

# **Towards True Partnership: Researching in cross-cultural contexts**

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## Towards true partnership: Researching in cross-cultural contexts

Tena koutou katoa  
Ko Puketapu te maunga  
Ko Ngaruroro te awa  
Ko **Marge Wong** toku ingoa  
No Heretaunga ki Aotearoa ahau  
Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou  
katoa <sup>1</sup>

Tena koutou katoa  
Ko Aoraki te maunga  
Ko Waimakariri te awa  
Ko **Carol Mutch** toku ingoa  
No Te Tai Poutini ki Aotearoa ahau.  
Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou  
katoa

### Introduction

**Te manu e kai e te miro,  
nona te ngahere.  
Te manu e kai te matauranga  
nona te ao.**

*The bird who eats the miro berry  
owns the forest  
The bird that partakes of education  
owns the world <sup>2</sup>*

Aotearoa New Zealand was originally settled by an indigenous people known as Maori, circa 800 AD. The 1800s saw the arrival of newer settlers mainly from the British Isles (but including a significant number of Chinese who came to New Zealand in the 1860s). In contrast to many other similar settings at the time an agreement on status, land and resources was reached between the indigenous people and the colonisers. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed between representatives of the British Crown and local Maori chiefs. The original intentions were not to be upheld by the colonisers and the Maori were politically, economically and educationally marginalised by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1970s along with the resurgence of indigenous voices worldwide, Maori sought to redress the wrongs that were done to them and to reassert their rights based on the original 1840 agreement. More recent governments have taken these claims seriously and paid reparation for confiscated land and set more equitable policies in place. For those descendants of the colonisers and more recent arrivals it has been necessary to become

re-educated in the ways of Maori and how to learn to live together in the spirit of true partnership.

Researchers, and in particular in the context of this paper, educational researchers, have not been exempt from learning how to act in culturally responsive ways. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 1) states the problem:

The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. ... It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations.

Fiona Cram (2001, p. 37) concurs:

Our experience is similar to the experience of many indigenous peoples who have been and remain, subject to colonisation. The research that is done by non-indigenous people, researching 'down' about indigenous peoples all too often results in judgements being made that are based on the cultural standpoint of the researcher rather than the lived reality of the indigenous population.

Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p.173) continues:

In Maori communities today, there is a deep distrust and suspicion of research. This suspicion is not just of non-indigenous researchers, but of the whole philosophy of research and the different set of beliefs which underlie the research process.

It was in this context that the Pakeha (non-indigenous) writer of this paper was faced with conducting research in a Maori setting to fulfil the requirements of a Ministry of Education research contract.

This paper sets out to tell the story of how two researchers, one Pakeha and one Maori, collaborated on this research in a spirit of mutual respect with the aim of creating a 'true partnership'. The story is set first within the context of the literature before coming more discursive and elaborating on the decisions made, the research event itself and the significant reflections of each researcher. The paper closes with recommendations for others conducting research in the bi-cultural Aotearoa New Zealand context and shared here in the hope that implications for conducting ethical and sensitive cross-cultural research will transcend national and ethnic boundaries.

## Literature review

### **Me haere ngatahi tatou**

*Let us value inclusion as we move forward together.*

Despite the amount of research and ensuing conference papers, reports, articles and books that have been published in Aotearoa New Zealand, many important culturally significant problems and questions regarding research practices in a Maori setting, still exist. Without doubt, one of the most widely discussed of these by Maori, is the practice of non-Maori researchers obtaining information about Maori to support statistical data on a national scale which could lead to political and/or central governmental decision-making.

At the philosophical level, this issue poses questions about who owns the information particularly as it applies to research methodology. At the emotional level, this issue challenges the ethics of non-Maori using information to highlight negative aspects of Maori life while failing to report on any positive achievements. Worse still, is the denying of Maori the opportunity to speak for themselves. One way to challenge these injustices is within Kaupapa Maori theory (an approach based on Maori philosophy and guiding principles).

