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New Zealand educational services for k apo (blind) M aori: What are the issues for k apo M aori and their wh anau

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Introduction

There are no published studies about k apo (blind) M aori in New Zealand, although there has been some general research about blind people and about M aori with a disability (Bevan Brown, 1989; Collins & Hickey, 2006; Higgins, 2001; Phillips, 2005). This paper documents some of the initial results from the first year of a two-year project that has been funded by the Health Research Council. In line with the *Treaty of Waitangi*, and framed as a kaupapa M aori study, the aim of this two-year project was to explore how the impairment of blindness affects M aori and how health and education services impact on the identity, cultural well-being and health of k apo M aori and their wh anau (family).

In New Zealand, the 2001 *Disability Strategy* stated that disabled people are disabled by a society which take no account of their impairments (Minister for Disability Issues, 2001), and others have noted that society disables M aori by taking no account of their identity, their culture, or the meanings that they give to disability (Kingi & Bray, 2000). Phillips (2005) noted that M aori have been disabled through assimilatory educational practices and deficit theorising that have marginalised M aori and excluded M aori from their own knowledge base, language, cultural values and practices. Jill Bevan-Brown (1994) pointed to the different ways in which M aori and P akeh a view disability. Like other researchers (Wilkie, Berryman, Himona, & Paul, 2001), she found that the predominant view held by those she interviewed was the notion that all people, irrespective of their abilities, were taonga (valuable) and as such were valued members of their communities. Significantly, the participants in Bevan-Brown's Masters study did not know a M aori equivalent for the term intellectual disability (Bevan-Brown, 1989).

M aori concepts of disability today reflect an acceptance and valuing by the wh anau (family) of the person as they are, as opposed to the dominant perception of disability as a medical problem or tragedy (Kingi & Bray, 2000). However, if just being M aori is considered disabling then being a disabled M aori takes on added meaning. On that basis it can be argued that perhaps M aori with an impairment, such as blindness, are doubly oppressed or disadvantaged (Higgins, 2001; Phillips, 2005). However, Phillips (2005) noted that being M aori and being disabled may not be discreet oppressions, but instead "interconnected parts of a whole way of looking at the world in which difference is considered inferior and in which unequal relationships are demarcated" (p. 88).

M aori identity is shaped and established through wh anau, hap u and iwi, a matrix of intergenerational relationships in which connectedness and belonging are central components (Phillips, 2005). Moeke-Pickering's (1996) literature review on M aori identity within wh anau found that there are two primary reference points in conceptualising M aori identity. First is tribal structures and descent. Here whakapapa provides the framework for tribal structures (wh anau, hap u and iwi) in which relationships are organised and maintained. Second, are

cultural practices, such as language, customs, kinship obligations and traditions, in which shared understandings are constructed and maintained. It is within these 'nests of identity' that many Māori argue that the concept of whānau is central to understanding the individual and in developing Māori educational and community capacity (Durie, 1997).

Research has shown that culturally appropriate educational services foster emotional and psychological well-being, raise self-esteem, and facilitate learning (Bevan-Brown, 2006). When students feel that services are alien to them or do not value who they are, then they will not be able to learn because of the stress and anxiety that accompanies their educational experience (Bevan-Brown, 2006). Macfarlane (2005) argued that the reason so many Māori fail in both mainstream and special education settings is because the links between culture and education are missing, in particular an understanding of Māori cultural practices and values. In the UK, researchers have argued that disabled people who were black or of an ethnic minority experienced racism and 'disablism', and noted that the impact of multiple oppression needs to be researched and recognised so that culturally competent services can be delivered and so that disabled people, who are black or from an ethnic minority, can have positive and inclusive educational and rehabilitation experiences (Miles, 2002)

In New Zealand, Bevan-Brown (2000) reported on the interim results of a three-year research project evaluating the Ministry of Education's Special Education 2000 policy. She found that Māori students were missing out on special education services and programmes because such services and programmes lacked cultural relevance and appropriateness. Later in 2006, Bevan-Brown noted that despite research in the area and the abundance of Government guidelines and official documents about the rights of disabled Māori to receive a culturally appropriate and effective education, disabled Māori children and youth are still neglected, inadequately provided for, overlooked, and excluded (Bevan-Brown, 2006).

