Manaaki Whenua. Manaaki Tangata: Care for the land, care for the people

Leading critical school reform with mana whenua and whānau Māori

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Abstract

Education disparities between Māori and Pākehā students in Aotearoa, have their origins in colonial education policies and practices which considerably advantaged Pākehā students and compromised the ability of Māori students to engage with learning and succeed. Despite the promises of equality inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi, this historical foundation has, for over 150 years, perpetuated intergenerational cycles of education failure for Māori resulting in high levels of endemic social and economic disadvantage in many Māori communities.

This thesis examines the leadership praxis of two Pākehā principals, to understand how, with more respectful connections with Māori communities, they were able to address education disparities and facilitate success for Māori students as Māori. Culturally responsive research methodologies guided two, in-depth case studies which employed mixed methods.

Two collaborative stories, with the voices of mana whenua and whānau Māori, identified the importance of school leaders developing critical levels of consciousness, through authentic, bidirectional relationships with Māori communities. These relationships enabled the principals to understand the authentic local, pre-colonial iwi histories of the land. This in turn fostered connections between the schools and local Māori communities that enabled them to collaboratively respond to the implications of colonisation.

The thesis challenges the monocultural, monolingual, unidirectional policies and practices that characterise the current model of colonial education. It presents instead a decolonising model of critical school reform and a framework for implementation and evaluation. It contends that honouring the Treaty of Waitangi requires an equity focused response with power sharing relationships, critically led by principals alongside Māori communities.

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It has been a privilege to write this thesis, which captures both historical and contemporary stories that span centuries. I was gifted with these stories then guided and enabled to tell them by many people whom I wish to acknowledge.

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I am blessed with beautiful parents, Hugh and Agnes, who have always expected and supported me to work hard, act with integrity and to do what is right. Our whānau story is captured in this thesis. It is a story of bicultural potential that I am immensely proud of. I am eternally grateful for everything that you have done and that you and my sister Maree and my brother Michael continue to do, so that I can learn and grow.

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Look to the past to understand the present and embrace the potential of the future.

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Chapter 1: Culture, language, mana and land

Toi tu te kupu, toi tu te mana, toi tu te whenua

Hold fast to our culture, for without language, without mana and without land, the essence of being a Māori would no longer exist

Introducing the thesis

Each chapter in this thesis opens with a whakataukī which is a proverb derived from Māori ways of knowing and being. Māori is the collectivising term for the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand, hence forth referred to as Aotearoa (translated as the land of the long white cloud, the pre-colonial name for New Zealand). The primary status that whakataukī have in each chapter is intentional as I have sought to position this thesis and the narratives within te ao Māori (a Māori worldview). Each whakataukī has been specifically selected so that the essence of the proverb resonates with the key messages in each chapter. The centring of Māori sense-making and Māori language in this thesis are also deliberate, personal acts of indigenous scholarship, as I endeavour to decolonise my own sense-making and practice.

The whakataukī that sets the conceptual frame for this chapter, articulates the importance of retaining language, mana (ascribed prestige, power and authority) and land in order to maintain the essence of being Māori. The tenor of this proverb strongly connects to this research which explores amongst other themes, the interrelationship between culture, language, mana, land and the essence of being Māori within the context of education.

The ancestors of Māori, who signed a treaty in 1840 that enabled Europeans to settle in Aotearoa, believed that they were entering into a constitutional agreement that would safeguard their way of knowing and being including their language, mana and land (Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2015; Orange, 2004; Walker, 2004). Despite this constitutional agreement however, once the European population was numerically dominant, they focused on eliminating the Māori language and confiscating Māori land so that the essence of being Māori was suppressed, or tragically for many it was lost (Berryman, 2008; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Walker, 1973, 2004).

While education in Aotearoa has evolved over the past 150 years, the inequitable foundations of the establishment of formal education, that advanced Pākehā (collectivising term for people

of European descent) and disadvantaged Māori, has resulted in successive generations of Māori who achieve less well or fail in greater numbers when compared with Pākehā students (Bishop, Berryman, Taikiwai, & Richardson, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007; Hattie, 2003; Walker, 1973). This situation has not changed, as recently as 2018, the underachievement of Māori students was described by one of the government's most senior education officials, the Secretary for Education, as being chronic, intractable and systemic (Radio New Zealand, 2018).

The disparities in education outcomes have considerable implications across Aotearoa with Māori being overrepresented in the negative indices of society including high rates of unemployment, low-skilled and thus low paying employment, poverty, incarceration, and poor health (Bishop, O'Sullivan & Berryman, 2010; Schulze & Green, 2017). These statistics illustrate a 'dis-equal' (Love, 2000) society which sits in stark contrast to Māori civilisation prior to colonisation and this picture is also the anthesis of the constitutional equality that the Māori signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi envisaged.

Since 1989 a range of policies that began with *Tomorrow's Schools* (Department of Education, 1988) have been developed to encourage schools to engage and work more effectively with the whānau (families) of children and their wider communities in an effort to improve education success. Despite this expectation being mandated in policies for decades and research that demonstrates how learning can be accelerated when schools develop powerful connections with Māori whānau and communities (Alton-Lee, Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009; Berryman, 2001), the Ministry of Education conceded in 2010, that when it comes to engaging with whānau, many schools "do not know how best to go about establishing learning partnerships" (p.28).

Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success (Ministry of Education, 2008a) the Māori education strategy was an important policy published in 2008, that included a focus on whānau and iwi. The vision of this strategy was and remains "Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori" (p.14), which resonates with the chapter's opening whakataukī because it envisages that success in education will be achieved, and the essence of being Māori will be maintained.

The vision of Ka Hikitia also resonated with me in 2008 as I reflected on my own experiences of education from multiple perspectives. These experiences include being a bicultural student

in the English-medium[1], state system between the 1970s and 1990s; a teacher and a senior leader in the same English-medium system; currently a parent of bicultural children in English-medium; a Board of Trustees member; and an educational researcher. Through these experiences I concluded that further research in Aotearoa is required to address disparities in education and the subsequent dis-equal society that has emerged from colonisation. This doctoral research sought to better understand how school leaders might work in more effective ways with Māori whānau and communities to facilitate educational success for Māori students. It applied culturally responsive methodologies and incorporated case study and mixed methods research to examine two communities within which I had existing respectful relationships with two Pākehā principals. The perspectives of the two principals and predominantly Māori members of each school community were gathered through a series of interviews as conversations. Two questions were posed for each group:

Principal questions:

1. What experiences do you have of connecting with Māori whānau and community members?

2. What have you learned from these experiences in terms of what has been effective and what has not been effective?

Māori whānau and community questions:

1. What experiences do you have of connecting with your principal and the school?

2. What have you learned from these experiences in terms of what has been effective for you and what has not?

The responses to these questions were triangulated and then considered alongside historical documents, school documents and in one case, quantitative sets of data. The narratives in each chapter were then collaboratively co-constructed through a series of ongoing dialogic encounters in each community.

This thesis is organised in ten chapters. This first chapter introduces and contextualises the research topic and questions. Chapter two presents a positionality statement which locates me in my tribal history and positions my own story within this research. Chapter three describes

[1] Schools where the predominant language of instruction is English

the origins of Māori epistemologies and ontologies and explains how Māori established themselves as the tangata whenua (first peoples of the land) of Aotearoa. It also examines European settlement in Aotearoa, the ongoing implications of colonisation and current research which provides some insight into how inequities in education can be addressed. Chapter four explains the culturally responsive methodologies that guided the application of methods that were employed in this research to gather and analyse the data. Chapters five and six present the historical and contemporary narratives of the Maungatapu Primary School community. Chapter seven details both the historical and contemporary narratives of the Rotorua Boys High School community and chapter eight presents a specific whānau-school intervention that was undertaken in this community. In chapter nine the findings from the two case studies are synthesised and presented in a discussion. Chapter ten outlines the wider implications of the findings and presents a decolonising model of critical school reform.

This thesis seeks to bring about better understandings of school leadership theories and practices that enable and maintain interdependent, mutually beneficial relationships between schools and Māori whānau and communities. It is hoped that these findings will provide some insight for others to critically reflect on their own contexts and consider how these theories and practices might be understood and applied. Such endeavours could increase the likelihood, that more Māori students and communities can hold fast to their culture, language, mana and land so that the essence of being Māori can be maintained.

