# Upholding children's rights to bicultural ECE curriculum: A developmental work research study into teachers' professional learning.

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## ABSTRACT

*The upholding of children's rights to develop their identity as citizens in a bicultural country is contingent with teachers' capacity to co-construct bicultural curriculum with children and whānau in ECE. Te Whāriki provides a framework around which teachers can work with whānau and children to localise teaching and learning experiences. In doing so, they are able to promote conditions for teaching and learning where the unique mātauraka and reo of mana whenua may thrive and a context within which children's languages, identities and cultures are supported to flourish. But, how do teachers hold themselves to account and build their collective knowledge and practice to lead teaching and learning in this way? This study investigates how kaiako used a structured professional learning framework (DWR) to intentionally uphold children's rights to bicultural curriculum, as outlined in Te Whāriki and international rights conventions.*

## INTRODUCTION

In Aotearoa New Zealand all children have a right to experience bicultural curriculum in early childhood education (ECE). Such rights are assured by local and international policy and conventions (Ministry of Education, 2017, hereafter MoE; United Nations, 1989, 2007, hereafter UN). In this paper we write from a study that investigated how kaiako' | teachers' engagement with developmental work research (DWR, Engeström, 2001) supported the upholding of children's rights to bicultural curriculum. We point out how the kaiako | teachers worked within their learning community and held themselves to account for planned changes to their teaching. First, we describe how the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UN, 1989, hereafter UNCRC), *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UN, 2007, hereafter UNDRIP), and the early childhood curriculum framework *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) provide for children's rights to bicultural education. Then we introduce the study this article draws from. We discuss three specific strategies that a teaching team developed within professional learning underpinned by DWR and examine how these supported kaiako in their work of giving effect to child rights to bicultural ECE.

## A FRAMEWORK FOR ADDRESSING CHILDREN'S RIGHTS TO BICULTURAL CURRICULUM IN ECE

UNCRC (UN, 1989) is a long-standing convention on child rights that establishes human rights standards for the children and young people around the world. Nearly all world States are signatories to the convention and Aotearoa New Zealand signed in 1993. Article 8 of the convention is about children's rights to preserve their identity, recognising children's names and family relations as part of this. A unique aspect of identity positioning in Aotearoa New Zealand stems from our founding treaty *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (TToW). Within TToW Tangata Whenua (people of the land) extend partnership to Tangata Tiriti (all others who have settled here) by agreeing that both parties share rights and responsibilities of equality and citizenship. Within this framing of identity, everyone living in Aotearoa New Zealand may be secure in their place as partner under Te Tiriti. Thus, all children's rights to understand their place as Tangata Whenua or Tangata Tiriti is an important right for kaiako to uphold.

*Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) aims for "children from all backgrounds to grow up strong in identity, language and culture" (p. 7). We must remind ourselves, however, that curriculum is never politically or educationally neutral (Te One and Ewens, 2019). *Te Whāriki* speaks to an aspiration of biculturalism, where all children have the right grow in identity, language, and culture, being them Tangata Whenua or Tangata Tiriti (Reedy,2019). So every child has rights to te reo Māori and Matauraka Māori by virtue of growing up in Aotearoa NZ. Nevertheless, *Te Whāriki's* transformational potential is yet to be realised (Te One and Ewens, 2019) and requires broader policy support (Skerrett and Ritchie, 2021).

Children's identity rights are further underscored within *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) within the principle of Whānau Tangata | Family and Community. That principle reminds kaiako that mokopuna learn best when "their culture, knowledge and community are affirmed and when the people in their lives help them to make connections across settings" (MoE, 2017, p. 20). Such sentiments are reflected back in UNCRC where Article 30 says that indigenous children "shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture" (UN, 1989). We think that these ideas are particularly relevant to curriculum in ECE settings as they reinforce that identity forms in community through active inclusion and connection making. The context for children to learn about their identity is one where whānau and community are vital and active participants.