Hall and Bishop (2001) argued that cultural diversity poses a challenge for professionals because it raises questions about the ethical obligations that they have with regard to catering for cultural difference. The notion of cultural diversity, they continue, presents two major challenges for education professionals: the first in relation to understanding, addressing and developing the cultural identities of children, the second in acknowledging and understanding the impact their own cultural identities has on their students. Schools are a major site in which all children's perceptions about their ability and identity are developed, and to that end education professionals play a significant role in shaping the way their students see themselves and how and where they fit into the world. When students are consistently treated as less, whether because of their disability, culture or other reason, then their sense of identity is in danger of being negatively influenced and their ability to become self-determining individuals is threatened (Hall & Bishop, 2001).

For kāpo Māori, there are no focused studies about their identity. There are a few commissioned studies that examined issues that are relevant to their uptake of education services. An examination of the 2006 *Cost of Blindness* study (Gravitas Research and Strategy & Market Economics, 2006) indicated that kāpo Māori were not accessing education services. Previous to this, in 1992, Maaka Tibble, the National Advisory Officer for the RNZFB, won a Winston Churchill Fellowship to "explore and discuss with indigenous people in North America, the programmes they have for their people who have visual impairments" (Tibble, 1992, p. 2), and relate this information to the services that kāpo Māori received in New Zealand. Tibble found that, as with kāpo Māori in New Zealand, native people with vision impairments in North America were not accessing services; had been colonised; have migrated from their family ties and find it difficult to maintain their culture and language; and are positively advocating for self-government in every aspect of their lives.

In her doctoral thesis, Higgins (2001) explored the meaning of blindness and the educational experiences of blind people in New Zealand. Her participants included two kāpo Māori participants, Hine (pseudonym), an adult who had attended a residential special school, and Davania (pseudonym), who attended the special school as a day student. Overall, Higgins found that blind people in New Zealand were constructed as different and 'other', were socially dislocated, and had to strive to achieve a social place (Higgins, 1999; Higgins, 2001; Higgins, 2004; Higgins & Ballard, 1999; Higgins & Ballard, 1999). This social dislocation and exclusion occurred because of the participants' encounters with health and education services, which took little account of their social place in their families or whānau, local schools, or local communities. They were rarely included at school, encountered prejudice in employment as adults, and some participants had difficulty finding friends and partners.

More specifically, the Māori participants in the study encountered ignorance, prejudice, as well as pity from health professionals, schools, and the community. Davania, as a kāpo Māori child, who also had an intellectual disability, was not able to be included at her local school with her sibling because the school was not prepared, and had little support, to teach her. Also, Davania's educational experiences at the special school were centred around her blindness, and little attention was given to te reo (Māori language) or Māori culture in class (Higgins, 2001). Although Hine's whānau did not participate in this study, this whānau was identified as the most affected by the education and health services that Hine received (Higgins, 2001). Hine left her whānau at the age of two to go to the Foundation for the Blind's home for pre-schoolers where, after talking to a professional, her whānau thought that she would have more opportunities. Hine lost her whānau and her culture in a way similar to that of the indigenous people of North America and Australia who were taken to boarding schools (Bull, 1991). Hine stated that as a preschooler she did not actually remember her family and was traumatically re-introduced to them at age four. She said that she was different from her siblings, did not fit, had difficulty maintaining relationships, and was homeless. However, later as an adult, Hine found a place in Ngāti Kāpo, whose goal was that kāpo Māori would speak and advocate for themselves. Similar organizations of disabled people have developed in other countries in response to calls to change the status quo and to obtain full civil and human right (Driedger, 1989; Oliver, 1990).

Research Method

The research design and method for this project reflected not only the location of the research within the kāpo Māori community but also the collaboration between Ngāti Kāpo o Aotearoa Inc, and research organisations like He Parekereke (Institute for Research and Development in Māori and Pacific Education, Victoria University of Wellington) and the Donald Beasley Institute. It drew together the particular strengths of all three organizations to provide a multi-disciplinary and multi-location approach to the research and a commitment to working together for a common end (Jeffrey, 2003). The goal was to unlock the potential within whānau, hapū and iwi and in particular kāpo Māori so that they can live as Māori, actively participate as citizens of the world and enjoy good health, and a high standard of living (Health Research Council, 2004; Durie, 2001). and that dissemination of the research is taken back to the community (Foundation of Research, Science, and Technology, 2006). This project sought to privilege Māori ways of knowing and doing that retrieves spaces for Māori voices and perspectives in which Māori realities are legitimate and social transformation occurs (Smith, 1999), not the transformation of Māori but transformation of policies and services to Māori.