Chapter 2: Ko wai au – Who am I?

He iti pioke nō Rangaunu, he au tōna

Although it is only a small shark from Rangaunu, beware, it has a wake

Ko Kurahaupō tōku waka - Kurahaupō is my canoe

Ko Tohoraha rāua ko Puwheke ngā maunga - Tohoraha and Puwheke are my mountains

Ko Rangaunu tōku moana - Rangaunu is my harbour

Ko Awanui tōku awa - Awanui is my river

Ko Waimanoni tōku marae - Waimanoni is my tribal meeting place

Ko Ngāi Takoto te iwi - Ngāi Takoto is my tribe

Introduction

The whakataukī that opens this chapter is well known amongst my iwi (tribe) Ngāi Takoto. The message expresses the idea that while the pioke, is a small shark that inhabits our ancestral harbour, Rangaunu, it leaves a wake when it swims. The small size of the shark is representative of Ngāi Takoto which is a small iwi, in comparison to other iwi in Aotearoa. This proverb therefore captures the notion, that while we are small, we do have agency and can have influence. This doctoral thesis explores my own agency and influence as well as the agency and influence of two principals and the Māori communities with whom they worked. This whakataukī therefore resonated with this chapter which is a positionality statement that locates me in my tribal history and positions my own story within the context of this research.

My tribal proverb is followed by my pepeha (tribal introduction) which articulates my whakapapa (genealogy) links to the waka (canoe) Kurahaupō which brought some of my ancestors from Hawaiki, the ancient homeland of Māori, to Aotearoa. It also describes the important geographical features associated with the waka and my iwi who settled and established themselves in the Far North region of Aotearoa. The chapter explains my bicultural whakapapa and my experiences of English-medium education as a student, teacher, school leader, parent, Board of Trustee member and educational researcher. It then concludes with my position and rationale for this doctoral research.

My whakapapa

While numerous waka are associated with the Far North, I understand from my own tribal narratives that the waka Kurahaupō and its captain Pōhihurihanga have the strongest connection to this territory. Traditions state that as the waka Kurahaupō approached the upper North Island Pōhurihanga exclaimed, "Anana ko Muri o te whenua! Muriwhenua! Behold the end of the land! Land's End!" (Norman, 1989, p. 194). Consequently, Muriwhenua is the name that defines the most northern tribal territory of Aotearoa and the iwi located within this area.

As articulated in my pepeha, I have whakapapa connections to at least one Muriwhenua iwi: Ngāi Takoto. While it is possible that I have affiliations to other iwi, in this pepeha, only the geographic features associated with Ngāi Takoto are identified. The reason for this is provided after the following explanation of Ngāi Takoto.

Two distinctive mountains Tohoraha and Puwheke sit within the ancestral lands of Ngāi Takoto. These lands are positioned within close proximity to Rangaunu harbour and the Awanui river. The central Ngāi Takoto settlement of Waimanoni is where the papakāinga (original home-base) of my whānau is situated. Waimanoni is also the name of my marae (tribal meeting complex). I was born in Muriwhenua in the 1970s and was the firstborn child for my bicultural (Māori and Pākehā) parents.

I inherit my Māori whakapapa from my mother who was born and raised in Waimanoni. My maternal grandmother descends from Awarau whose name translates to many rivers. Awarau was the last paramount chief of Ngāi Takoto and was also amongst the first chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding constitutional document of Aotearoa in 1840. Following the signing of the Treaty, the population and subsequent influence of European missionaries in Muriwhenua increased considerably. Awarau developed relationships with the Anglican missionary settlers and later became an Anglican. He was baptised Rawiri Awarau and thus adopted the European convention of having a Christian (or first) name and a surname. This adoption of European conventions went further when the missionaries encouraged him to Anglicise his name to David Rivers. As a consequence of this encouragement my grandmother's whānau claimed the English surname Rivers, rather than Awarau for over a century.

After the Treaty was signed, the amicable relationship between Europeans and the iwi of Muriwhenua became strained in the 1850s when ownership of land in the area increasingly passed from Māori to Pākehā (Cloher, 2002). In the 1860s the determined colonisation of

Aotearoa was considerably altering Māori communities and by 1865, much of Ngāi Takoto land had been alienated from their ownership with the exception of a number of reserves (Marsden, 2011).

While my grandmother did have whakapapa links into other iwi, her strongest connections were with Ngāi Takoto and as a whānau we have maintained these links. The strength of these connections is unsurprising given that we have retained continuous guardianship of our papakāinga in the Ngāi Takoto heartland of Waimanoni. The continuity of our connection with our land however, did not ensure that our whānau was insulated against some of the implications of colonisation. My mother is one of eight children. Only one of her siblings can speak te reo Māori (Māori language) and many of us in the successive generations are currently engaged in the process of learning te reo and simultaneously revitalising our tribal epistemologies and ontologies.

My maternal grandfather descends from a mother who was also of bicultural heritage and a father who was Māori. My great-grandmother's paternal ancestors migrated from England in the 1840s and by 1880, the period following the land wars and subsequent land confiscations (which will be discussed in the next chapter) they had settled in Victoria Valley, a small settlement on the southern border of Muriwhenua. While my whānau has undertaken research to better understand this side of our whakapapa, we are unable to verify how my great-grandmother's English ancestors obtained land in Victoria Valley. Her death certificate stipulates that her mother was Māori and that she had links to Ngāti Taranga, a hapū (sub-tribe) that descends from Ngāti Kahu iwi. Similarly, we know little about my great-grandfather other than the fact that he was Māori and his death certificate also details Ngāti Taranga as his hapū. Our research however, has not been able to authenticate our connections to Ngāti Taranga for either of my great-grandparents or confirm our connections to other iwi. This means that we are unable to confidently identify and claim our whakapapa links on this side of our whānau.

My grandfather met and married my grandmother in the 1940s when they lived in Auckland, a large city 300 kilometres south of Muriwhenua. My grandparents were part of a major urban migration that occurred in Aotearoa between the late 1930s and 1980s. This migration saw many Māori leave their rural, ancestral settlements to pursue employment and gain access to government services that were largely concentrated in urban centres where the majority of the non-Māori population were located (Te Ara, 2019a). This urban relocation of Māori individuals and whānau created a physical separation between themselves and their ancestral

homelands and people. Now decades on from this period of history many Māori remain dislocated from their whenua (land) and iwi.

My grandparents returned to Muriwhenua in the early 1950s. My grandfather was not provided with the opportunity to settle in Victoria Valley and as a consequence my grandparents established their home and raised their whānau on my grandmother's ancestral land in Waimanoni. While my mother recalls visiting her father's whānau in Victoria Valley, she noticed that her father's whānau did not associate with the iwi, have contact with the marae or in fact have any connection with any aspect of being Māori. This disconnection between the whānau and the mana whenua was reinforced when some members of my grandfather's whānau died and their tangihanga (a ritual held on a marae to mourn and then bury the dead) was held on our marae in Waimanoni, not on the marae in Victoria Valley.

The pre-colonial history of my grandfather's whānau continues to be a mystery for us that we hope to resolve through our ongoing research. Unfortunately, this is not an uncommon scenario for many Māori in Aotearoa who through the process of colonisation became separated from their land and tribal people.

My father is Pākehā who inherits his European lineage from Ireland. His great-grandparents and grandparents left Ireland in the latter half of the 1800s to escape the implications of British colonisation, and find a better life in Aotearoa. My paternal grandmother's family established themselves in the lower central North Island region of Wanganui, while my paternal grandfather's parents began married life in Invercargill in the Southland region of the South Island. My paternal, great-grandfather was a land surveyor in the 1890s and they relocated to Palmerston North in the lower central North Island where, in 1892, he drew a ballot in the Ballance Land Settlement Scheme. This scheme was named after the Wanganui Member of Parliament John Ballance who introduced the Land Act 1885 (Te Ara, 2019b) which sought to settle European people on the land. They achieved this by confiscating land and allocating this land to these settlers. At the same time, associated government policies denied the restoration of land to Māori and facilitated ongoing land confiscation from many iwi (Gilling, 1994). As a result of the land scheme ballot my great-grandfather acquired land in rural Taranaki (a region on the west coast) where the family have owned and farmed the land since 1898.

