagogy.

Research suggests that the lack of incorporation of the bicultural curriculum into units is due to a lack of commitment on the part of institutions and insufficient knowledge, skills, and confidence on the part of lecturers. As noted in Williams et al. (2012):

> Graduate teachers also called for providers to demonstrate a genuine commitment to bicultural equality: 'Initial Teacher Education programmes: yes, we are experiencing bicultural content but no, we are not equipped with enough te reo tikanga and overall tools to sustain ourselves as biculturally competent teachers.' (p. 38)

Whilst students perceive a lack of genuine commitment to the bicultural curriculum this may well be due to the lack of knowledge and confidence of mainstream lecturers. Experience and observation indicates that tertiary institutions employ Māori colleagues to deliver programmes to provide students with required Māori curriculum. When it comes to incorporating the bicultural curriculum into other aspects of the curriculum, lecturers from non-Māori backgrounds can lack the confidence, skills, and knowledge to do this. Warren (2014), who undertook a self-study of teacher-education bicultural practices, noted, for

example, that for much of her time as a lecturer her understanding of bicultural practice had been superficial and focused on learning some te reo. It is probable students perceive lecturers' superficial knowledge as only "lip service to this bicultural commitment" (Williams et al., 2012, p. 38). Competent bicultural lecturers can thus be role models as well as providing integrated curriculum knowledge that will equip students to teach the bicultural curriculum effectively when they are in early childhood centres. The aim of this study was to discover how some early childhood teacher-education providers implement the bicultural curriculum.

Research Procedures

The study involved two methods of data collection: firstly by means of a content analysis of the websites of ten tertiary providers of early-childhood programmes, who were offering three-year degrees in either a Bachelor of Education or a Diploma of Education. This was because both these qualifications are the minimum requirement by the Government for teacher registration. The second method of data collection consisted of semi-structured interviews with lecturers responsible for the delivery and oversight of the bicultural curriculum, to investigate the bicultural aspects of the early childhood programme within a university. Appreciative inquiry was the methodological framework (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987).

Given that the four academic staff interviewed were all from the same institution, it is likely they could be identified and this was explained in the participant information form and reiterated in the consent form. Each person gave consent knowing identification was probable, at least in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Website Investigation

With Aotearoa New Zealand being a fairly small country it was relatively easy to identify the larger tertiary institutions that had a three-year teacher-education programme at degree or diploma level. Statements related to Māori content, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) were collated and Te Tiriti o Waitangi that referred to programmes as a whole, as well as any that referred to such content in each year of the three-year programmes. Information from titles of units of study and descriptions of content relevant to the bicultural curriculum was similarly collected in tabular form. By analysing the material, it was possible to see patterns and differences amongst the institutions which are reported later in this article. The second step in the research procedures was to interview four academics from the selected institution, using appreciative inquiry as the approach.

Appreciative Inquiry

Appreciative inquiry is a strength-based methodology, designed by Cooperrider and Srivastva (1987) in response to what they perceived as the lack of theory related to action research and its problem-solving orientation. It is based on the premise of identifying what we are doing well and "'what do we want to do more of' as opposed to 'what are we doing wrong'" (Ryan, Soven, Smither, Sullivan, & Vanbuskirk, 1999, p. 168). Specifically, in the research reported in this article this approach underpins the investigation of what interviewees consider to be successful in their bicultural practice and programme.

Whitney and Trosten-Bloom (2003) elaborate that appreciative inquiry is a relational process that is grounded in affirmation and appreciation and participants' "stories of best practice, those moments when the educational practice is in accord with those values that underpin the practice" (Giles & Alderson, 2008, p. 469). Appreciative inquiry builds on four stages: Discovery (best practice); Dream (vision); Design (long term plans); and Destiny (initial short term action) (Hammond, 1998; Yoder, 2005). The Discovery stage of appreciative inquiry is when participants think back in order to recall and then to describe a high point at which they were most effective and engaged in delivering an effective bicultural content with students. In this study during the Dream stage, participants were invited to share their dream or vision of how they envisioned upskilling their graduates. It was during the Design phase that participants were asked to think about long-term actions that could have meaningful impact on effective delivery of the bicultural curriculum. The final stage of appreciative inquiry, Destiny, enabled participants to consider what their immediate action could be toward realising their long term visions and goals of producing effective bicultural teachers.