The other major international policy that we think frames children's rights to bicultural curriculum in ECE in Aotearoa New Zealand is UNDRIP (UN, 2007). Aotearoa New Zealand signed up to the Declaration in 2010. This Declaration recognises as an urgent priority, the need to protect indigenous cultures and traditions around the world. It also acknowledges the right and responsibilities of indigenous communities for the well-being and education of their mokopuna. Article 13 specifically addresses the right to revitalise and transmit to future generations, histories, languages and traditional names. In Article 15, UNDRIP recognises that indigenous peoples have the right to have their cultural diversity

reflected in the educational system. Thus, UNDRIP affords ECE kaiako useful guidance about what might be prioritised and promoted within bicultural curriculum in ECE. Indeed, participants in the study we go on to describe, understood that.

*Te Whāriki* in alignment with Articles in UNCRC and UNDRIP provide kaiako a solid basis for their pursuit of bicultural ECE curriculum. The team of kaiako in Roberta's study founded their aspirations for professional learning on *Te Whāriki's* acknowledgement that "all children have rights to protection and promotion of their health and wellbeing, to equitable access to learning opportunities, to recognition of their language, culture and identity and, increasingly, to agency in their own lives" (MoE, 2017, p.12).

## STUDYING HOW KAIAKO PURSUED BICULTURAL CURRICULUM THROUGH DWR FOCUSSED PROFESSIONAL LEARNING

Roberta's masters research project comprised a study about kaiako professional learning and development. The teaching team that Roberta worked with were interested in strengthening bicultural curriculum. Other studies that have examined the provision of bicultural curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand ECE report that it is through intentional, systematic and collective changes that biculturalism becomes genuinely part of curriculum (Cullen et al., 2009; Ritchie et al., 2011; Skerrett, 2018). Ritchie et al. (2011), for example, framed bicultural curriculum in relation to children being able to experience an environment where strong, positive relationships guide decision making and change. While Skerrett (2018) discussed the centrality of community engagement for the flourishing of language and identity. Both authors highlight that the aspiration *Te Whāriki* has for "a curriculum for *all* children" (MoE, 2017, p. 13) is directly connected to community engagement and kaiako commitments to uphold TToW.

Roberta designed a study that engaged with a form of interventionist research practice, DWR. DWR was proposed as an appropriate method because it seeks to explore and develop work practices in a systematic, collective, and culturally situated way. As a former early childhood kaiako herself, Roberta wanted her research to be situated in practice and to recognise the practical effort of collectively working to change something. Roberta also hoped that by engaging with DWR, its interventionist underpinnings would afford discussions around systemic inequities and support meaningful change within the participants' practice. The method emphasises the participants' own questions or aims – something of their own to work towards. Ethical oversight for the study was provided by the University of Otago human ethics research committee. The study involved working with four fully qualified kaiako and one third-year ECE teacher education student in a community-based early childhood setting. Roberta's research question asked: How does DWR motivate teacher learning and the development of professional practice in ECE?

As the focus of the study was the utility of DWR as a framework for kaiako professional learning and development of practice, it didn't engage directly with tamariki or whānau or the community; their voices and experiences were visibilised through the lenses of the kaiako professional learning. All participants gave informed consent for participation. Issues of confidentiality were underscored in the project as anonymity could not be assured. Roberta declared

that she was a former colleague of some of the kaiako participating in the project and that she had taught part of the student teacher's teacher education programme. Alex (as supervisor to Roberta's project and support person for the change labs) was also known to the participants as a researcher and teacher educator. We felt that our existing relationships with the participants was a positive feature for this study because we had an existing context of trust within which to work. Discussions between participants and researcher (and research supervisor/support person) were relatively safe and familiar. While Roberta studied the aforementioned research question about the utility of DWR for kaiako professional learning, the kaiako sought to answer their own inquiry question "what is effective bicultural teaching and how can we sustain it?".

DWR evolved from Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT). CHAT takes an approach to studying human behaviour that tries to understand how people's language and actions are shaped by cultural practices, tools, and histories, within complex and interacting systems. CHAT is based on the work of Lev Vygotsky and his followers (Engeström & Sannino, 2010). Vygotsky is one of several important theorists whose views have informed ECE curriculum and teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand (MoE, 2017). Within CHAT and DWR, a framework for analysing activity systems is used by participants to discuss and analyse practice (colloquially known as the CHAT triangle). Within a structured professional learning setting of change labs, the activity systems' of professionals' work is laid out for analysis (Engeström, 2001). Using mirror data (data collected from participants' work practices and presented back to them), participants are asked to discuss components of the activity system represented through the CHAT triangle, to promote understandings of how components of the system, tools/rules/divisions of labour/the community, and objectives may be helping or hindering their desired outcomes and motivating particular practices. DWR change labs happen regularly over time, allowing participants to revisit their objectives, analyse activities, brainstorm, and test changes in a systematic, supported, and structured manner.