My paternal grandparents met and settled in Taranaki where my father was raised. As a young adult in the early 1970s, he travelled north to Muriwhenua to work in the forestry industry. He

worked and socialised with many members of my mother's extended whānau and it was through these connections that they met and later married.

My first year of life was spent in Muriwhenua and it was of great comfort to my mother that she was raising her first child within her ancestral homelands and in close proximity to her parents and extended whānau. Employment advancement opportunities for my father however, meant that our whānau moved south to the central North Island region known as the King Country just before my second birthday. This was a considerable transition for my mother to move so far away from her papakāinga and throughout my childhood my parents made a determined effort to maintain close contact and return to our whenua, iwi and marae.

Our whānau expanded with the arrival of my sister when I was four and my brother when I was eight. We frequently travelled considerable distances back to Waimanoni for holidays, birthdays, grave-stone unveilings and to participate in tangihanga. Regardless of whether the occasion was to celebrate or to grieve, these trips were always an important means of reconnecting us with our Māori world – both the people and the place.

Similarly, we spent holidays in Taranaki with our paternal grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins. Our Irish origins were a source of pride for our Pākehā family and the Catholic faith had a strong influence, therefore family prayers and a roast lunch after a Sunday morning church service were important rituals when we came together. As a young child I aligned being Catholic with my Pākehā identity because religious cultural practices were very much a part of our familial bond just as hui (a group gathering) and hangi (food cooked in an earth oven) were part of gatherings in Waimanoni.

My siblings and me had a strong sense of both our Māori and Pākehā cultural identity and we were encouraged by our parents to be proud of our dual cultural lineage. I certainly did proudly claim my bicultural identity at home, or whenever we were in Waimanoni, however, this was not the case in my school environment.

My experience of school

Like all parents, my Mum and Dad wanted my siblings and I to enjoy and achieve at school. While I was not miserable at school, I do not believe that my parents understood how challenging it was to be a bicultural child in English-medium schooling during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and the degree to which my language, culture and identity as Māori were constantly being undermined. Ironically, biculturalism was the policy that underpinned education at that

time although this was not reflected in my lived experiences. While I do not feel that I would have presented as an anxious student at school, I was frequently monitoring my cultural safety. At primary school for example, I recall working in a reading group where the shared text focused on blood types. When we were discussing what we understood about the blood types, the teacher felt it necessary to point out to the reading group that my blood would be darker than everyone else's because I was Māori. I remember my heart dropping and my face burning red from shame because although the intention of this remark may not have been to insult me, the looks of intrigue (or perhaps pity) that I observed from everyone sitting around the circle confirmed for me that this point of difference was *not* a good thing. This experience is the first recollection I have of consciously understanding that defining myself as 'Pākehā' was likely to be less shameful and therefore safer than being Māori. Consequently, rather than positioning myself as Māori, or claiming both lineages I firmly positioned myself as Pākehā and 'blended' into the safety of the majority cultural group during my primary school years.

The other indications that I interpreted from my primary school education, that reinforced for me that it was better to be Pākehā, were not so much about what teachers said or did, but more importantly, what they did not say or do. While I remember studying other countries and their respective cultures (during the Olympic games), completing a project on Medieval England and wearing green on St Patrick's day, at no time in my primary school education do I recall discussing or learning about anything associated with Māori. I consequently got a very clear message about the value and marginalised place of Māori people and culture in education – Māori were located outside of the school gate, and virtually invisible within.

The ethnic demographic of my secondary school was completely different from my primary school. It was large, with the majority of students being of either Māori or Pacific Island (Samoan or Cook Island) descent with Pākehā students being the minority. In the first few weeks I remember sensing a large and very heavy question mark sitting above my 'identity'. Some would say that such a feeling would be typical for any emerging adolescent, but the aspect of ethnicity is not necessarily an implication that all teenagers need to consider. I knew that I was Māori – the trips back to Waimanoni had given me a strong sense of belonging to my whenua and within my whānau and my iwi. I knew that I was Māori, but at primary school I had learnt that it was better to participate as Pākehā. Therefore, I felt very confused at secondary school when I was suddenly provided with the opportunity to take te reo Māori as a curriculum subject and perform in a kapa haka group (Māori cultural performing arts group). When

confronted with the decision to take up either or both of these opportunities (or not), I recall drifting between two distinct states of terror and guilt.

The thought of learning te reo Māori and performing in a Māori cultural group terrified me for two reasons. In the first instance, I was comfortable being Māori within my home and back in Waimanoni, but I had learnt that my Māori identity did not have a place in school and I simply did not have the courage to abandon the safety of being Pākehā. Second, despite the firm connections that I had with my iwi, I did not have the confidence that I noticed in other students who appeared to be very comfortable being Māori or from the Pacific Islands at school and this made me feel that I was essentially not 'Māori enough' to engage in either of these learning opportunities.

As mentioned, my Māori mother and my Pākehā father had always encouraged me to feel proud of my bicultural identity and they certainly encouraged me to choose Māori as a subject option. On the surface it appeared to be a simple and straightforward choice – I had an opportunity to merge my iwi and whānau experiences and knowledge with my formal education. However, what my parents did not understand (and I did not understand it at the time either) was that each day, I left my Māori identity at the school gate and even though this secondary school gave me an invitation – I did not have the confidence and I certainly did not know *how* to bring my Māori identity in to school. I know that my parents were disappointed when I chose not to study Māori and this made me feel guilty. Nevertheless, I succumbed to the terror and suppressed the guilt and did not select te reo Māori as a subject option.

I never disclosed to my parents, the discomfort and confusion I often felt when Māori people, language and culture were marginalised and frequently pathologised by my Pākehā teachers and peers. I'm certain that my teachers were not aware of the challenges that I was negotiating every day. If they did notice this – it is not something they raised with my parents. However, in recent years, as my own critical consciousness has increased, I have contemplated, if my parents did understand what I was experiencing, what *would* or *could* they have done to improve my educational experiences?

From this reflective question, other questions have emerged as I have sought to understand the place and value of whānau in the education of Māori children. The focus on the whānau of Māori children engaged in English-medium schooling, is drawn from my own experience as a student, teacher, school leader and mother. I know from these experiences that English-medium education settings have not always honoured and promoted the language, culture and identity

of children who have Māori whakapapa, rather they have sought to assimilate and suppress it. I have sought to explore the historical patterns and practices of parental-whānau engagement with schools in my own whānau as well as the patterns of engagement with Māori whānau that I perpetuated in my own practice as a teacher and school leader. I have also undertaken research (Ford, 2010) to better understand how school leaders can be more responsive to Māori students and their whānau and most recently I have been considering the patterns of engagement that I experience as a mother of two bicultural children, who are currently engaged in English-medium education. These experiences form the genesis of this doctoral research.

Historical practices of whānau-school connections

My Māori grandmother was educated in the 1930s when the policy imperative of education was assimilation. This meant that while she had been a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, which was the language spoken by her whānau in her home and throughout the community of Waimanoni, speaking te reo at school was prohibited. Learners who spoke te reo at school were physically punished by teachers. This was a normal and completely acceptable practice in schools reinforcing the ideology that teachers had the power to determine the language of instruction, the conventions for discipline, the curriculum and the terms by which parents connected with and contributed to the school. According to my mother, my grandmother seldom spoke about school and she is quite confident that my great-grandparents maintained a distance, rather than connected with the school in that era.

When my mother attended school in the 1950s and 1960s she recalls that there were very limited opportunities for her own parents to be involved in and contribute to her education. This meant that they were also largely absent from the school setting, although during her primary school years my grandfather was on the school committee and did assist with school working bees and preparation for school hangi. While the opportunities for engagement were limited, upon reflection my mother also questions how comfortable her parents felt in the school setting given my grandmother's own experiences of education. Even though education policy had progressed from assimilation to integration which sought to acknowledge and integrate selected aspects of Māori culture into schools, my mother saw little evidence of this. The socially accepted notion, that schools and classrooms were exclusively the domain of teachers was maintained and my mother felt that this probably contributed to the lack of connection that existed between whānau and the school. When my mother began secondary school, the distance between her home and school increased both literally and figuratively to the point that she felt that there was no

connection between her whānau and the school. Neither my mother nor any of her seven siblings completed secondary school.