There seems to be general agreement (Bishop, Berryman & Richardson, 2001; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003; Wilkie, Berryman, Himona & Paul, 2001), that Kaupapa Maori theory provides an alternative approach to research methodology in educational settings in Aotearoa New Zealand. The process creates a power relationship that draws on Maori cultural aspirations and ways of knowing rather than on those imposed by another culture. Cram (2001, p. 40) describes Kaupapa Maori theory as “an attempt to retrieve space for Maori voices and perspectives... [which] opens up avenues for approaching and critiquing dominant, Western worldviews.” Kaupapa Maori theory presupposes that the legitimacy of Maori is taken for granted, that the survival and revival of Maori language is imperative and that autonomy of Maori over Maori cultural wellbeing is vital (Cram, 2001).

Like those of other indigenous peoples, the Maori world-view is based on values and experiences that have evolved over time (Durie, 2003). Understanding the Maori cultural values of manaakitanga (caring and supporting), kotahitanga (unity), whanaungatanga (familiness), wairuatanga (spirituality), rangatiratanga (leadership) and mana (prestige) ensures a friendly, trusting passage for the non-Maori researcher.

Projects conducted by Bishop et al. (2001; 2003) and Wilkie et al. (2001), applied approaches that were fundamental to Kaupapa Maori research. Significantly however, Bishop et al. (2001) argued that accountability to those being researched was best achieved by identifying not only who would benefit from the research but also who would own the knowledge. While they concentrated mainly on accountability by

including both Maori and non-Maori researchers in their project, Wilkie et al. (2001) and Smith (1999) used the process of *whakawhanaungatanga*, a metaphorical term for “familiness” to ensure everyone was comfortable, respected and had the opportunity to voice their views.

According to Wilkie et al. (2001) the connectedness between the *whanau* (family) and the researchers is ultimately seen as a partnership. This ideal is supported by Bishop (1996) and MacFarlane (1997) who assert that sound relationships which exist between parent and child, learner and teacher, *whanau* and school, and researcher and researched are paramount to the success of any research project. Bishop (1996) argues that the *whanau-of-interest* approach is an effective means by which non-Maori researchers could safely engage in research in the Maori world, without adopting a controlling position or taking up an ‘outsider’ position.

Another essential perspective that non-Maori researchers need to understand is that of *hui* (the Maori term for meeting). Fraser (2000), Smith (1999), MacFarlane (1997) and Pere (1994) have incorporated many aspects of the *whanau-preferred* process, inherent in the *hui*, in their research projects. Collectively they argue that central to the effectiveness of an interview with Maori is the desire to work together toward a common end and that this is best achieved through the *hui* process. Pere (1994) identifies the key qualities of a *hui* as respect, consideration and co-operation, all of which allow for strenuous debate, heartfelt suggestions and laughter or tears.

Recent studies in the field of special education by Maori researchers (Bevan-Brown, 1999; MacFarlane, 2000) highlight the fact that Maori parents and children prefer an environment that allows them to participate from within their own world-view. This suggests that from the *powhiri* (formal welcome process) to the *poroporoaki* (personal acknowledgements and farewells), culturally competent teachers (or researchers) following this process provide a safe learning environment for all participants in a research project.

Durie (2003) and Mead (2003) have identified another set of relationships within Maoridom with whom dialogue needs to be established. Through the welcoming process, speakers are able to present *whakapapa* – genealogies – that provide tribal links. Mead argues that the project has to be fully explained, including the benefits to the people, and asserts that everyone connected with the research project should be “empowered, enlightened and glad to be a part of it”. (p.318).

Maori have an oral tradition, hence the rituals within the *hui* process. Wilkie et al. (2001) emphasise the importance of using the *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* (face-to-face) form of communication most preferred by Maori and used this process as part of their research methodology. Through this process, the *mana* (prestige) of each participant can be protected by the value of *manaakitanga* (sharing and supporting). The use of unstructured interviews and bilingual conversation fit in well with the principles of *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi*, and provide a *hui* context for the sharing of information and ideas.