Interviews

Cannold (2001) defines research interviews as "structured conversations between researcher and participant in which the researcher seeks to elicit the participant's subjective point of view on a topic of interest to the researcher" (p. 179). The decision was made that semi-structured interviews would be the most effective method as it would fit with the methodological framework of appreciative inquiry. Semi-structured interviews have an advantage in that they contain some structure within the questions whilst allowing for participants and interviewer to follow useful trains of thought that arise during the interview.

Hancock and Algozzine (2006) advocate developing an interview guide of open-ended questions which are designed to gain insight into the study's fundamental questions. In this study, the interview guide was devised utilising the four stages (Discovery, Dream, Design, Destiny) of appreciative inquiry described above.

Interviews of approximately 45 minutes were undertaken in the participants' offices. The participants were two Māori lecturers, one of whom delivers 'Māori' content and one who, in a partnership model, delivers the compulsory Tiriti o Waitangi workshops to first-year early-childhood students. The third participant was a non-Māori lecturer who delivered material in the Māori paper and is the co-partner facilitating Te Tiriti workshops. She speaks te reo Māori and has the appropriate qualifications to deliver Māori content and pedagogy. The final participant was the non-Māori Programme Leader for Early Childhood Education.

Whilst interview data were gathered using an appreciative inquiry approach, the data analysis was thematic (Punch, 2009). Reading and re-reading transcripts to look for patterns that were common among the participants interviews, led to the identification of key themes.

The findings and discussion from the two research strands are reported in the following sections, beginning with the website data.

Website Investigation: Findings and Discussion

Investigating early-childhood programmes by looking at the information provided on tertiary institution websites, can only offer a relatively superficial impression of what may be included in such programmes. Using this method, it is not possible to uncover how lecturers could be incorporating the bicultural curriculum into all their units as part of their

pedagogy. However, some insight was gained into how providers are attempting to meet relevant GTS and *Te Whāriki* requirements.

Each of the ten tertiary institutions' websites included information about their early childhood teacher-education programme. Of these there were six (UNITEC Institute of Technology, Manukau Institute of Technology, Te Tari Puna Ora NZ Childcare Association, New Zealand Tertiary College, Canterbury and Otago Universities) that had an opening or overarching statement that indicated the programme included Māori language and customs and/or the bicultural pedagogy. Of these, Te Tari Puna Ora had all paper (course or module) names in te reo Māori, and the New Zealand Tertiary College and Canterbury University had some in te reo Māori. This means that a student looking for a programme that incorporated tikanga and te reo Māori could be drawn to these providers; although, having the name of the paper in Māori does not guarantee Māori content.

It is interesting that only three programmes – those at UNITEC Institute of Technology, Te Tari Puna Ora and New Zealand Tertiary College – offered a Māori language and content paper at Years one, two, and three, whilst Auckland University of Technology, Manukau Institute of Technology, Waikato University, Victoria University, and Canterbury University had units at Years one and two. The University of Auckland had a paper only in the first year while Otago University appeared to have none, despite expecting students to demonstrate knowledge and skills relevant to the bicultural curriculum. Although Māori curriculum may be intended to be woven through the programme, it is important that lecturers don't 'add Māori and stir' which was the concern of Kane (2005) who stated: "adding courses on tikanga Māori or te reo Māori within programmes may be problematic if the ideas, skills and dispositions advocated in the 'added-on' courses are not reinforced in the rest of the 'regular' curriculum papers" (p. 130).

Students enter a programme expecting within their three years to become competent to meet GTS including 3b, 4b, and 6e (knowledge, use and respect of tikanga and te reo Māori). There is a range of research about the time taken to learn a new language. To the forefront is Gladwell's (2008) rule of 10,000 hours (which is based on earlier work; Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch-Romer, 1993) to achieve true expertise in something new. This equates to 20 hours a week for 10 years (Eaton, 2010). Another assessment is that it takes 575–600 hours to learn languages closely aligned to English (such as Afrikaans and French) to those most difficult (for example Arabic and Japanese) at 2200 hours (Foreign Service Institute, n.d.). Te reo Māori is not listed in the Foreign Service Institute ranking webpage. It is doubtful, however, that there is sufficient time during an undergraduate degree to become bilingual; as Eaton (2012) noted, significant time is needed to learn a language.

Although, according to the websites, most of the teacher-education programmes acknowledge the nation's founding treaty between the British and Māori, and as such implicitly acknowledge responsibility to Māori language, world view, culture, practices, and self-determination, this was not clear for all programmes. In addition to the provision of specific units on te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and customs), some institutions indicated that these were woven throughout their units. That notwithstanding, a website gives only a superficial overview; therefore, interviews were undertaken to deepen understanding of the approach adopted by one of these tertiary institutions. The key findings from these interviews are reported in the following section.