As I have reflected on my own experiences of whānau-school connections, which began over 20 years after my mother attended school, I do not believe that it was markedly different from her experience. This is despite that fact that a major school reform policy, Tomorrow's Schools was introduced at the end of the 1980s. Tomorrow's Schools heralded the arrival of Boards of Trustees providing a formal institution whereby parents, community members and principals assumed responsibility for governing and managing schools (Wylie, 1989, 2007). It was envisaged that Boards of Trustees would make school more effective for Māori and bring schools and communities together to facilitate the development of, "a deeper partnership between school staff and the parents of children at the school" (Wylie, 1989, p. 1). From my own perspective, the introduction of self-managing schools had virtually no impact on the nature of the relationships that my parents had with my schools and therefore did not in any way enhance my, nor my parents' sense of connection within my schools. My teachers and the school principal determined when and how my parents participated in my learning and how they engaged with the school. Providing me with support with homework, receiving my annual school report and attending parent teacher interviews each year, to hear what teachers had to say about my progress, constituted the extent to which the school involved my whānau in my education.

Although my schools did not prioritise whānau-school connections, I managed to gain the standard secondary school qualifications that existed in the 1990s and after four years of tertiary education I received a Diploma of Teaching and a Bachelor of Education. My success in education was widely celebrated in my whānau particularly amongst my mother's whānau. I was the first person from our whakapapa lineage to complete secondary school and the first to attend university and graduate with tertiary qualifications. It was not until several years later however, that I would come to understand the extent to which my Māori cultural identity had been compromised, in pursuit of the education success, that we were all celebrating.

After leaving university I became a classroom teacher in the English-medium state system that I had graduated from and made steady progress up the educational and professional hierarchy, assuming my first senior leadership position of Assistant Principal after seven years of teaching. Among other benefits, senior leadership represented the opportunity to have some agency and influence over school systems and practices. However, in my early years of school leadership,

I did little to change systems and practices and instead unwittingly found myself perpetuating existing patterns of whānau-school engagement.

Teaching and leadership experience of whānau-school connections

In the schools where I held leadership positions in the early 2000s, the practices for engaging with whānau that I enacted were identical to those that my whānau had experienced when I was a child. Parents were invited 'in' for information evenings, assemblies and parent interviews. Special meetings were also called if there were concerns about learning and behaviour that we as teachers or senior leaders felt parents should hear about. We also asked parents to coach teams and provide parent help for excursions outside of school. All of these practices for engaging with families were determined by the school and as the school's leaders we believed this was appropriate and worked very well for us. I have no recollection of ever checking to understand if these practices worked well for whānau. Even though we were cognisant of the fact that Māori whānau were often underrepresented at information evenings and parent interviews, we did not actively seek to understand why or try alternative approaches. There were however, pervasive deficit discourses articulated by teachers and leaders to speculate why Māori whānau did not attend. I was complicit in these discourses given that I did not question or challenge the dominant cultural conditions that were normalised in my schools.

In terms of parental agency, there were some opportunities where whānau could determine their engagement. They could for example initiate a meeting with a teacher or school leader. Additionally, they could join the school Parent-Teacher Association to manage fundraising initiatives and every three years, parents could also put themselves forward to be elected by the school community to be on the Board of Trustees. In my experience however, whānau of Māori children were seldom represented on the Boards of Trustees at the schools that I worked in. This raises implications associated with election systems in a democratic society where minority groups (non-Pākehā) are often further marginalised. In my experience, when these groups were represented, it was usually as a result of a co-option. In these cases, someone felt that a Māori perspective was important to have at the school's governance level, although, this was just a single position and in one example that I observed, the Māori person did not have voting rights.

Apart from holding whānau hui for teachers or school leaders to raise issues of interest for the whānau of Māori learners who enrolled in the bilingual[2] classes we did not provide any opportunities for specifically engaging Māori whānau whose children participated in English-medium schooling. We did not even consider that doing such a thing was necessary and important. This is despite the fact that in every school that I worked in, achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā students characterised our achievement trends, with Māori students achieving less well than Pākehā as well as being overrepresented in remedial learning interventions, behaviour programmes, absenteeism, stand-downs and exclusions.

Based on my own experiences of being a Māori student in English-medium education, I knew these schools could be uncomfortable, isolating and, at times, frightening places to be in. However, years later I did not critically interrogate our school practices or work to connect with the whānau of these children to seek solutions or improve their schooling experiences. As well as not recognising the potential of whānau to connect with and contribute to the school, I was also oblivious to the potential advantages of engaging with the iwi and hapū of the Māori children my schools. While we had started to gather data about which iwi children belonged to in the early 2000s, I did not know who the local hapū was in any of the schools where I worked. While I could find out the iwi of Māori children by either asking them or accessing the school data management system, I do not recall that I ever did. It never occurred to me that it might be important or even relevant in any of my practices as a teacher or a school leader. It was not until I had my own child, that I recognised the critical importance and potential of whānau-school connections.

The year I was appointed to be an Assistant Principal coincided with the pregnancy of my first child. Becoming a mother changed and challenged the way I viewed myself as a person, particularly a Māori person. Given that my husband is Pākehā, I considered the potential implications of this for my daughter, who, from a European perspective might be considered to be 'less Māori' than me. Becoming a mother also had an impact on the way I saw myself as a teacher and school leader. I became critically aware of how much I was changing and how challenged I was in 2006 after accepting a position as Deputy Principal at a school where Māori students reflected 70% of the ethnic composition. The achievement of these Māori students was consistent with the national disparities described earlier. Many Māori students were not

[2] Contexts where Māori and English are the mediums of instruction and aspects of the learning programme are underpinned by Māori principles and values.

meeting national expectations in literacy and numeracy and their achievement was lower than that of their Pākehā peers. In my role as a school leader, addressing this situation was my responsibility so I began seeking solutions in research and literature.

In 2006, propositions made by prominent Māori scholar Sir Mason Durie in 2001, at an education summit of iwi leaders known as the Hui Taumata Mātauranga, were starting to influence the discourses heard within English-medium education settings. At that summit Durie (2001) proposed that a broad goal of education should be to enable "Māori to live as Māori" (p. 4). I was intrigued by this proposition and the specific explanation Durie offered:

> To the extent that the purpose of education is to prepare people for participation in society, it needs to be remembered that preparation for participation in Māori society is also required. If after twelve or so years of formal education a Māori youth were totally unprepared to interact within te ao Māori (the Māori world), then no matter what else had been learned, their education would have been incomplete..... it is equally unreasonable to assume that the education sector should ignore the meaning of being Māori and not accept some obligation to prepare students for active lives within Māori society, not simply to learn about Māori but to live as Māori (p. 349-350).

On a personal level two critical words in this statement 'as Māori' absolutely challenged me and certainly caused me to pause and think very carefully about myself and then my daughter. From a European perspective, my own academic record would verify that I had been an educational success however, following Durie's contentions, I realised I did not at any time achieve this success 'as Māori'. I held fast to my Pākehā identity for the entire 12 years of my schooling, therefore, according to Durie (2001) – my education had in fact been incomplete. Since then I have painfully accepted that I was a Māori student in English-medium education who achieved education success – *as Pākehā*.

As an adult, I had begun to reconcile the insecurities I had about my identity as a child and I felt more comfortable about claiming both my Māori and Pākehā identity – all of the time. Consequently, it was extremely hard to look at myself and accept that from a Māori perspective – I might not be an educational success. The profound impact of this has been the realisation that this same situation is *not* what I want for my own children or for other Māori children. While this realisation caused some personal disruption, it also had implications for me on a professional level.

In a professional sense I found Durie's (2001) description of the purpose of education and the responsibilities of those who work within the system to be very confronting. For me, it was a

revelation and an alien way of conceptualising education. I had never before considered the notion that education should allow Māori students to be Māori. I certainly had not thought that as a teacher I had a responsibility to prepare Māori and non-Māori students to interact with and participate in the Māori world. In retrospect, I would suggest that I did not really consider what Durie was suggesting because my own education had certainly not achieved this purpose. I realised at this point, that if schools were going to be contexts that contributed to the preparation of Māori students for active lives within Māori society and to live as Māori, then relationships and connections between schools and the whānau and communities of Māori students were essential. I saw little evidence in the community that I lived in, that this realisation was widespread amongst school leaders in English-medium settings. This was one of the catalysts for me to engage in my own research.