DWR encourages "expansive learning" (Engeström & Sannino, 2010, p. 2); the construction of new, wider, and more complex concepts of activity (in our case, bicultural curriculum and early childhood teaching). Therefore, DWR change labs support participants to act within and as a learning community, to collaborate over time, as they transform and create new work practices and cultures. The researcher's role is to present mirror data to participants and guide conversations by prompting deeper reflections and analysis; key aspects of transformational change (Liu et al., 2023).

In Roberta's study the kaiako group met five times in change labs over a period of three months. Between change labs kaiako worked to implement strategies and gather evidence (mirror data) in the form of photographs and documentation of events, teaching practices, and strategies they had agreed to implement for discussion at subsequent hui. The initial change lab involved clarifying the team's intentions and describing how they would recognise when they had achieved their desired outcome – effective and sustained bicultural practice. During that discussion, the kaiako described what bicultural teaching would look, sound, and feel like for them (see Fig.1). For the team 'speaking te reo Māori every day' would be an important sign that they were on the way to their goal, so they made this their first objective.

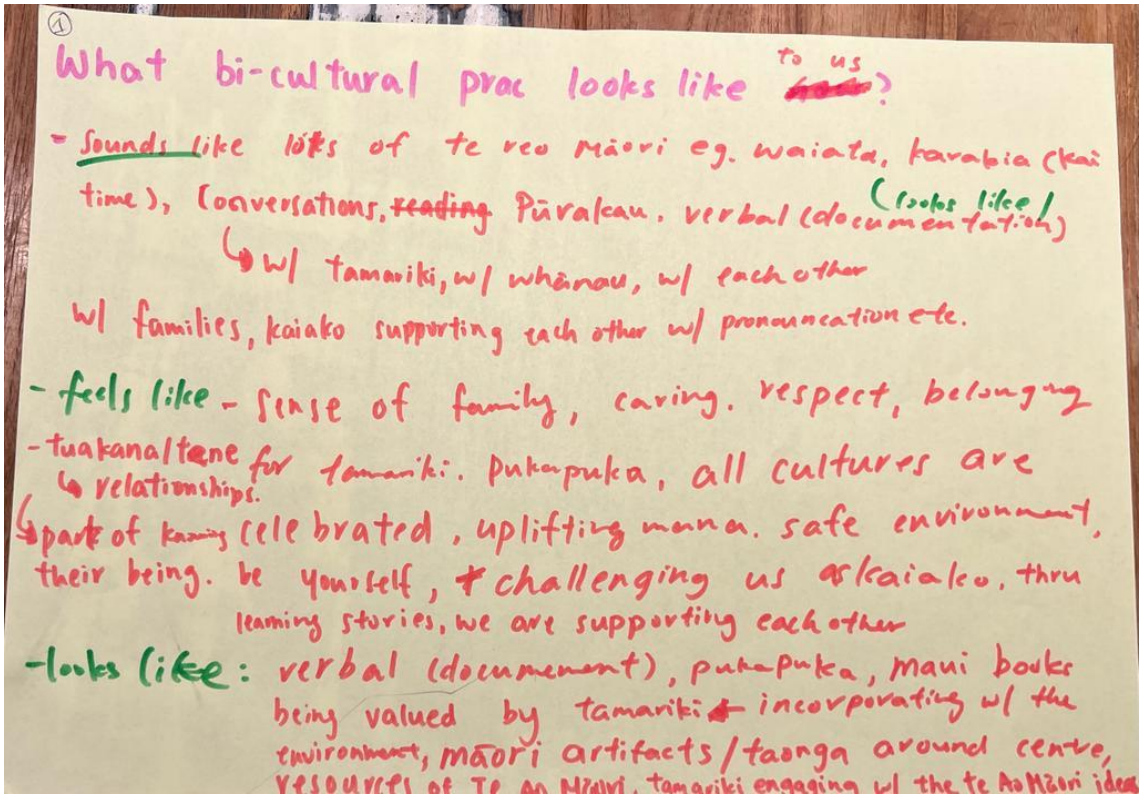

*Figure 1: What bicultural curriculum looks, sounds, and feels like.*

Two weeks later the team met in a second change lab with subsequent change labs occurring at roughly one-month intervals. In preparation for each change lab, we gathered evidence from kaiako that they had collected and prepared it as mirror data. Then within each change lab we shared the mirror data and used the CHAT triangle to discuss and analyse the practices reflected in the evidence. The analysis made visible any activity system contradictions, enablers and barriers that were influencing practice. It also helped generate new ideas and insights to test in practice. At the final change lab, as well as analysing mirror data, we also discussed the research project and gained participants' views about how they'd experienced the DWR approach and its ability to motivate teacher learning and changes to professional practice.