In relation to the specific context of this research project (curriculum policy and special needs education), Ballard (1994) states that as a minority, people experiencing disability have difficulty in getting their voice heard and in influencing policies and practices that affect them. Studies by Bishop and Glynn (1999) and MacFarlane (1997) support Ballard's assertions and argue that a strong input from Maori is needed in both the design and delivery of professional development programmes for education professionals.

The results of any research project that leads to improvements and benefits for Maori will be recognised by Maori as a 'taonga' – a work of value. Researchers must go beyond ethical principles and ensure they are also culturally competent and that their awareness can be demonstrated when working with people whose culture differs from that of their own.

### **The decision-making process**

One of the Ministry requirements in this research project was to conduct a series of case studies in schools. One of these cases was to reflect a Maori perspective. All suggested settings had to be approved by the Ministry and the project's external advisory committee. The normal course of action was then to approach the school for their initial approval to participate and when an agreement was reached a formal approach with more detailed documentation, the consent procedures and research timeline was undertaken.

In the case of the Maori setting, it was agreed that a particular Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori immersion school) would be approached, however, an intermediate step between initial approach and formal agreement needed to be included. The Ministry expected a senior member of the research team to conduct the research to ensure consistency and rigour but it would also need to be done following appropriate kawa (protocol). It was decided that a senior researcher (Pakeha) would invite a Maori colleague to jointly conduct the interviews with her. The intermediate step was to consult the kura (school) as to how they wanted the interviews to be conducted. Did they want the interviews to be conducted only in Maori? Did they want only the Maori researcher present? Did they wish the Maori researcher to be of a particular tribal affiliation? Who could/should be present at the interviews? Could the interviews be tape-recorded?

In this case, the kura was happy for the interviews to be conducted in either English or Maori, by the two nominated researchers (the writers of this paper). The principal would arrange for a place for the interviews and for the participants to be present to suit the researchers' timetable. In the end, the research team was able to work closely to their original plan but what was important was that the people involved were consulted. Their views were respected and their right to participate in culturally appropriate ways was protected.

## **The research event**

Being a Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori immersion school) the Maori researcher took the lead and made the initial inquiries on our arrival. To her delight she met someone that she had completed her teacher training with. Although the researchers were expected, this chance meeting set them on the right footing for what was to follow. They were ushered into the assembly hall where the children, teachers and parents were gathered. They were shown seats, asked to be seated, and a formal welcome commenced according to Maori kawa (protocol). This included an explanation of who they were and why they were there and concluded with a waiata (song). This highlights the importance of the concept of hui (meeting) that allowed everyone to meet together and have a shared understanding of the purposes of the visit. Through the powhiri (welcome) process the researchers could be introduced and their backgrounds and status provided so they could be recognised and contextualised and they, in turn, could thank their hosts and leave a koha (gift) to provide some reciprocity and ensure the visit was of mutual benefit to all parties.

The interviews were conducted in a room set aside for the purpose. Although not present on that day, the principal had determined who would participate. The brief from the Ministry was to talk to those responsible for the adaptation of the school curriculum to address the needs of special education students. In other (Pakeha) contexts this generally included the principal, senior teachers with responsibility for this area and classroom teachers. In the kura, it was a special needs child, his mother (who was also his teacher aide) and the classroom teacher. This illustrates the whanau (family) approach to education that occurs within the Maori setting. The interviews therefore respected all the relevant relationships – parent/child/teacher/researcher – in a co-constructive manner.

The interviews were relatively relaxed affairs with the Maori researcher leading the questions and the Pakeha researcher taking notes and participating where necessary, to clarify or answer questions that were posed to the researchers. The language moved between Maori and English but was generally understood by all. It was interesting to note that the respondents switched between the two languages and addressed either researcher according to what they wanted to say, how they wanted to frame it and what might best suit their purposes.