Undertaking research

In an effort to improve my own leadership practice to better respond to the challenge proposed by Durie (2001), to ensure schools equipped Māori children to live as Māori, I returned to post-graduate study and undertook a Masters thesis in 2010. This research investigated the leadership practices of a Pākehā principal whose school reflected a setting where many Māori students were achieving education success. Specifically, I sought to explore what the principal understood about culturally responsive leadership and how she enacted these understandings.

This Masters research identified three distinct and interrelated strategies that characterised the principal's leadership practice. These strategies included prioritising the development of face-to-face relationships; establishing systems and structures to support the development of relationships; and creating a culture of learning within the school community (Ford, 2010). This small-scale research project provided me with some understandings of the types of leadership practices that support Māori student success, however, I was interested in exploring further the nature of the principal's relationships and connections with the Māori whānau and the Māori community. At the conclusion of this research, while I was contemplating further research, I accepted an employment opportunity to join the Te Kotahitanga (unity of purpose) professional development and research team at the University of Waikato.

Te Kotahitanga focused on supporting secondary school leaders and teachers to develop more culturally responsive pedagogical and leadership practices in order to increase the engagement and achievement of Māori students. My specific position in the project team was established to trial whānau-school literacy interventions that had been successfully implemented in

research undertaken by Berryman (2001) and reported in the school leadership best evidence synthesis (Alton-Lee, Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd, 2009). Consequently, my role was to provide specialised professional development to school leadership teams, to develop their capacity to collaborate with Māori whānau and communities.

While I was undertaking some professional employment changes that enabled me to advance my research interests into the area of whānau-school connections, I was also considering some changes in my personal life. My second daughter had arrived in 2008 and as I contemplated my children entering into English-medium schools, I became more resolute about them experiencing an education that would enable them to enjoy and achieve education success as Māori. This prompted me to activate my agency and strengthen my own connections and involvement with their schools.

Parental experiences of whānau-school engagement

Durie's (2001) address at the Hui Taumata Matauranga in 2001, influenced policy development in the years that followed. Articulated within Ka Hikitia, the Māori education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2008a, 2013) the vision of "Māori students enjoying and achieving education success as Māori" has been a central focus for over a decade. Ka Hikitia is a metaphor drawn from te ao Māori ways of understanding the world and translates to mean "step up, lift up or lengthen one's stride" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 10). The Ministry of Education adopted this metaphor as a name for the Māori education strategy, in 2008, specifically to acknowledge that there was a need to step up the performance of the education system for Māori students.

Given that Ka Hikitia has policy status, and the document progressed through two iterations with the third likely to be launched in 2020, the government has clearly expected since 2008 that schools will ensure that Māori children enjoy and achieve education success as Māori. As a parent, this policy gives me strong leverage to have the same expectations of the teachers and school leaders in my daughters' English-medium schools. However, while it is one thing for the government and me to have this expectation, I know from experience that it is another thing for teachers and school leaders to understand why this is important, what this expectation means for them and how it might be achieved?

Every Māori student in Aotearoa who began school during or after 2008 is being educated in the era of Ka Hikitia. For my daughters, part of their school's responses to the policy have been to provide more opportunities for kapa haka and increased opportunities to learn te reo Māori.

I am delighted that they have these opportunities and more importantly that they have the desire and confidence to participate in kapa haka and take te reo Māori as a subject at school. I acknowledge this as an indication of progress because previous generations of our whānau, including me, did not have the opportunities or the confidence to participate and explore these contexts for learning, which in turn can affirm and strengthen Māori identity. However, I had reservations about the degree to which school practices to promote these opportunities, in isolation from meaningful engagement with whānau, would in themselves, ensure that Māori students could enjoy and achieve education success as Māori. These reservations prompted me to join the whānau groups and accept appointments to the Boards of Trustees at each of the schools my daughters attended.

The whānau groups consist of whānau of Māori children holding regular gatherings to provide a forum within which Māori student's success can be celebrated. Whānau hui also provide an opportunity for the group to provide a Māori perspective on issues that teachers and senior leaders might feel are important. The Board of Trustees as the governance body of the school is responsible for the strategic overview of the school, including student achievement. I felt that these would be useful contexts within which I could potentially strengthen the likelihood that my own children and all Māori children in their schools could and would achieve education success as Māori. I have learned that this theory was optimistic, if not a little naïve.

When my eldest daughter transitioned to a new school I took the time to complete an enrolment form, within which I detailed, how important it was for her and our whānau, that both her Māori and Pākehā identity were affirmed and strengthened by her schooling experiences. I'm not sure if what I wrote on that form was ever seen or understood by my daughter's teacher given that on the second day of the school year the teacher instructed my daughter to tuck the taonga pounamu (treasured greenstone necklace) that she wore around her neck, into the collar of her blouse. As is tradition in our whānau, my daughter had received the pounamu from her grandparents on her first birthday and had proudly worn it every day since as a determined act of exemplifying her identity as Māori. This has always been important to her, particularly since her fair complexion and blue eyes have meant that other children regularly challenged the status she claims as Māori. She was confused about the request by her teacher to tuck her pounamu away which for her translated as tucking your Māori identity away. I was also confused because I had checked the school's uniform policy and I knew that the wearing of cultural taonga (treasure) such as pounamu was permitted. We talked about this and concluded that it was likely

that the teacher had made an 'unthinking' comment, so we agreed that she would wear the pounamu again the next day outside of her blouse.

It is still painful to recall how difficult it was to see my daughter arrive home the following day with her pounamu not tucked into her blouse but completely removed from her neck. When we discussed what had happen she said that the teacher again commented on the visibility of her pounamu. Although the teacher did not request that she remove the pounamu, following the comment she felt it best to take it off and put it in her bag. A few weeks later, I did have a conversation with the teacher who made this request and I believe that her own personal biases meant that she failed to understand the spiritual, cultural and psychological significance of that taonga to my daughter and our whānau. When I explained this to the teacher she was openly distressed that her practice had caused our whānau such pain and was deeply apologetic. While we accepted her apology, we are still living with the impact of this practice. Years on from this incident our daughter still refuses to wear her pounamu to school.

This is one example, of numerous conversations, where I have highlighted for teachers and school leaders, the impact of actions (or inactions) that compromise (unwittingly or not) the culture, language, identity and wellbeing of Māori children. I have brokered these conversations out of concerns for my own children, and also on behalf of, and with, many other Māori parents who have asked me to support them to have similar conversations.

These experiences have confirmed for me that mandated school and national education policies are important institutions within our education system. Without them, I do not feel that Māori whānau members (who have the courage to approach schools) can have these conversations. However, these kinds of reactive examples of whānau-school conversations can be problematic. Fundamentally, these conversations seek to address the consequences of harmful practice, after the damage has been done. This highlights the point that critical opportunities for schools, to understand who Māori children are and importantly, who their whānau are, are missed. Without determined opportunities that enable schools to genuinely know where Māori children come from and what is important to the whānau they belong to, there is a high risk that assumptions will be made and internalised biases either conscious or unconscious will shape the prejudice and practices of teachers and school leaders. Unless the collective consciousness of teachers and school leaders are raised, to recognise the importance and potential of whānau-school connections, the aspirational statements that are articulated in national policies and school vision statements will continue to play out as espoused rhetoric for Māori students and

whānau like me. Furthermore, our lived reality will continue to be re-defined by the dominant societal and school discourses.

Similarly, at the Board of Trustees, level of the school, raising conversations about the culture, language, identity and well-being of Māori children is a determined part of my governance practice. For me – my participation in the active co-construction of the strategic direction of each school that I have governed on has largely focused on understanding what is happening for Māori students and what needs to happen to ensure their success. For both school boards that I serve on, I am the only Māori represented and this has been the case for the past nine years. So, while I can speak to my own aspirations for my children and to a certain extent the aspirations of some of the Māori community (through my membership in the school whānau groups), I am acutely aware that I do not affiliate to any of the local iwi where my children attend school. Therefore, I am not able to contribute a local hapū perspective to the co-construction of the school's strategic direction.