As noted, the kaiako team's first objective had been for them 'to speak te reo Māori every day', from this flowed new strategies for practice, energy around professional learning, and focus areas for development. Next, we present how the kaiako acted on their goal of speaking te reo Māori every day before exploring two other significant learning moments recognised within change labs and their meaning for the team's development of bicultural curriculum. We conclude with a brief commentary about how the DWR process systematically supported the kaiako and their pursuit of their goal to uphold children's rights to bicultural curriculum in ECE.

## Acting on professional responsibilities

In an early change lab a conversation was prompted about what effective and sustained bicultural curriculum might comprise. In the course of this conversation the activity system of the team's teaching, using the CHAT triangle

approach took place. Participants identified an important *tool*[1] used by them to help guide expected kinds of practices, was the Teaching Council's professional code and standards, *Our Code Our Standards* (Education Council, 2017). In their discussion of this tool, participants began talking about their responsibilities as Tangata Tiriti and as teachers. It is important to note here that it cannot be assumed that every person possesses the same sense of what it might mean to take up the name of Tangata Tiriti (or Tangata Whenua for that matter).

By identifying and using the professional code as a kind of *rule* within their activity system (something they were accountable to and for), the participants came to identify that as members of the teaching profession they were responsible for supporting positive changes in this country's development – meaning, they recognised that they wanted to be working towards greater bicultural awareness and ways of doing and being. Leila's comments are illustrative, she said: "I'm a kiwi. I wanted to learn more; to be able to know more, educate myself and others"(CL1[2]). Leila's sentiment is shared by many kaiako. Indeed at the point of selection for entry into a teacher education qualification in Aotearoa, prospective student teachers are routinely asked to describe their commitment to TToW and to talk about their bicultural awareness.