Joining the school staff for morning tea was also important as the concept of sharing kai (food) helps cement a new relationship. This also allowed the researchers to make contact with two visiting resource teachers, one a Resource Teacher of Maori and the other a Resource Teacher of Learning and Behaviour Support (Maori).

## **The researchers share their learning**

### *Marge's Reflections*<sup>3</sup>

*"The opportunity to follow the hui process with the tangata whenua (hosts) was significant in terms of the overall success of the research project. Quite often, non-Maori researchers do*

*not appreciate the importance that Maori place on beginning with a hui. By engaging with tangata whenua (hosts), manuhiri (visitors) through the sharing of whakapapa (genealogy), can set a platform for future dialogue and socialising. The whakatau (special welcome) that we received enabled the Deputy Principal to formally introduce me to the children and staff of her school in te reo Maori (the Maori language). She gave my tribal links and family name and explained my relationship to her (we attended the same teacher training institution). She also explained the purpose of my visit. I remained seated during this process.*

*The significance of this form of introduction allowed my links to be established with the tangata whenua, laying the platform for what was to follow. With this initial process completed it was now appropriate for Carol to stand and greet our hosts. Standing to speak in a Maori setting is not always the privilege of women. However, this welcoming group bestowed upon Carol the mana (prestige) due to her in recognition of her senior position and her contribution to education. The fact that she was to carry out research that would benefit Maori, was also acknowledged by this gesture.*

*It was heartwarming to note that Carol greeted our hosts in the Maori language. This set the scene for a positive relationship between ourselves and those we were seeking information from. Another significant gesture on Carol's part, was her invitation to me to conduct the interviews with the participants. The dialogue between me and each participant was peppered with both the Maori and English language. It was pleasing to note that eventually the 'interview' took on a "whanau" approach as Carol was drawn into the conversations. At times it was hard to know who was the researcher and who was the researched, as the parent or teacher apparently felt comfortable enough to ask questions of us also.*

*Many Maori are suspicious of non-Maori researchers, as very seldom in the past have the results been used to validate what Maori was doing well. Carol assured each of the participants that she would inform them when the results of our research would be published via the Internet. Personally, I hope we will be able to present the results kanohi-kī-te-kanohi – face-to-face.*

*As a colleague and friend, I have always been aware of Carol's respect for those whose culture differs from that of her own. However, knowing Carol as well as I did, I was still relieved to know that prior to our arrival at the school, I could check on our preparation in meeting Maori kawa (protocols) without feeling I was causing unnecessary embarrassment to her. The desire to act appropriately and to demonstrate cultural awareness, is necessary to ensure that positive outcomes result from any research project conducted within a Maori setting."*

**Nau te rourou  
Naku te rourou,  
Ka ora ai te manuhiri.**

**With your foodbasket,  
and my foodbasket,  
the visitors will be cared for.**

*With your knowledge and my knowledge, everyone will benefit.*

### ***Carol's reflections***

*“This is not an experience I would have undertaken if I did not have full confidence that Marge would ensure I acted appropriately and did not cause offence. I, however, made my first error when I realised I had not packed a long skirt for the powhiri (welcome) and so we detoured to visit a local retailer on our way to the school. I was familiar with the kawa (protocol) of the powhiri although it does vary from district to district. This was the first time that I had been the object of attention and felt very self-conscious sitting in the front row. I felt embarrassed that my spoken reo (language) was not strong enough for such a formal process but I hoped that my attempt was viewed as sincere and my visit as positive.*

*Not only did I rely on Marge as my guide and support, I was aware how her mana (prestige) gave our visit credibility. I didn't realise until later after re-reading Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book for this paper just how difficult it was for her as the insider. As Tuhiwai Smith says (1999, p.10):*