Interviews: Findings and Discussion

As noted earlier, although the data from interviews was based on an appreciative inquiry approach, the method of analysis was thematic (Punch, 2009). Lecturers were

interviewed by responding to questions based on the four stages of Appreciative Inquiry: discovery, dream, design and destiny. At the stage of analysis however, the themes arose from different aspects of these four stages.

As the lecturers responsible for delivering the bicultural curriculum, the participants' own commitment to this work was clear. In their responses to the interview questions, they emphasised the need for student teachers to also develop a commitment to *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). They offered different ways in which students could be supported in achieving competency, not only in the bicultural aspects of *Te Whāriki* but similarly in relation to the relevant GTS (Ministry of Education, 2007). The following subsections identify and discuss the four main themes that arose from thematic analysis of interview transcripts:

- attitudes to cultural understanding of Māori knowledge and language;
- developing lecturers' competency;
- programme structure; and the
- wider socio-political agenda

Attitudes to Cultural Understanding of Māori Knowledge and Language

Participants commented in different ways on issues related to *Tiriti o Waitangi* and student commitment to the bicultural curriculum and cultural competency. For the Programme Leader (PL) a crucial element in addressing student response to the bicultural curriculum was that student teachers showed commitment. As she noted:

> *It is good we have the bicultural curriculum. It is good we have Tiriti o Waitangi. Tiriti o Waitangi manages the treaty full stop, otherwise no basis to do anything.* (PL)

For Lecturer Two (L2), commitment to the bicultural curriculum could be demonstrated by her desire to see that:

> *Students are still speaking Māori when they leave the classroom.* (L2)

Being committed is part of the responsibility teachers have to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Lecturer One (L1) was appreciative that Aotearoa New Zealand has a treaty and that, therefore, there is a mandate to implement the bicultural curriculum.

> *Key thing is the commitment to the [bicultural] work.* (L1)

Moving beyond the programme, the place for transformation with regard to cultural competency, however, needed to begin from early childhood and to move forward throughout both their primary and secondary schooling.

> *Children should be taught te reo and tikanga from early childhood education through to Year 13.* (PL)

Lecturer One went further, suggesting that Māori language be spoken by all those in Aotearoa New Zealand:

> *Long term in that all people will be able to korero Māori ... My vision is that all children in Aotearoa New Zealand begin this in early childhood education and that it is built upon.* (L1)

As can be seen above, there was a desire to extend speaking te reo Māori beyond early childhood education so that eventually it would be widely spoken in Aotearoa New Zealand. Much of the impetus for implementing the bicultural curriculum, both at the tertiary and at the early childhood level comes from peoples' desire to take action in this area. In other words, commitment to the bicultural curriculum will drive action and be the motivating force in acquiring knowledge and the skills to be effective. Two of the participants implied that one way to enhance teachers' confidence and commitment is to build relationships with local indigenous groups and families. Visiting immersion centres such as Ngā Kōhanga Reo (early childhood language nest) and Kura Kaupapa (primary school) is one approach, as Lecturer Two suggests:

> *Students should have exposure* to *Ngā Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa regardless of ethnicity.* (L2)

The Programme Leader was in agreement with this approach of gaining knowledge and understanding from the Māori total immersion early childhood centres:

> *... so we have to ask Kōhanga Reo to guide and assist us implanting te reo and tikanga.* (PL)

These proposals pave the way for student teachers to develop their understanding of Māori culture and language and illustrate the participants' own commitment to the bicultural framework. However, this is not necessarily straight forward. The purpose of immersion centres is to infuse their indigenous students with te reo Māori and tikanga (Ministry of Education, 2014), not to upskill lecturers and students from mainstream tertiary institutions. There is also the question of reciprocity (Jenkin, 2010) with regard to what is being offered to immersion centres. In other words, to make the partnership model work it is important that Māori are not the only ones giving and mainstream only taking. A further consideration is the language being used. Whenever non-speakers of te reo Māori interact with children and teachers, usually in English, in an immersion centre, te reo Māori tends to be undermined. The challenge is to find a balance for mainstream lecturers and students through which they can gain authentic indigenous knowledge and experiences, without appropriation.