This paper presents some of the results from the first phase of a two-year qualitative research project, drawing primarily on the stories of kāpo Māori rangatahi and tamariki and their whānau about their identity and educational experiences. Included also are vision educators experiences of providing educational resources and support to kāpo rangatahi and tamariki and their whānau. Gathering and telling stories was considered by Ngāti Kāpo, which established a research management committee for this project, to be the most appropriate methodology to use. Telling stories is fundamental to making sense of our experiences in the world (Bishop, 1996) as well as to providing a ‘forward glance’ helping us to anticipate future situations and encounters (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The art of gathering stories foregrounds the importance of respect, reciprocity and caring between researcher and researched, placing the relationship between the researcher and research community at the centre of the research. To that end stories “are especially viable instruments of social negotiation” (Bruner, 1990, p 55). Not only is this well understood by Māori but according to Bishop (1996) there is a strong cultural preference by Māori for narrative and conversation.

After approval from New Zealand’s Multi-Region Health and Disability Ethics Committee, each of the twenty-one key informants, whose narratives are used in this paper, participated in an unstructured open-ended interview in which researchers used a topical interview guide (Patton, 2002). Key informants included six education professionals, six participating rangatahi (youth) (3 males, 3 females, aged 13-20), and nine participating whānau members of these rangatahi and four tamariki (children under the age of 12) and of a rangatahi (youth) with additional impairments. All of the key informant interviews were transcribed, and the research team in discussion throughout a five-day research hui (meeting) developed an analysis framework for the emerging themes within the interview data.

Results

Within all of the participants’ narratives, four interwoven themes emerged. These included cultural location, cultural consonance cultural dissonance, and cultural dislocation. Cultural location and dislocation were directly related to participants’ identity as Māori, as kāpo and as kāpo Māori, and their experiences of belonging and connectedness. Cultural dissonance within education services led to cultural dislocation and disruption of their cultural integrity, which impacted on their ability to express themselves fully as Māori. On the other hand, cultural consonance enabled kāpo Māori to develop firm cultural locations and positive identities as Māori and kāpo Māori.

Cultural Location

The rangatahi participants in this study identified, firstly, as Māori, and most introduced themselves within their whakapapa (geneology). For example, Aroha said:

Aroha: I am Aroha, I am from Y city and I am Māori on my dad’ side. He is Ngāti A. and Ngāti B. . . . So all (from the) Coast. I grew up on a farm and I have a really big family. There’s nine of us. I have five brothers and three sisters but they are all half brothers and sisters.

One rangatahi stated that he was ‘half and half’ Māori because he had English ancestry as well.

Some participants’ knowledge of their whakapapa was directly related to being kāpo. For example, Tane said:

Tane: I got my disability from my grandfather and he passed it onto my mother and my mother passed it onto me. And I'm from Nga C. and Ngāti D. and I am seventeen.

Aroha stated that when she was with Māori, she only thought of herself as Māori, and not as a vision impaired Māori:

Aroha: Like to me, being Māori and vision impaired is not normal, but maybe it is normal in the European world. When I was growing up . . . like it was pretty much an all Māori community and you are Māori and that's it . . . You are just Māori and that's all you are.

All the participating parents in the study expressed a desire for their tamariki (children) kāpo to learn about their whakapapa and culture even if they, themselves, were not actively involved. Some of the participating rangatahi were 'chosen' by their tupuna (grandparents) to carry on the knowledge of their whakapapa in their family. Rawiri both acknowledged and reciprocated his grandmother's gifts to him. Aroha explained that because she had lived with her grandmother, she learned a great deal from her. She was able to pass her knowledge of whakapapa to her other whānau members.

Aroha: It was good at the whānau reunion and stuff because no one really knew. Well the people, like our family from (a small town) didn't really know much. So it was good to be able to share stuff like that. . . . She taught me how to make kete and stuff like that.

These relationships integral to Māori identity and cultural well-being, because, as one of the older participating kāpo kuia (elders) explained, Māori believe that:

the tupuna (ancestors/grandparents) and the mokopuna (grandchildren) are made for each other. That's the strength of it, everything is for that moko, for all of us. They have all got something special and they all know and are carrying that. And there is some part of your tikanga with them for the rest of their lives. You have just got to love them and cherish them.