*The indigenous researchers seeking to work within indigenous contexts are framed somewhat differently. If they are 'insiders' they are frequently judged on insider criteria; their family background, status, politics, age, gender, religion as well as their technical ability. ... The point being made is that indigenous researchers work within a set of 'insider' dynamics and it takes considerable sensitivity, skill, maturity, experience and knowledge to work these issues through.*

*Marge was all the time being assessed by her peers as to who she was, how she came to be doing this and could she (and therefore I) be trusted to act ethically. That she moved through the process with such calm and dignity was tribute to the very qualities Tuhiwai Smith outlined – sensitivity, skill, maturity, experience and knowledge. She also did this with tremendous humility and again Tuhiwai Smith (p.139) encapsulates the qualities that make Marge able to negotiate her way through such contexts:*

*Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It also needs to be humble. It needs to be humble because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position.*

*It was also only later that I realised the relevance of our chosen methodology. For me, a qualitative researcher, the semi-structured interview was a familiar process. My influences from feminist and critical theories also ensure that I try to position myself in the research process, as far as possible, as an equal participant. The qualitative semi-structured interview sits comfortably with the Maori concepts of kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) and hui (meeting); of sharing*

views – ‘the inter—view’ as Kvale (1996) describes it. Bishop and Glynn (1999, p.25) suggest that:

*...in indigenous research contexts, rather than the interview being a research tool primarily used by the researcher to gather data for subsequent processing, interviews should be developed to position the researcher within co-joint reflections on shared experiences and co-joint constructions of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the research participants merge with that of the researcher in order to create new stories.”*

*The final issue I was left with, was how to provide some sort of reciprocity and feedback so it didn’t seem as if I was another Pakeha researcher coming and taking and leaving nothing of value behind. After discussion with Marge we decided that as we did not ‘own’ this particular research (because it was a Ministry contract) that we would give back in another way. That was the genesis of this paper. If we couldn’t give back the results of the research, because that was out of our control, we would instead give them the gift of our learning from the experience, in the hope that it would be of use to them, to other researchers in the Aotearoa New Zealand context and even in other cross-cultural settings.*

**Unuhuia te rito o te harakeke kei whea te komako e ko?  
Whakataerangitia – rere ki uta, rere ki tai:  
Ui mae koe ki ahau he aha te mea nui o te ao,  
Maku e ki atu he tangata, he tangata, he tangata!**

*Take away the heart of the flax bush and where will the komako sing?  
Proclaim it to the land, proclaim it to the sea,  
Ask me what is the greatest thing in the world and I will reply  
It is people, it is people, it is people.*

## **Discussion**

Responses from Maori to past research experiences have varied, the strongest of which has been the challenge to non-Maori researchers to “keep out” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.176). Cram (2001, p. 49) explains that: “Research that is ‘by Maori, for Maori’ will encourage Maori participation in and Maori control over research processes.” Cram (2001, p.38) also expresses the view that although it is argued by some that non-Maori cannot conduct Kaupapa Maori research, “non-Maori can support a Maori research kaupapa”, in other words they can support its development and ensure it happens in a way that works for Maori. Tuhiwai Smith (p.197) talks of the various strategies non-Maori researchers have adopted to conduct more culturally appropriate research. One is the strategy of avoidance – “whereby the researcher avoids dealing with the issues or

with Maori.” The second is the strategy of personal development – “whereby researchers prepare themselves by learning Maori language, attending hui and becoming more knowledgeable about Maori concerns.” A third strategy is that of consultation with Maori – “where efforts are made to seek support and consent.” The fourth strategy Tuhiwai Smith calls “making space”. By this she means – “where organisations have recognised and attempted to bring more Maori researchers and ‘voices’ into their own organisation”.