Developing Lecturersg tic indige

A number of participants' comments referred to lecturers' competency in Maori language and matters relating to the bicultural curriculum. Within the School of Education in her institution, the vision (Dream) of Lecturer Two included comments on how her colleagues had improved their skills with learning te reo Māori and culture over the past few years:

> *I appreciate that a huge per cent of the staff have taken on tikanga – more than skin deep with karakia and waiata. Lecturers taking it on board.* (L2)

There was consensus among interviewees that the School of Education was playing an important role in the provision of professional development related to the bicultural curriculum. Lecturer Three (L3) for example commented that:

> *School of Education seems to be very receptive, willing, encouraging for extending Te Tiriti o Waitangi stuff and how to include this.* (L3)

Lecturer One also commented on a two-day workshop initiated for Year one students on Tiriti o Waitangi, to which staff were also invited:

> *The treaty workshop is in place for all students. We show co-leadership and deliver together so both perspectives – both cultures are valued equally.* (L1)

Staff in the School of Education have opportunities for professional development – workshops, weekly te reo Māori classes and discussions designed to up-skill their knowledge and practices. Although meetings start with karakia, and waiata are sung at appropriate times, lecturers also consider how to incorporate the bicultural curriculum into units such as curriculum, professional practice, sociology, and research. Workshops are delivered in a partnership model: that is by one Māori lecturer one Pākehā. By honouring both Māori and the British Crown, a balance of views can be presented. In addition, this practice role-models partnership that is possible in a bicultural country such as Aotearoa New Zealand (Jenkin, 2010; May, 2001; New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988; Ritchie, 2003).

The participants' interview responses demonstrate that they value the School's commitment to providing treaty education and bicultural curriculum, which has strengthened over time, with lecturers making progress in commitment and implementation.

Programme Structure

In *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), it is clear that the bicultural curriculum must be implemented, and participants' interview responses showed an alignment with that requirement. Despite challenges, participants could see that with structural changes to the programme and its timing, a more effective implementation of the bicultural curriculum could be achieved. One way, as Lecturer Three suggested, was to make certain that content and assessments incorporated the Treaty and therefore the bicultural curriculum:

> *We [need to] ensure the Treaty component is at least one assignment in each paper.* (L3)

Lecturer Two argued for the development of several units with a focus on Māori knowledge and pedagogy. One way to prepare students to deliver the bicultural curriculum, and therefore fulfil the Graduating Teacher Standards, would be to:

> *Develop a specialty [programme] with a Māori focus in the Bachelor of Education.* (L2)

This would be a very desirable initiative (albeit students would have choice in selecting this pathway). Practically, as in all institutions, there are processes to follow – often time consuming – for a new specialty to be introduced. A new speciality would involve writing a new course of four units for third-year students to select. However, as an interim step towards

a speciality programme, two participants saw that another treaty and Māori focussed paper, taught at the third year would have merit:

> *We need a third year paper – one that is Treaty-focused.* (L3)
> *A whole paper on Te Tiriti – see it as clearly outlining obligations for tauiwi.* (PL)

One lecturer involved in delivering the bicultural curriculum saw the issue of more time to develop student knowledge as important.

> *Year 1 and 2 need to have more time [speaking te reo] – at least 8 hours a week of class time with language teaching in small groups.* (L2)

The common theme amongst these comments is the need for more space in the curriculum for bicultural content, especially with time to develop students' knowledge and awareness. From an appreciative inquiry perspective, possible immediate action that could be taken would be to extend the amount of time given to bicultural content within the current offerings.

The institution to which the participants belonged includes a mandatory te reo Māori paper which is taught to students during their first academic year. However, it is debatable that what is in essence 36 hours of face-to-face teaching will provide a level of fluency in te reo Māori that would enable student teachers to be effective in the classroom. However, a paper that focused on Te Tiriti o Waitangi might fulfil long-term plans to work with students to deliver a curriculum based on an understanding of Māori rights and the dichotomy between bicultural and multicultural approaches.

Whilst the above findings relate to commitment and cultural understanding, interview questions about lecturers' competency and programme structure prompted insights and valuable suggestions for implementing effective ways to enhance the bicultural curriculum. What also matters is that participants referred to the wider socio-political agenda.