While it is one thing for Boards of Trustees to contribute to the development of the school's strategic planning, it is another thing to monitor and question student progress and achievement throughout the year. When the boards that I serve on are provided with regular progress and achievement reports, concerningly, I have found that the responsibility for asking questions related to the performance of Māori students has largely rested with me. In line with the current systemic focus on equity and excellence (Education Review Office, 2016) my questions often focus on how Māori students are progressing and achieving in relation to other students, particularly Pākehā students.

I do appreciate the fact that I ask more questions about Māori student progress and achievement than other board members could be because my children are Māori and I am explicit about my focus on Māori students' success. Perhaps other board members might feel that they can leave this to me. The absence of questions from them could also be attributed to my background in education and the knowledge that I have about assessment tools and processes. Or maybe it's because my fellow board members are socialised, either consciously or unconsciously, to not recognise their responsibilities to Māori whānau and the performance of Māori children? It is possible that it could be none or a combination of two or all three of these factors that mean that Māori student performance at the governance level is often primarily the responsibility of Māori board members. This latter point was confirmed for me in 2018 at the annual national conference for Boards of Trustees following two sessions I co-presented about culturally

responsive home-school and community collaborations. After both presentations I was approached by up to 15 Māori Board of Trustee members, some of whom were in tears, expressing how frustrating, isolating and distressing it was to be the 'lone' Māori on the Board of Trustees and the only person who seemed to be interested in and committed to improving the experiences and performance of Māori students in their schools.

The conversations with these Māori board members and my own experiences have confirmed for me that Māori representation on Boards of Trustees does not in itself engender collective responsibility for and commitment to improved outcomes for Māori students. Nor does it necessarily make the aspirations of Māori whānau more visible.

My professional knowledge and experience of education policy, research and practice enables me to sit with relative confidence with Boards of Trustees, senior leadership teams and teachers. I know the language, the invisible codes for behaviour and I do not feel unfamiliar or disempowered when I interact with these groups because of the privileges that were afforded to me as a result of claiming my Pākehā heritage throughout my schooling. It is indeed a privileged position and not one that is available to the majority of Māori whānau. Even with the opportunities that I have in my daughters' schools to promote the aspirations I have for them, or to challenge practice that I believe counteracts the potential for them to enjoy education success as Māori, I question whether or not what I put forward penetrates beyond superficial reactions to actually deeply disrupt entrenched discourses and create new ways of thinking and being. I have reservations about the degree to which the previously mentioned and commonly exercised practices for engaging Māori whānau with schools, such as information evenings, assemblies and parent-teacher interview, have ever gone far enough to ensure, Māori students enjoy and achieve education success as Māori.

My position

The reservations I have about schools' practices reiterated above and a strong desire to disrupt intergenerational cycles of disconnection between whānau and schools for future generations of Māori have motivated this research. This research is much more than a doctoral project. For me it is an enactment of the responsibility I feel to my ancestors, my wider Māori whānau whom the education system has failed and continues to fail and my mokopuna (grandchildren) who are yet to arrive. I also feel a responsibility to other Māori whānau who do not have the confidence to stand up for their own children in the English-medium education system.

While in the current era of Ka Hikitia, Māori whānau might be more *physically present* in schools than we were over 80 years ago during the policy era of assimilation, I do not believe that we, or the generations of tupuna that we descend from, are *psychologically present* in the consciousness of many teachers and school leaders. To be psychologically present in the consciousness of teachers and school leaders would require a reconceptualisation of whānau-school connections. This doctorate seeks to understand, through two, in-depth case studies, the theorising that underpins this reconceptualisation and the practices that enable the development of effective connections between Māori (whānau and communities) and schools which facilitate education success for Māori students.

Summary

This chapter has positioned me within this doctoral research by explaining my whakapapa and my experiences of education from a range of perspectives. It has also provided the rationale for this research. The next chapter will examine and provide a review of relevant literature.

Chapter 3: Origins and outcomes

He pura pura I ruia mai I Rangiātea e kore e ngaro

A seed sown in Rangiātea will never be lost

Introduction

The whakataukī that I've selected for this chapter captures a traditional Māori understanding of human origin. Reedy (2013) explains that before conception, birth and time a child was a valued member in the Māori world that began their journey in Rangiātea, a place located in Hawaiki. When a child was born they were nurtured like a precious seed to ensure that they survived and understood their own importance, so that their inherent sense of value would never be lost. Education and educators, can considerably impact a child and their family's sense of value and whether this sense of value, is nurtured and retained, or lost. This chapter examines a range of literature to understand the historical and contemporary context of Aotearoa to consider how education has been experienced by Māori children and their whānau overtime.

The chapter begins by further explaining traditional Māori ways of understanding the world, and details how Māori established themselves as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa. It then describes the arrival of the first Europeans, the subsequent impact of colonisation and the ongoing implications of education policies and practices that have emerged out of the colonising process. A brief analysis of the current education context is presented as well as recent research that describes how school leaders have sought to respond to education inequities that colonisation has generated. It concludes with a synthesis of an international literature review of indigenous, decolonising school leadership.

Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is a Māori view of knowledge that includes culture, values and worldview (Hikuroa, 2017; Marsden & Henare, 1992). Mātauranga Māori thus provides the epistemological and ontological frame through which Māori ways of making sense of and engaging with the world can be understood. Walker (1996) proposes that the worldview of Māori is encapsulated in whakapapa which he describes as "the phenomenological world in the form of a genealogical recital. Implicit in the meaning of whakapapa are the ideas of orderliness, sequence, evolutions and progress" (p. 13). This genealogical recital reaches back to the creation of the universe.

Creation from a Māori perspective

The origins of the universe and the evolution of humankind are captured in Māori narratives which according to Marsden and Henare (1992) represent the corpus of fundamental knowledge. These authors further explain that there are parallels between the fundamental knowledge held by Māori philosophers and other ancient Polynesian peoples of the Pacific. Although Western-European cultures have dismissed Māori narratives as being fables and fantasies, Marsden and Henare (1992) contest this proposition by asserting that these narratives "were deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilable forms their view of the World, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man" (p. 56).

While there are tribal variations that explain the story of the creation of the universe, many traditions reference three sequential phases which describe different cosmological states of existence (Marsden, 1977; Walker, 2004; Shirres, 2000). These three states are defined broadly by Walker (2004) as Te Kore, (the void), Te Po (the dark) and Te ao Mārama (the world of light). The first two phases of space and darkness are timeless while the third phase of light is associated with a time-scale that is connected to the existence of humans.

Walker (1996) contends that while tohunga (priests and keepers of knowledge) did develop systems for measuring time, such as a lunar calendar and the annual cycle of the seasons, time was not conceptualised in terms of years, centuries and millennia, but rather time was defined in two dimensions – past and future. He further explains that the past is termed mua while the future is termed muri although both terms have double meanings. Mua is also considered to be 'in front of' or 'ahead' because the past and the present are knowable. Muri means behind because the future is unknown, therefore an "individual is conceptualised as travelling backwards in time to the future, with the present unfolding in front as a continuum into the past" (p. 14). Rameka (2017) builds on this conceptualisation further and proposes that while individuals do travel backwards through this cosmic continuum of time they are not alone, but rather their ancestors travel with and through them and are thus also carried into the future.

In his description of creation, Marsden (1977) makes specific reference to Io, the Supreme God who existed alone within the realm of Te Kore. Io initiated activity that enabled his essence to fertilise Te Kore which in turn created eleven varying degrees of the night regions that ranged from Te Pō-nui (the great night) through to Te Pō-tahuri-atu (the night that borders day). Io then created night regions of soft light. These nights encompassed soft light phases of

Kakarauri (twilight) and Wheiao (dawn light). Beyond the dawn light he placed Te ao Mārama – the broad daylight. Importantly, within the night regions of the soft light Io established the realms of Hawaiki which would become the sacred home of the Gods and heroes represented in Māori narratives.

Parallels are also drawn by Walker (2004) between the phases of Te Kore and Te Po with the emptiness and darkness of the mind. The lack of light was symbolic of a lack of knowledge. The absence of light was a result of the close marital embrace between Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the earth-mother). Their procreative union brought into being six sons, the Gods, Tanemahuta, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Tumatauenga, Haumiatiketike and Rongomatane who were forced to live in darkness between the bodies of their parents. Dissatisfied with this predicament five of the sons conspired to separate their mother and father while only Tawhirimatea opposed the separation. The task of prising apart Ranginui and Papatūānuku was finally achieved by Tanemahuta who positioned his shoulders on the ground and thrust his legs upwards to complete the separation. Thereafter, Tanemahuta was also given the name Tane-te-toko-o-te-rangi which translates to Tane the prop of the heavens. This act ultimately instigated the third state of existence, Te ao Mārama, the light of the world.