These intergenerational relationships are very important. For example, one participating mother, Amiria, explained that if she had to relocate so that her kāpo tamaiti (child) could have better access to educational services that it would devastate the child's grandparents:

Amiria: It would break the grandparents, not so much me and my husband. It would a little, but not as much as it would my mum.

Amiria's mother, Whina, said that her mokopuna were her life, and that she offered valuable support, along with other whānau members, to Amiria every day.

Whina: (We) lessen the stress for Amiria like we will take over the children or all the friends that are here will take the children, take them for a walk, so she can get on with her housework without darting in and out, or take one when she goes to hang the washing out. So there is always someone here during the day, be it whānau or friends, there is always someone here to help Amiria. . . . I am always here to help Amiria and be with my grandchildren. My life has always been children and any children, you know.

The Māori concept of 'whānau' to all of the participants in this study was a large part of their lives, and was where they found closeness and support. Tane said:

Tane: My whānau is (my father and mother) and I have two brothers and a sister. And I would define family, they're there to support me and to look after me and whenever I need them they'd be there.

Tane said that he also learned from his whānau what it was like to be kāpo. When asked about how being kāpo affected his cultural well-being, Tane said:

Tane: I've sort of gotten used to the idea since its been coming through my family, since, yeah, since it's been passed down. So I sort of have like – a knowledge just looking back at my father – my grandfather and my aunty and my cousins and stuff, that have got the disability as well. So it's sort of made it like I can sort of see what direction they're going in and like – ah sort of just helps me out.

Most of the kāpo rangatahi defined their whānau as blood relations, but they also indicated that they had whānau to whom they were not related, but to whom they felt close. For example, Ngaio said:

Ngaio: Um, whānau to me is the people I am close with. . . . I call my whānau the people I have been brought up with, that I am close to. . . . My whānau are the ones who have been there for me, and who I will be there for, and would do anything for, really.

Similarly, the participating parents had a wide view of whānau, which included those from whom they received support.

Tikanga (Māori cultural values and practices), the marae (meeting house), and te reo Māori (Māori language) were considered as integral to being Māori and being kāpo Māori. Tane explained that because he knew te reo and tikanga he knows how to be in the Māori community, and on the marae. He said:

Tane: Uhm well I've been brought up with te reo Māori and tikanga since, well, birth and I respect that. And I have understanding and I know what to do, what's wrong, what's right.

Cultural Consonance

Educational services that were consonant with the participant's Maori identity enabled them to develop positive cultural identities as Māori and kāpo Māori. Going to local kohanga and kura provided tamariki not only with groundings in Māori knowledge, practices and language, but also with opportunities to develop social relationships that affirmed their identity as Māori. Ngaio said:

Ngaio: I am very glad I went to Kohanga Reo. I mean right from the beginning I learnt my Māori fluently. I was in a different environment being able to associate with sighted children instead of Kāpo children. It is really a skill that a lot of people who are institutionalized have trouble with, making friends, the people they make friends with are within their circle whereas I didn't have other Kāpo children around me, so I made friends with those who were [around me]. It made me feel I wasn't that different. That was a big thing because now I know that I can do anything.

One of the participating parents emphasized that she was willing to drive 2 hours a day to send her child to a school, which was bilingual to ensure her daughter received a culturally relevant education:

The vision education professionals, who were a part of this study, also said that educational services needed to be culturally consonant, by acknowledging, and teaching, te reo and

tikanga, and providing services to whānau and not to the individual. For example, one responded to a question about how to contribute to a kāpo Māori child's self identity and sense of belonging said:

Mary: I guess it is around honouring the language and probably at the very simple end of the continuum is the Pakeha making sure that the Māori pronunciation is correct. And providing opportunities for the young people to korero in te reo, to be immersed in programmes around te reo.

One said that providing effective educational services to kāpo Māori meant educators needed to focus on developing respectful relationships as opposed to focusing on the 'expert' role:

Linda: I think it's down to communication and the knowledge of tikanga and being really sensitive to what the issues are, in terms of communicating with, and being respectful of how you will be working with a family . . . I think that is more important than anything else really because I think if you come to any relationship with respect, things are likely to go well. They might not go quickly but you will get there.