Wider Socio-Political Agenda

Participants in this research looked beyond their day-to-day implementation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the bicultural curriculum with their students. Lecturer One argued that effective bicultural curriculum implementation is incumbent on those responsible for teacher education because it has wider implications:

> [We need to ensure] *implementation of the bicultural curriculum and our [Māori] presence in Aotearoa New Zealand; the only way forward for a peaceful, prosperous Aotearoa New Zealand.* (L1)

Effective bicultural curriculum implementation and authentic relationships with Māori could lead to the above vision becoming a reality. In addition, in a discussion about indigenous knowledge in different parts of the world, the PL suggested that this Māori knowledge could play a key role in current environmental and political debates:

> *Part of our obligations are to continue to debate and discuss. We had nothing bicultural until the late 1980s and then a big surge. Now a bit ho-hum. We need a big surge again. It's a government issue. Sustainability has become totally unstuck. If we look for direction from indigenous knowledge in every country, because they knew sustainability... Rights for Māori including economic, political, and education.*

> [There is a need] *to clearly understand the difference between bicultural and multicultural.* (PL)

A suggestion for long-term socio-political action was to have a high focus on providing effective understanding of Māori culture for students. The Programme Leader outlined several areas, in her comment above, where knowledge and understanding could be enhanced to make a difference. She raised a political issue confronting the implementation of the bicultural curriculum: the pull towards replacing it with multiculturalism. Heta-Lensen (2005, p. 28) noted that "there is a growing trend towards multiculturalism as educators argue that their settings have a greater proportion of international children in their settings, thus undervaluing the fact that this country has a commitment to Tangata Whenua".

In my experience, early childhood teachers on the whole want to be inclusive, especially of their students' ethnicity. Stuart (2002) makes an important point that Aotearoa New Zealand is politically bicultural, as designated by Tiriti o Waitangi, but descriptively the population is multi-ethnic. This raises the important question of how best to address multiculturalism in a framework that is predominantly bicultural – the importance of incorporating curriculum that is both bicultural and multicultural, and not excluding either approaches. This will be an ongoing issue.

A further key consideration in the socio-political debate is the matter of power. According to the literature (Burgess, 2006; Jenkin, 2010, 2012; Ritchie, 2002; Williams et al., 2012), to ensure graduates are competent in Māori, three core aspects must be incorporated for effective delivery of the bicultural curriculum: those of attitude, knowledge, and skills. "Attitudinal and behavioural change at the individual level needs to be based on understanding the rationale for transformative praxis followed by a profound commitment to transformation" (Williams et al., 2012, p. 34). Issues of power within this transformation should be addressed. Forsyth and Leaf (2010) note on this matter, that:

> *While many students and teachers are beginning to affirm a willingness to include Māori language and Māori pedagogy in the curriculum, and although teacher education is moving towards providing a deeper knowledge in this area, the fact remains that in most instances Pākehā retain control of the process of representing Māori culturally in mainstream centres.* (p. 33)

It is, on the whole, Pākehā (or at least non-Māori) who make decisions about, for example, overall curriculum content, hiring lecturers, timetabling hours, and structuring programmes. Forsyth and Leaf (2010, p. 33) state that in order to address some of the issues of imbalance of power in "early childhood education we must look to Ngā Kōhanga Reo in order to fully engage with our Treaty partners and begin to understand the philosophies and pedagogical practices that *Te Whāriki* was founded on". This is a big commitment for Māori. In approaching local iwi, the idea of reciprocity is important to consider. We need to approach Māori not just asking them for assistance but also, as noted earlier, being prepared to convey what we could *offer* Māori (Y. Heta-Lensen, personal communication, June 23, 2008).

Conclusion

The aim of this study, and therefore this article, was to investigate how some early childhood teacher-education providers implement the bicultural curriculum within *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) as well as ensuring that their graduating students have met each of the Graduating Teacher Standards set by the New Zealand government. Key findings from an investigation of teacher-education provider websites indicated that, despite differences in focus and material, all were providing content and skills that were designed to enhance students' knowledge of the bicultural curriculum. The main themes that emerged from interviews with lecturers responsible for the delivery and oversight of the bicultural curriculum were: commitment to the Treaty; the need to develop lecturer competency in relation to the bicultural curriculum and te reo Māori; approaches to incorporating the curriculum in education programmes; and the wider socio-political agenda. What was unclear from this research was the extent to which the bicultural curriculum was incorporated into all units being delivered in the early childhood programme, which was an issue that concerned Kane (2005). Further research on this with mainstream lecturers and students, moving beyond one institution, is the next step in this investigation.