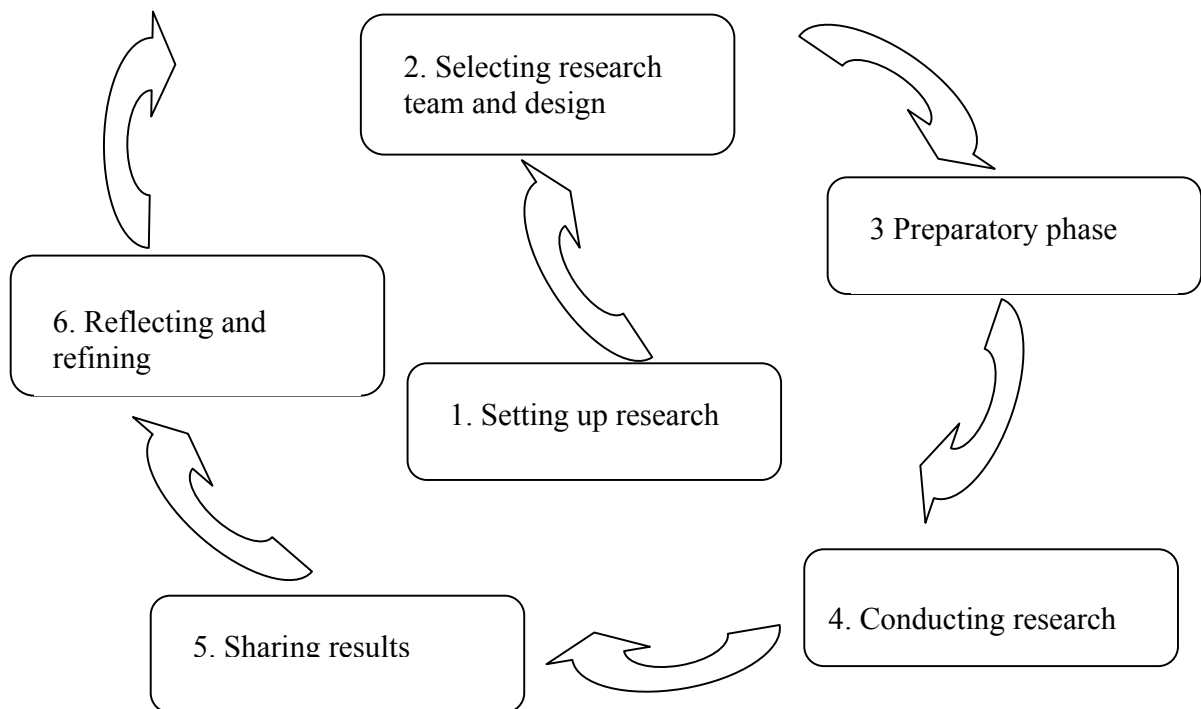
In this research, the strategies were a mixture of the second, third and fourth ones. The non-Maori researcher had for some time attempted to become more familiar with the language, culture and issues of Maori. Both researchers ensured that the relevant people were consulted before conducting the research, and the more experienced (Pakeha) researcher was able to reciprocate the learning she received from her Maori research partner by acting as mentor in the research process. This would institutionally strengthen the organisation’s ability to conduct rigorous research but within a culturally relevant Kaupapa Maori framework.

## **Recommendations**

Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p.10) summarises the arguments so far:

Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology. They are ‘factors’ to be built in to research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood.

From a summary of the relevant literature, the knowledge and experiences of the Maori and Pakeha writers of this paper the following model has been developed. It is designed to incorporate the following aspects: to reflect the koru (the uncurling of an immature fern frond commonly used to depict a new beginning); the notion of a spiral that starts at the centre (the people being researched) but which invariably involves a wider sphere of people through the conducting and dissemination of the research; the emergent design of qualitative research which sits most comfortably alongside Kaupapa Maori research methodology; and to echo the action research cycle in which practitioners examine and improve their practice (in this case the practice of research). The inward turn of the arrows also suggests that each phase is dependent on the others and that within the overall design there can be smaller circles in which earlier phases can be revisited before moving on.



**Figure 1: The koru (spiral) approach to cross-cultural research**

Below, are questions designed to be asked at each stage of the research to ensure all consideration is given to cultural and ethical considerations.