Following the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, Marsden (1977) contends Io summoned Tane and commissioned him to complete the heavens. At the same time that Tane received the mana (authority and prestige) to complete the heavens, Io also delegated responsibilities to Tane's other five brothers to continue creation in various areas of nature. Tangaroa was appointed God of the ocean, while Rongomatane became the God of cultivated food. Tawhirimatea was attributed responsibility for meteorology and Tumatauenga became the God of war. Haumiatiketike, according to Walker (2004) became the God that is associated with edible fern roots and other uncultivated plants. Tane, was also given the extra responsibility for the forests, birds and the creation of men.

The end of the darkness represented the end of ignorance therefore the entrance of light into the world is an analogy for the beginning of knowledge. Walker (2004) specifies that this introduction of light, "brought with it knowledge of good and evil" (p. 12) and suggests that this binary opposition is one of the central themes throughout Māori narratives. This theme is exemplified in the disagreement that played out between Tawhirimatea and his five brothers following the separation of their parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

The war of the Gods is manifested in Tawhirimatea exercising his control over the elements of weather to enforce destruction upon his brothers. Walker (2004) describes hurricane force winds which devastated the forests of Tane and generated mountainous seas across Tangaroa. The impact of these winds on the ocean scattered the descendants of Tangaroa and resulted in the separation of marine species and the establishment of reptiles. Rongomatane and Haumiatiketike were protected from Tawhirimatea's rage by Papatūānuku who thrust them deep inside her earthly bosom, while Tumatauenga was left exposed and had to fight Tawhirimatea alone. Enraged that he was abandoned by his brothers and left to defend himself, Tumatauenga, attacked the children of Tane (birds, trees and vines) by converting them to common use and creating artefacts to catch and kill the children of both Tane and Tangaroa. Through the act of converting the children of his brothers into food and common objects, Tumatauenga negated their tapu (sacred) and made them noa (without spiritual restriction). Walker (2004) suggests that this example represents the interrelationship in Māori life between sacred and profane. Importantly this example also provides the rationale for the superiority of humans in the natural order and the responsibility inherent in this superior position to maintain the natural order and to more specifically maintain the mana of the land so that humans might maintain their own mana and well-being . Walker (2004) further explains that this story of creation not only outlines the origins of the sky, the earth, the environmental elements and all living plants and creatures, it also frames the importance of the interconnected relationships between all of the dimensions of creation and the associated responsibilities to nurture these relationships:

> Papatūānuku was loved as a mother is loved, because the bounty that sprang from her breast nurtured and sustained her children. Humans were conceived of as belonging to the land; as tangata whenua, people of the land. This meant that they were not above nature but were an integral part of it. They were expected to relate to nature in a meaningful way (p. 14).

Meaningful, representations relating to nature continue to be played out in the various rituals that Māori performed over centuries to honour their responsibilities to the Gods. Such examples include reciting karakia (prayer) to seek permission from Tane to extract timber from the forest and returning the first catch from a seafood gathering expedition to the ocean as an offering to Tangaroa.

The generational transition from the Gods to the first human is captured in the narrative that describes how Tane created Hineahuone, which translates to "the maid that emerged out of the

dust" (Marsden, 1977, p. 132). Using moistened clay, Tane moulded the form of a female, breathed his life force through his nostrils into her mouth and nostrils, thus giving her life (Marsden, 1977; Walker, 2004). The union of Tane and Hineahuone resulted in a number of children with associated narratives and their descendants increased until the time of the demi-God Maui.

In Māori narratives Walker (2004) contends that Maui is the most important hero who he characterises as being "quick, intelligent, bold, resourceful, cunning and fearless, epitomising the basic personality structure idealised by Māori society" (p. 15). There are many stories that chronical Maui's adventures over his lifetime, each of which provide an explanation of natural phenomena. Similarly, the narrative sequence that follows and explains the life of Tāwhaki elaborates on and reinforces Māori cultural customs and practices. Tāwhaki is an important figure in the transition from demi-Gods to humans and throughout this series of stories the ongoing themes of good and evil continue to be explored through associated themes (Walker, 1996).

Māori narratives of the origins of the universe and humankind, reflect a dual system represented by the world of the Gods through to the world of humans. Walker (1996) posits that the ancestral Gods are positioned uppermost in the whakapapa of creation and are the source of all knowledge. Intermediary characters, or demi-Gods, retrieved the knowledge from the ancestral Gods and transmitted this knowledge to their human descendants. This dynamic interplay, between the spiritual and material system, is described by Marsden (1977):

> The Māori does not, and never has accepted the mechanistic view of the universe which regards it as a closed system into which nothing can impinge from without. The Māori conceives of it as at least a two world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world of Te Ao Mārama (p. 20).

Marsden (1977) further explains that the interdependent relationship between the spiritual and material realms, contextualised within these stories of creation, rationalises the 'ultimate why' and provides a mātauranga Māori holistic view of the universe and knowledge. Walker (1996) concurs with this position and suggests that the Gods and cultural heroes "are powerful energy-releasing and motivating forces in human life" (p. 22). He also proposes that while Māori narratives explain the origins of cultural customs, Māori traditions emerged out of the deeds of real men. These deeds began with the migration traditions that explain the great journeys of Māori ancestors from Hawaiki to Aotearoa.

Migration

Origins

The ancestors of Māori had been traversing Te Moana nui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) for thousands of years before they came to Aotearoa and are considered to be amongst the greatest of canoe builders, navigators and mariners (Nelson, 1998; Taonui, 2006). The exact motivation for and time of the migration from eastern Polynesian to Aotearoa is not known. Many historians and scholars however, have speculated that overpopulation, disputes over land, depletion of natural resources, enforced departure and curiosity about what existed beyond their ancestral homelands were likely catalysts for the first wave of migrants to depart Hawaiki and head towards Aotearoa around the year 800 (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 1997, 2003; Oliver, 2002; Walker, 2004).

According to Walker (2004), the genesis of the vessels that enabled migration, was a hollowed out tree trunk and progressive innovations on this design resulted in the development of single outriggers as well as large double-hulled waka. Oliver (2002) states that the purpose of the migration voyages was clearly to settle new lands because the waka were large enough to accommodate a sizable crew that included females and a range of cargo. The inclusion of females is notable as it signals an intent to settle and procreate.

For many years however, European scholars debated whether or not the voyages of early Polynesian navigators, that led to the discovery of Aotearoa, were accidental voyages or deliberate acts of navigation (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 2003; Oliver, 2002; Walker, 2004). The credibility of early Polynesian navigators continues to be questioned in some schools in Aotearoa, particularly in secondary schools where the pre-colonial histories of Māori are not necessarily represented in authentic ways in the school curriculum. The notion that Māori arrived in Aotearoa accidently, was promoted by Sharp (cited in Bishop, 1997a) who in the 1960s suggested a *drift theory* which became popular and was upheld until as recently as the 1980s. This theory proposed that the Polynesian seafarers had been on a fishing expedition and were swept off course by storm winds and ocean currents which carried them south to Aotearoa. Jackson (2019) refers to theories such as this, which serve to distort history as 'mythtakes' that represent "deliberately concocted falsehoods" (p. 101).

The contention however, that the discovery of Aotearoa by the first Polynesian explorers was unintentional, has been disproved by studies of navigation techniques, computer simulations, ocean currents and weather patterns which "have led to the inescapable conclusion that

Polynesian voyaging *was* wide ranging and *was* deliberate" (King, 2003, p. 34). Evidence also indicates that the initial exploratory voyages of discovery were followed by return journeys which strengthens the theory that the migration of the early ancestors of Māori were indeed planned and purposeful expeditions (King, 1997; Nelson, 1998).