Mary pointed out that it was important to have Māori teachers, who, themselves, identify as Maori and are connected to their cultural traditions, values and practices, and who, in turn, can positively contribute to Maori students' identity. She said:

Mary: I think it is around the need to have Māori teachers and staff because they are inherently embedded in who they are. It is not a 'learning about' or a 'learning to be' from outside the culture.

Cultural Dissonance and Dislocation

Despite all of the narratives from our participants stating the benefits of consonant educational services, our research found that most kāpo Māori participants encountered cultural dissonance when they interacted with education services. This was due to a lack of educational resources and the undervaluing of cultural location and contexts for Māori, including kāpo Māori, which prevented the participants in this study from consistent access to te reo, Māori culture, and their communities.

For example, because of the lack of vision specialist support to local schools most of the rangatahi participants needed to attend or board at Homai. Rawiri and Aroha indicated that they needed to board at Homai because vision education services were not adequate in their own communities. For example, Aroha said:

Aroha: (The special school) was the first big decision I guess, yeah. I kind of didn't really have a say there because I kept changing my mind, 'Yes I want to go, no I don't want to go.' And so mum and dad just go 'Right you are going.' But it was a good thing that they did because it did help me with schooling and it did help me with opportunities that I guess I probably couldn't have had in (my town) because it is such a small place

All of the vision educators who were interviewed agreed that there were insufficient resources in the local areas, that ideally children should not need to attend Homai and be taken from their communities. They also noted as well that there were no formal structures or dedicated Māori staff in place to culturally support, or teach te reo to, kapo Māori students at Homai or in the mainstream. Also, Linda highlighted that, on the hand, Maori immersion settings may

not have an understanding about the educational needs of kapo students. So whanau have little to no choice about schooling options for their tamariki. She said:

Linda: The other sort of key issue I think is around access to the schooling option of your choice . . . it comes across to me that people are beginning to feel limited. It is getting too hard to be the only, say, Braille user, within a Maori immersion setting. It is not that the information can't be translated but it is just that whole barrier that we have no fluent speaking Resource Teacher Vision. We have nobody Maori. . . . So that means that people perhaps are making choices that aren't necessarily the choices they would like to make. They have also been voices from families at times being concerned about immersion settings actually having a real understanding around special education and their needs.

Going to Homai often resulted in cultural dislocation and disruption to their being Māori for the rangatahi in this study. At Homai, there seemed to be a mismatch between the culture of the school and the culture within which these young people had been raised. When Rawiri boarded, he said that he got homesick and missed his cousins, but he liked the big city where the school was located. Ngaio did not have a good experience when she boarded at the special school. She said that when she attended the special school she felt that it had a European culture and her mana (dignity as Māori) was taken from her during that time.

Previous to their attendance at Homai, five of the six participating rangatahi had close links to their Māori communities as young children. Two had lived with their grandparents, one had lived as a young child on the marae and two had attended kohanga reo. Thus, these five rangatahi had a good knowledge of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and Māori culture. However, two of the participants, who were fluent in te reo, noted though that when they left their communities to board at Homai and attend a secondary school with a visual resource centre, that they were unable to continue te reo because their knowledge of te reo was greater than that of their teachers. Aroha stated that te reo should extend beyond paperwork, and that this was not available at her school or at Homai:

Aroha: I had the option of taking Māori at (secondary school) last year and this year but writing on a piece of paper isn't my idea of Māori. Like to me Māori is doing noho marae and being in the whole setting of marae, that's Māori to me, like that is true Māori.

Interviewer: Does Homai do that?

Aroha No. . . . Last year we did have waiata every Tuesday after school and it was probably the closest we came to (it), yeah

Ngaio and her whānau resisted identifying with 'blind' education because of the way it constructs blindness. Ngaio was included at Kohanga Reo and in a whānau unit at a regular school until she attended Homai. She was concerned about the limited education options, which were available to her. She said that Homai did not take into account the differences between Māori and Pakeha. It was as if the blindness defined her, her capabilities, and what she could be.

Ngaio: We only have one option and one way that is a problem with all the services at the moment. With Homai they are taught to train in a textbook way that you must follow but I don't believe in that. I believe that everybody has their own way of doing things and therefore should be given the choice in how to live their life. . . . If somebody wanted to go to that high school (near Homai), they have to stay at Homai but it is very restricting there. You have to follow lots of rules and

regulations and it would be best maybe if they had an option that they could fund maybe staying with a family, do you know what I mean?