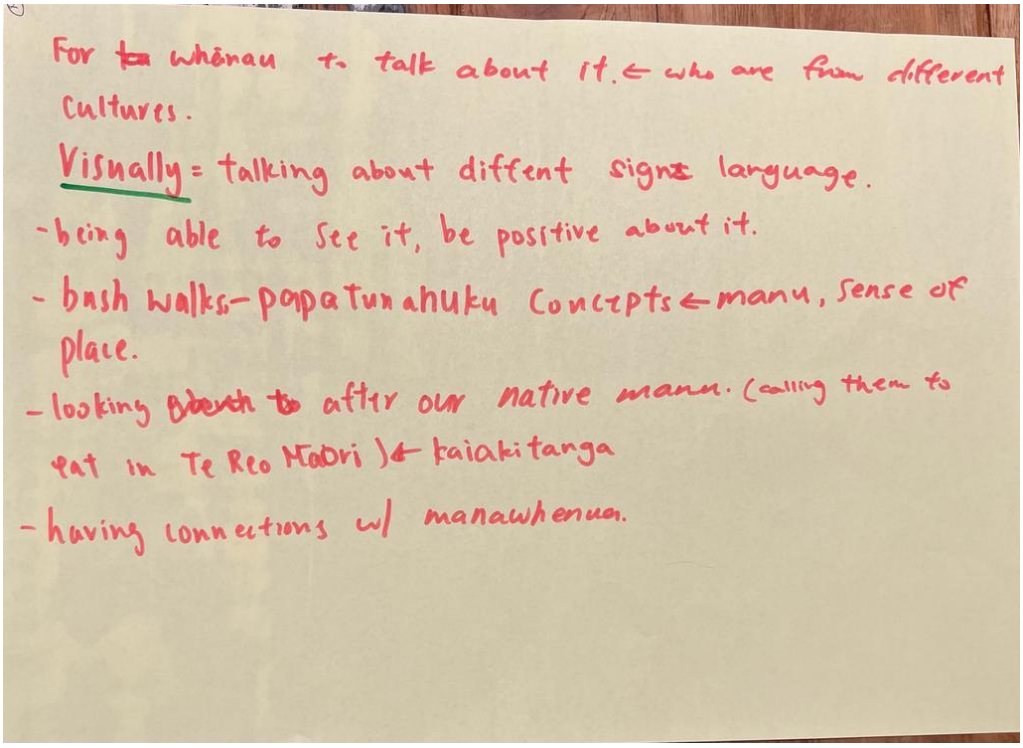


*Figure 2: What would bicultural curriculum look like in practice?*

[1] We italicise terms from the CHAT triangle analyses to indicate a particular meaning in the context of the change lab process.
[2] Our convention for referencing quotes and data excerpts is by change lab e.g., CL1 was change lab one and so on and so forth.

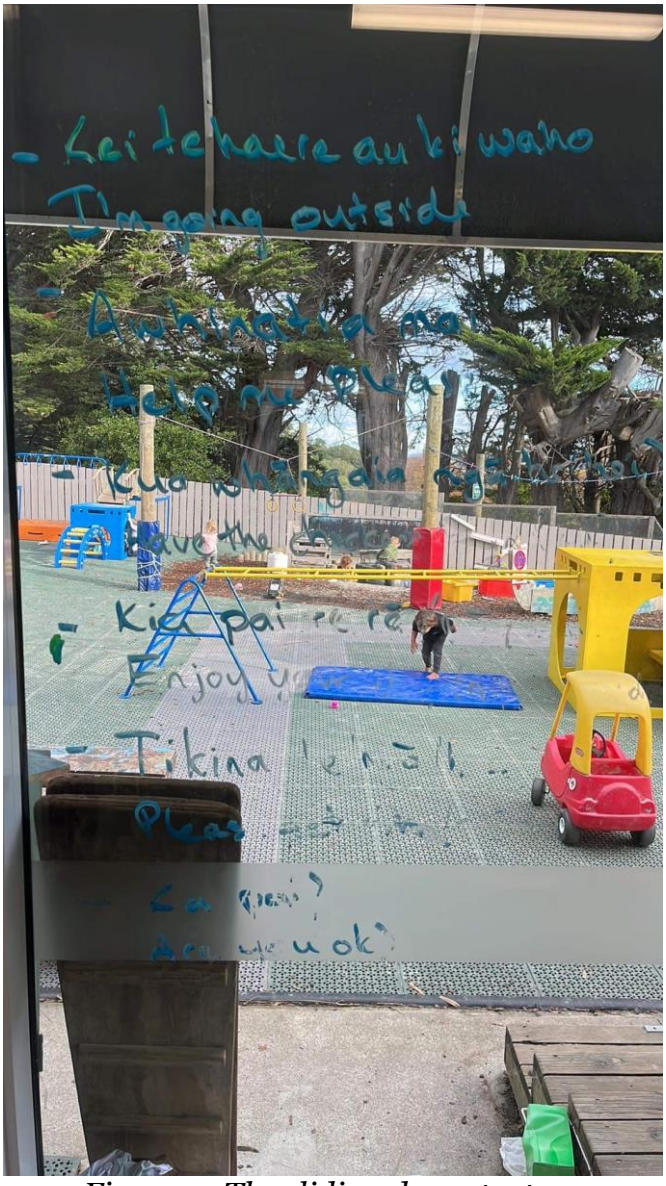


*Figure 3: The sliding door strategy*

However, commitment doesn't necessarily equate to practice and as Skerrett and Ritchie (2021) note, without inclusive resources, opportunities to act, and support, barriers to fulfilling the commitment of upholding children's right to learn in a culturally relevant environment remain. The change labs provided an opportunity for these kaiako to act on their sense of responsibility. To them, this meant creating an environment where tamariki and their whānau could hear, see and use te reo Māori every day. In fact, in an earlier task (within the initial research hui), when kaiako had made notes about what effective and sustained bicultural curriculum would be, visibility of the language and connections to nature, land, and people featured strongly in their responses (see Fig 2).