Participants also identified making links with the indigenous early childhood education movement (Ngā Kōhanga Reo) as a way forward for gaining understanding and knowledge of te reo and tikanga. They argued that it was important for lecturers to develop bicultural skills and knowledge so that they could role-model practice that was genuine.

Despite the challenges noted by the participants, having been assessed through assignments and practicum, students should graduate with the competence, commitment, and knowledge to begin to implement the bicultural aspects of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and to meet the Graduating Teacher Standards. Participants noted that an important ingredient in the process by which the programme described here might become more effective in addressing its obligations under Te Whāriki was sufficient time to prepare graduates to successfully deliver the bicultural curriculum.

Other countries are interested in the mandate for the bicultural curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand (Fleer, 2003), as it can provide some valuable ideas around indigenous content in early childhood programmes. Furthermore, it can also inform approaches to the delivery of curriculum that recognises cultural differences in an international environment where people have become more mobile, resettling in many areas of the world and transforming previously monoculture classrooms into multi-ethnic settings. The United Nations (1989, Article 29c) states that "the education of the child shall be directed to … the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language, and values". It is therefore incumbent upon teacher-education programmes to ensure their graduates have the skills to do this. This article has offered some insights into the New Zealand experience of seeking to achieve this aim.

Utilising an appreciative inquiry approach for the data collection in this current study allowed the participants to voice their visions and make suggestions for ways to enhance delivery of the bicultural curriculum. Appreciative inquiry could be a way forward for mainstream lecturers in their efforts to prepare students to deliver not only the bicultural curriculum, but also to recognise how to incorporate a multi-ethnic programme. In a larger doctoral study of teachers' implementation of the bicultural curriculum (Jenkin, 2010) it became apparent that an effective way for early childhood teachers to implement the bicultural curriculum was to take a strength-based approach, such as appreciative inquiry, to build on and extend existing knowledge. Teachers can take an appreciative inquiry approach by building on the strengths children and their families bring with them to their early childhood centres (Ritchie & Rau, 2006). Furthermore, moving beyond language to build

authentic relationships with indigenous and migrant communities can empower and transform classroom practices. A large part of what it takes to achieve this is commitment and a willingness to generate a vision and take action to create an inclusive classroom. Similarly, lecturers can demonstrate effective bicultural and multi-ethnic programmes by using the tools of appreciative inquiry to build on the cultural strengths teacher-education students bring with them into their programmes of study.

In New Zealand education programmes, lecturers, like graduates, need a level of fluency in te reo Māori and a deep understanding of tikanga and Māori knowledge in order to be effective at embedding the bicultural curriculum at the tertiary level. This is necessary to enable early childhood graduates to implement the bicultural curriculum espoused in *Te Whāriki* in early childhood settings. It is also necessary to address the issue of whether the Graduating Teacher Standards (Ministry of Education, 2007), in particular 4b, "use te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi appropriately in their practice", are achievable in the current teacher-education environment. Nonetheless, it is not only our challenge but our responsibility as partners incorporated in Te Tiriti o Waitangi to enable student teachers to achieve this standard. As noted by the participants and by others (such as Warren, 2014), there is a growing commitment and strength in understanding Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the bicultural curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand, although I argue more still needs to be done.

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Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Iwi	Tribe
Karakia	Blessing/prayer, incantation
Ngā Kōhanga Reo	Language nest – Māori immersion preschool
Korero Māori	Speak Māori
Kura Kaupapa	Primary school operating under Māori custom and using

	Māori as the medium of instruction
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand; ordinary, 'normal' in relation to Pākehā
Tangata whenua	People of the land, local people
Tauiwi	Person coming from afar, non-Māori
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te Tari Puna Ora	NZ Childcare Association
Te Whāriki	The woven mat
Tikanga	Customs, practices which are correct procedure
Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi

Biographical Details

Chris has been involved in education (early childhood and primary) for nearly 50 years, with particular interests in bicultural development, family and society, and equity issues, with a focus on Aotearoa/New Zealand. Her doctoral thesis was completed in 2010 and is entitled *Supporting Tiriti-based curriculum delivery in mainstream early childhood education.* This thesis investigated how early childhood teachers were supported and /or hindered in their efforts to implement Te Tiriti-based (bicultural) curriculum. The examiners considered it to be an important and courageous piece of research. Chris is currently researching how early childhood teachers and lecturers implement the bicultural aspects of the early childhood curriculum, and the ethical issues in practitioner research. Apart from teaching and supervision Chris holds positions at her university in Equity and is also on the Ethics Committee.