Similarly, one of the vision education professionals noted that the challenge for vision education professionals was to attend to the whole child, and not just 'bits of them'. She said:

Linda: So while kids have flourished, there is still something missing in the picture really but I do think it is that wholistic – we all should be dealing in the whole. I think whether it is in your own local area or in a physical setting like the campus school or through the resource centre, it's actually being able to address the whole of the child rather than the bits of the child. And I think that's a challenge in terms of providing appropriate services to whoever this child is. To make sure that what you are doing addresses the whole need, and . . . it's your openness to actually see things in a different way or have a different view. I would like to think if you are in special ed you would be more open to that than perhaps others are. But I can't say that's always, we are not perfect people unfortunately. So we probably are in a better position but not necessarily so, because so much depends on the 'values place' that individuals come from

Because of limited resources and understandings, the participating whānau, whose kāpo tamariki attended regular schools, also encountered cultural dissonance. Like those at Homai, they had difficulty accessing te reo through the vision education professionals. Marika's mum, Mārama, pointed out that there were no vision education professionals who could speak and read Māori. Mārama said that she also needed to advocate for braille books and resources in Māori for Marika.

Māori immersion settings were also difficult to access because negative beliefs about impairment were prioritised. For Hemi, even when he was welcomed into the whānau class, the school was reluctant for him to attend class because of they were concerned about safety and this limited his choices. The school was not able to provide him with the opportunities to learn within an immersion setting, because of his multiple impairments. He was not able to be Maori and kapo at the same time. His mother, Erihapeti, said

Erihapeti: When he first started here I got him in to the Māori class. The Māori teacher thought he was just fantastic and said he can come back any time. But from the 'special' unit side, they don't want him travelling off around the school for safety reasons.

Mārama wanted her daughter, Marika, to have a bilingual education but the principal of the school that she approached refused to accept the child into the school because of her disability despite the immersion unit's acceptance of her. In doing so the mother was threatened that punitive actions would be taken in that her daughter would be ostracised. Despite the principal acknowledging that it constituted a breach of human rights the child was effectively denied entry into the school:

Mārama: We had a meeting [with the school], they have a bilingual unit and it has got a great reputation and we went and met with them and the guy in the unit said they have got a waiting list but the guy that runs the unit said 'no we will fit her in here. That's fine' And then we had a meeting with the principal and he said straight out, "I don't want to put the burden on one of my teachers of having to have this girl in our classroom." And I pulled out – I said "well you know that is actually a breach of the Bill of Rights to say that." And he said, "Yes it is." . . . He made it really hard. He said if she went there, he wouldn't put her in the bilingual unit. He would make her wear a reflective

vest in the playground because there are so many big boys around and it would be dangerous for her and others to just be in the playground.

The participants and parents in this study faced significant challenges to maintain culturally relevant schooling options for their children. Being kThey have found other ways in which to maintain their links to te reo Maori, Maori knowledge, and tikanga through Ngāti Kāpo o Aotearoa Inc., which is an advocacy and education organisation for kapo Maori by kapo Maori.

Marama: They are really good. They are really supportive, they give Marika a cultural side because she was in bilingual school but now she is not at bilingual school so she has lost that cultural part of it so I think it really was a good cultural support as well as the support they give educational as well.

Despite the findings of past research on disability and the promises of education there are still considerable shortcomings in educational provision for Māori and, in particular, kāpo Māori. Not only are there issues for kāpo Māori within immersion schooling settings because of lack of resourcing for kāpo students, but there are also resourcing and cultural issues for students enrolled in mainstream schools and Homai. There is a lack of Māori teachers, and specifically teachers who are fluent in te reo Māori with vision specialist training. The educational choices then for kāpo Māori students and their whānau are limited to non-existent.

In conclusion, we argue that this research verifies the point that the cultural dislocation and dissonance that occurs within educational provision are not discreet oppressions of Māori and of being a disabled but rather are mutually supporting demarcations of inferiority and inequality. Developing consonant educational services so that kapo Maori can develop positive identities and be self-determining requires a commitment from the Ministry of Education to prioritise Maori culture, te reo, and tikanga for all Maori students, while at the same time providing specialist support that kapo Moari have a right to access within the culture and local communities.

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