Back in change lab one, Sarah summed up the collective feeling of the team when she advocated that "every child has the right to hear and learn te reo. Every tamariki" (CL1). Participants also talked about parents and whānau experiences, hypothesising that if they also heard te reo Māori being used at the centre and responded to it, that this would not only be an effective way of evidencing the team's progress towards their goal (sustained bicultural curriculum), but also a

great way to encourage parents and whānau to speak the language at the centre too. For the kaiako, by both seeing and hearing te reo Māori flourishing in the setting, children's rights to bicultural curriculum would be promoted.

Subsequent to this discussion a strategy was formed to support the speaking of te reo Māori in the setting. It involved a novel approach whereby a glass sliding door would become a public canvass for documenting the te reo Māori phrases and kupu the team was working on learning and using. It proved a useful way for keeping the focus visible and top-of-mind for tamariki, whānau, and kaiako alike.

Despite having set a shared goal and strategies, not every kaiako had the same confidence or capability with learning and speaking te reo Māori. Acknowledgement of this came when Leila worried that "we could be worse" (CL2) after some weeks of intentionally practicing using te reo Māori every day. The response to this comment was reassurance from the other participants and some practical strategies, like a suggestion by Tracy to "build on the knowledge we have" (CL2), using fewer sentences and incorporating a couple of te ao Māori concepts to their work. The change lab structure provided a useful means for expressing concerns and generating solutions because despite individuals harbouring concerns, these were always expressed and discussed in a way that showed how the activity system was contributing to them rather than the individual being at fault. Arguably, because the focus of the discussion and analysis was the system, individuals could speak more freely about the challenges the system posed. Collectively the kaiako team could suggest solutions which everyone could take responsibility for as well.

Skerrett (2018) argues that a language will flourish if it is used for meaning making, communicating, and shaping everyday experiences. Over time, and in successive change labs, evidence of increasing use of te reo me kā tikaka across the setting was gathered and interrogated. Not only was the sliding door approach proving fruitful, a family who had recently moved to Aotearoa requested a copy of the centre's karakia so they could use it in their home. Furthermore, for the first time, 100% of the children and whānau attended Matariki celebrations where mātauraka Māori and te reo Māori were central to the event. For the kaiako these examples of positive change meant that their deliberate action of speaking te reo Māori every day was paying dividends for inclusion and bicultural curriculum. Supporting their intentionally planned language learning with regular waiata and karakia, localised pūrākau and whakataukī – a suite of strategies emerging from change lab analyses over time to give effect to children's rights to an inclusive and bicultural curriculum. With each strategy and action, kaiako worked on their desired outcome (effective and sustained bicultural practice) with a sense of purpose and intentionality as they delivered on their sense of obligation to the profession, children, whānau and community as a whole.

Between change labs 1 and 2 a conversation between Anna, one of the kaiako, and a parent about each of their te reo Māori language learning journeys resulted in the mother gifting a karakia to the kindergarten. The public nature of the te reo Māori learning and teaching that the kaiako were pursuing had laid the groundwork for more frequent and ongoing discussions between kaiako and whānau about what they were trying to do: provision of effective and sustained bicultural curriculum, and whānau were keen to help. Furthermore, the contextual integration of te reo Māori that had occurred since the emergence of

the sliding door strategy, was affording an environment for learning where everybody could learn (see Fig 3). Communication between whānau and kaiako led to more and deeper understandings of a range of cultural practices and home-languages of the tamariki. Sarah explained, in change lab 3 for instance, that everyone at the kindergarten had been learning a Samoan expression of hope – a positive affirmation – and that it was being recited each day together at lunchtime. The collaborative and systematic changes applied to the local curriculum were examples of how kaiako were effectively prioritising children's identity rights in everyday routines, in everyday conversations, and everyday learning experiences.