Research step	Questions to consider
<b>1. Setting up research</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the purpose of the research? <sup>4</sup></li> <li>• Why is it necessary?</li> <li>• Who is the research for?</li> <li>• Who controls the research?</li> <li>• Who owns the research?</li> <li>• Who funds the research?</li> <li>• Who has designed and framed the research?</li> <li>• Who benefits?</li> <li>• What are likely positive outcomes and for whom?</li> <li>• What are possible negative outcomes and for whom?</li> <li>• How can negative outcomes be lessened or eliminated?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who needs to be consulted?</li> <li>• How will this consultation be done?</li> </ul>
<b>2. Selecting research team and design</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Who will conduct the research?</li> <li>• What are their credentials and/or experiences?</li> <li>• Is the research team culturally competent and appropriate for the task?</li> <li>• Is the methodology one that sits within appropriate indigenous knowledge and research frameworks?</li> <li>• How flexible is the design to emergent events?</li> <li>• Who will determine the research questions, methods and analytic tools?</li> <li>• What parts do the participants or their community have in determining these?</li> <li>• Who approves, oversees and/or advises on the research?</li> <li>• Who gives ethical approval and through what mechanisms?</li> </ul>
<b>3. Preparatory phase</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do the participants and/or their community fully understand the purposes of the research and give informed consent?</li> <li>• Do the participants and/or their community know what will happen to the research findings?</li> <li>• Do the researchers meet with the approval of those being researched and/or their community?</li> <li>• What processes are in place to support the research, the researched and the researchers?</li> <li>• Is consultation time included in the timeframe?</li> </ul>
<b>4. Conducting research</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are appropriate cultural protocols followed?</li> <li>• Is the setting culturally and emotionally safe for all parties?</li> <li>• How is the concept of reciprocity catered for?</li> <li>• What parts do the participants play in the analysis or discussion of findings?</li> <li>• How are the analytic frameworks determined?</li> <li>• Who writes up and disseminates the findings?</li> </ul>
<b>5. Sharing results</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can the results be returned to the participants and/or their community in appropriate ways?</li> <li>• Who will undertake this?</li> <li>• Has funding been set aside for this?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What, if any, further action needs to be undertaken as a result of the findings?</li> <li>• How can this action be taken or supported?</li> </ul>
<b>6. Reflecting and refining</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can all parties share their reflections on the process, its effects, limitations and implications?</li> <li>• How can improvements be made?</li> <li>• Whose responsibility will this be?</li> </ul>

Research texts and guidelines abound with reminders about the importance (depending on the paradigm) of validity and reliability, or credibility and trustworthiness. The writers of this paper argue that such reminders also need to be framed for the appropriate cultural context. Whether the research is conducted by ‘insiders’, ‘outsiders’ or a combination of both, questions of cultural validity and credibility need to be asked. When researchers work in cultural contexts outside their own, they need to put aside their immediate assumptions and biases and seek to understand the new context and seek ‘wise counsel’ before proceeding. The writers of this paper share their own experiences and learning in the hope that with care, caution and sensitivity, research in the Aotearoa New Zealand context or other cross-cultural settings, can reflect the spirit of true partnership.

**Ahakoā he iti, he pounānu**<sup>5</sup>  
*Although small, it is precious*

## Endnotes

1. In Maori kawa (protocol) it is important for speakers to identify themselves to their audience, including their origins, geographical locations, tribal and family affiliations.
2. The Maori language uses metaphor widely. Whakatauki (proverbs) are used to encapsulate or reinforce an important point being made.
3. The researchers’ reflections are shown in a different font to highlight that these are their individual and reflective voices.
4. Thanks are due to all writers whose words we have used or ideas we have borrowed but, in particular, in this section, to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, pp. 10 & 173).
5. Final thanks must be given to the Ministry of Education who funded this research, the Christchurch College of Education who supported it, and the participants, their kura and their community for allowing us to conduct it.

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