## Focussing on mana and kaitiakitaka as concepts to grow learning

When in change lab three a discussion about strategies to achieve their goal of 'speaking te reo Māori everyday' occurred, kaiako referred back to *Te Whāriki,* and began talking about its fundamental vision of the empowered child - a conversation of the concept of mana arose. All strands of *Te Whāriki* are grounded in the Māori concept of mana (Reedy, 2019). Mana can be explained in various ways and Hemara (2000) translates it as "authority, control, influence, prestige, power" (p. 68). Rameka et al. (2022) explain that mana is a fundamental aspect of Māori perceptions of the world and of the self, where almost all activities connect to the upholding mana. Because all mokopuna are born with mana inherited from their tīpuna, uplifting the mana of mokopuna is about giving rights to their identity and culture (MoE, 2017). It is in the curriculum strand of Mana Reo that te reo Māori becomes central to each child's rights to bicultural curriculum and mana. Therein it is "through te reo Māori children's identity, belonging, and wellbeing are enhanced" (MoE, 2017, p.41). Several examples of children's mana being recognised and uplifted were noted throughout the change labs, some examples included one tamaiti | child having the confidence to say karakia on behalf of the group during a visit to the museum, tamariki knowledgably discussing pūrākau | traditional Māori stories during hikoi | walks, and others leading karakia for certain daily routines. Sarah, reported excitedly for instance, that a hine | girl would "lead the whole karakia kai with pride" (CL3), a change in practice within the centre, and a statement with which other kaiako enthusiastically agreed. By the final hui of the research, tamariki were reported to be using te reo Māori naturally, alongside their kaiako, throughout the curriculum and their growing mana, in tandem with that of the kaiako, was being seen.

The team's developing awareness of the concept of mana | spiritual power was linked by them to the concept of kaitiakitaka | guardianship. They reasoned, in change lab 2, that by paying attention to both concepts of mana and kaitiakitaka it would enhance the context for language learning and support for bicultural curriculum. In making this connection the team began to respond more holistically to children's rights "to recognition of their language, culture and identity, and increasingly, to agency in their own lives" (MoE, 2017, p. 12).

## DWR as an effective framework for professional learning

The systematic nature of the DWR change labs had a positive effect on the team of kaiako within this study. A structured and methodical context for discussions and collaboration was provided by the predictable structure of the change labs.

To us these are necessary conditions for learning, where trust and security develop from the relationships formed. Engeström and Sannino (2010) and Nuttall (2013) explain that the DWR methodology makes cultural practices and shared languages apparent, enabling participants to identify and investigate their own circumstances. Even during conversations where one of the kaiako might be expressing a sense of failure in an aspect of their practice, the fact that the practices were being discussed in the context of an activity system provided a safe context for exploring issues and successes alike. During a discussion about speaking te reo Māori every day where the CHAT triangles were being populated with ideas, Sarah commented that "CHAT breaks things down and it makes a huge difference" (Final hui). The systematic and structured conversations in each change lab, using the CHAT triangle, externalised thinking and supported the emergence of shared understandings which in turn motivated individuals to make change together. There was a deliberate slowing down and coordinating of participants' learning. Contemplating their shared activity system helped individuals understand and express their motives for practice, through this process they were able to develop their teaching together and understand why and how they could achieve their goals.

Sannino (2022) explains that DWR provides for the strengths of individuals, bringing these to a collective context and using them to guide changes, motivate transformation, and to respond to collective goals. This was the experience of kaiako in this study as they realised how their individual characteristics and capabilities impacted positively on the team's shared pursuit of effective and sustained bicultural practices. A conversation about collaboration as the driving force of their learning that took place in the final hui for the project was significant. Kaiako commented that they valued "being together" and "doing [the research project] as collaboration" (Sarah, final hui). Their supported ongoing analyses of mirror data helped kaiako become aware of conditions in the system that could help or hinder their goals. Stetsenko (2013, as cited in Sales et al., 2020) calls this way of interacting "collectividual practice" (p. 281). We believe kaiako in this project used the DWR change labs to 'collectividually' understand what bicultural practices meant, how they might achieve them, and what might need to change in the activity system of their work if they were to succeed.

Engeström and Sannino (2010) claim that the process of making changes to practice happens when there is an "orchestration" (p.5) of ideas, voices, and interventions. In Roberta's study, supported analysis of mirror data enabled kaiako to orchestrate numerous ways to speak and learn te reo Māori every day. This constant orchestration also served two other very important purposes. First, it made the intentions of kaiako visible to the broader learning community of their setting, inviting suggestions and participation from them. Second, it created an environment where mokopuna could exercise their agency, realise their rights, and share their expertise within their local curriculum. The deliberate choice of using 'collectividual practice' to design curriculum gave the whole community agency to exercise their right to contribute to teaching and learning.

As we write this paper just over two years after the end of the study, the strategy of using the glass door to support new language is still being used by the teaching team and the ongoing pursuit of effective and sustained bicultural curriculum remains. Engeström (2001), Engeström and Sannino (2010, 2021) and Sannino (2022) argue that sustaining desired changes becomes realistic

when everyone involved in the activity being analysed during change labs understands the practice, the desired change, and are active participants in the changes. Whānau and community are still active participants in the setting's local curriculum, giving their time and expertise to the kindergarten on a regular basis to help sustain and grow bicultural curriculum in that place. Kaiako and children are still learning and making connections together as their understandings of mātauraka Māori and use of te reo Māori grows. Roberta's study documented a teaching team's professional learning as they made good on their commitment to understanding what bicultural teaching was and how they could sustain it.

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this paper we described how UNCRC (UN, 1989), UNDRIP (UN, 2007) and *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) provide for children's rights to bicultural early childhood education in Aotearoa. As international policies and the ECE curriculum framework respectively, they recognise and prioritise the protection of indigenous cultures and traditions. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand such documentation urges adults to be intentional in maximising contexts where mokopuna can experience bicultural learning. According to *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) this is more likely to happen when there is an

> understanding of a world view that emphasises the child's whakapapa connection to Māori creation, across Te Kore, te pō, te ao mārama, atua Māori and tīpuna. All children should be able to access te reo Māori in their ECE setting, as kaiako weave te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into the everyday curriculum (p. 13).

The group of kaiako in Roberta's study resonated with this statement from *Te Whāriki*. For them, the way to connect with te ao Māori and to uphold children's rights to bicultural curriculum was by prioritising the use te reo Māori every day and this is what they worked at during the study.

We discussed how the activist, collective, and on-going nature of DWR created opportunities for participants to analyse, scrutinise and change their practice as they worked on their objectives and desired outcome over time. DWR afforded kaiako a practical and achievable process for investigating, understanding, and improving their collective practice. The systematic process used in change labs provide participants time and space to develop trust and to engage in the kind of risk taking needed for professional learning. The change lab process required few resources beyond an external facilitator, a process, data gathering means, and regular time to meet. Even without large scale policy initiatives, localised learning and positive change can ensue. To scale this work across the sector, leaders and policy-makers must support sustained, collaborative PLD that embeds the kind of self-reflexive and analytical practice of the change lab method into daily routines. Working across the whole of the learning community, including with mana whenua must also remain a priority. Evidence from the study has shown that DWR motivates teacher learning through ongoing collaboration and the supported and systemic analysis of practice where everyone contributes with their own 'collectividuality'. Given the collaborative nature of the ECE sector, DWR is a useful and relevant tool for the development

of professional practice; and in this case too, an effective tool for promoting positive changes towards implementing a bicultural curriculum, a right each and every mokopuna in this country.

## Study strengths and limitations

This was a small scale, single-site study of teacher professional learning, it cannot be generalised but insights from the close description of practice may be inferred. Mirror data was a strength as it brought evidence of actual practice in the participants own activity system to the analysis which participants could connect with and promote change from. The longitudinal aspect of the study – meaning the repeated change labs with their supported and structured analysis were features of the study that produced robust data.

Ultimately, this paper has argued that children's rights are directly impacted by the work of adults. The team of kaiako in Roberta's study embarked on a conscious journey to promote and sustain bicultural curriculum in their kindergarten. The framework of DWR made their intentions clear to the whole community – mokopuna and their whānau and beyond. That enabled everyone to contribute to change adding their own personal flavour to the construction of their local and bicultural curriculum.

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