Conclusions from research indicate that there were likely to have been a wide range of navigation techniques used by the early Polynesian explorers (King, 2003; Nelson, 1998; Taonui, 2006; Walker, 2004). These have included observations of the flight path of migratory birds, the ocean patterns of currents, cloud formations, and careful analysis of the position of stars and the horizon in relation to landmarks. Walker (2004) contends that knowing how to read the land and atmospheric signposts "in combination with celestial navigation made landfall predictable" (p. 26). Tohunga equipped with navigational knowledge from the Gods also accompanied these expeditions. This meant that maritime skills and experience were supplemented with rituals and specific prayers to Tangaoroa (God of the Oceans) to ensure the crew's safety (Nelson, 1998; Walker, 2004).

Since the 1980s, the desire to prove the credibility of pre-colonial, traditional forms of navigation has materialised in the re-emergence of Māori celestial navigators (Nelson, 1998; Taonui, 2006). These navigators have drawn from ancestral knowledge to build traditional waka and apply celestial navigation techniques to successfully retrace ancient migration routes around Aotearoa and around Te Moana nui a Kiwa. In many Māori communities, it is increasingly possible to accompany a celestial navigator and experience these voyages. The numerous voyages that have been undertaken throughout the past three decades have strengthened the evidence-base that verifies that early Polynesian seafarers were indeed capable and successful navigators. However despite this proof, based on conversations that I have had with both of my daughters, it is still quite common for teachers in Aotearoa schools to teach and promote the historical expeditions undertaken by European navigators, and omit the irrefutable evidence that Polynesian navigators were the first people to discover and settle Aotearoa.

Whether these waka set out on the migration voyages individually or as part of a collective fleet has also been the subject of robust debate over many decades. King (2003) proposes that between 1910 and the 1970s a school journal story written by amateur ethnologist Stephenson Percy Smith, that describes a Polynesian migration journey of a Great Fleet of seven canoes was widely promoted throughout schools in Aotearoa. This is another example of how a

European narrative of history (or mythtake) successfully overpowered and negated Māori narratives of their own historical voyages. An analysis of this theory, undertaken by David Simmons (cited in King, 2003), found that this account of history was inconsistent with and therefore not derived from Māori traditions of migration. While some Māori traditions reference two waka; *Tainui* and *Te Arawa* departing Hawaiki at similar times, others tell of individual voyages, like the *Mataatua* waka for example, that arrived in Aotearoa more than a century after *Te Arawa* (King, 2003; Walker, 2004).

The ongoing perpetuation of colonial mythtakes however, may be addressed by the government's recent announcement that the history of Aotearoa, and in particular Māori history, will be included in compulsory curriculum from 2022 (Beehive, 2019). While this is welcomed news, the degree to which Māori will determine how their histories will be represented in the compulsory curriculum is unclear, therefore we can expect that the authenticity and legitimacy of these historical narratives will be carefully scrutinised by Māori.

The pattern of Polynesian voyages of discovery and subsequent voyages of settlement that led to "the greatest purposeful dispersal in human history" (Kirch, 1984, p. 71) had largely ceased by the second millennium. The seafaring migration tradition of the ancestral forbears of Māori however, live on. Through whakapapa, the cultural symbolism of the waka "took on new meaning as the symbol of tribal identity, territorial ownership and political relations" (Walker, 2004, p. 28). Where ancestral waka made landfall, became synonymous with the identity construction of individuals and the tribal collective.

Landfall

In the absence of archaeological evidence to pinpoint the exact location of where the first waka made landfall, King (2003) suggests the usefulness and relevance of Māori canoe traditions because "the purpose of such traditions was to establish connections with specific places, resources and people" (p. 52). Anderson et al. (2015) caution against comparing and contrasting oral traditions with archaeological research, positing that oral traditions are relevant to archaeology evidence and vice versa as they each contribute to a common historical perspective. Taonui (2006) concurs with this position and states that canoe traditions "merge poetry and politics, history and myth, fact and legend" (p. 58) to express authority, identity, relationships and tribal boundaries.

A range of both Māori and non-Māori authors have chronicled detailed traditions of specific canoe groups and where they made landfall (Evans, 2009; Nelson, 1998; Taonui, 2006; Walker,

2004). While Toi-Kai-Rakau is identified as being "the first of the pure Polynesians" (Fletcher, 1930) to settle Aotearoa near Whakatane in the North Island long before the traditional canoe groups arrived, in his analysis of the various traditions King (2003) notes that at least four of these groups (*Tainui, Mataatua, Horouta* and *Nukutere*) reference the Eastern Bay of Plenty as their ancestors' arrival location, while three other traditions tell of landfall on the eastern side of North Cape and two others mention the northern Coromandel Peninsula. Drawing from the work of archaeologists and other historians, King (2003) has deduced that early habitation sites in the north-east of the North Island, both sides of Cook Strait and the south-east of the South Island might represent resource islands that were specifically accessed by as few as three separate canoe groups to hunt, garden and obtain minerals. As further research has been undertaken however, there is growing consensus that there were probably considerably more than three foundation groups and that "these groups would have explored the whole of the country rapidly to locate its minerals and food resources" (King, 2003, p. 53). As Māori familiarised themselves with the landscape of Aotearoa, Walker (1996) proposes that they began to think of themselves as being joined to the land - tangata whenua (people of the land), thus reinforcing their relationship with and responsibility to Papatūānuku and her children.

Tangata whenua

Adaptation

As these first settlers rapidly explored and located natural resources throughout Aotearoa they encountered and negotiated terrain, flora, fauna and climatic conditions that were considerably different from what they experienced in their island homes of Polynesia (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 1997; Orbell, 1985). The large proportions of the mountain ranges, inland plains and green forests, as well as the much cooler and more variable temperatures meant that they had to quickly adapt to their new environment (King, 2003; H. Smith, 2011). Drawing from traditional knowledge the settlers developed new skills and practices to overcome environmental challenges to successfully hunt, fish and grow food crops (Orbell, 1985). These adaptations and innovations in response to the environment transformed eastern Polynesian cultural practices into practices that were distinct to their experiences in Aotearoa and became known by some writers, both Māori and Pākehā as classic Māori (King, 2003; Walker, 2004).

A notable characteristic of adaptation could be seen in the mobile lifestyles that these small communities led that enabled them to respond to seasonal changes and relocate themselves to be in close proximity to wildlife food sources. A reduction in some forms of wildlife however,

between 1400 - 1500 was attributed to the increasing human population that corresponded with an increase in competition for land and resources (King, 1997; Orbell, 1985; Walker, 1996; 2004). According to King (2003), this period has been recognised as a transitional phase due to the adjustments that Māori made to their social organisation.

Social organisation

As previously mentioned the ancestral waka, were critical reference points for the whakapapa of Māori and remain important and relevant today. The waka is the largest social grouping in Māori society and whakapapa links made back to the crew of the founding waka articulate the origins of iwi and define inter-iwi relationships as well as the connections between the people and the land associated with each waka (Taonui, 2006; Walker, 1996).

Iwi are the largest political grouping and usually comprise several related hapū (sub-tribes) who descend from a common ancestor, while whānau is the basic unit in Māori society and usually spans three to four generations (Taonui, 2006; Walker, 2004). Traditionally, the social ranking of people within the iwi and hapū was dependent on superiority of descent from the founding ancestors and stratified into three levels; rangatira (leaders), tutua (commoners) and taurekareka (slaves) (Taonui, 2006; Walker, 2004). These important genealogical links are articulated today when descendants recite their pepeha to assert their connections to their waka, the landmarks and ancestors associated with their waka, their important tupuna, iwi and hapū.

The depletion in wildlife food supplies during the previously mentioned transitional phase necessitated the expansion and consolidation of horticultural practices that required many tribes to: reconsider the single descent groups they formed on arrival, reduce their nomadic lifestyle, and settle in one place to work and protect their cultivated crops (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 2003; Orbell, 1985). The population increase saw pressure on land and resources intensify which inevitably resulted in conflict because as Walker (2004) explains, it "was much easier to dispossess weak neighbours of their gardens than it was to clear virgin forest" (p. 33).

The competition for cultivated land in particular and the ensuing warfare led to changes in tribal groupings. Taonui (2006) proposes that hapū were the most significant political unit during this time and that these groups formed in a range of ways. Larger hapū broke off into small groups to relocate and relieve pressure on resources. Forced migration, defeat in war, and whānau disagreements also changed tribal dynamics. In some instances, separate hapū merged to form new groups (sometimes through political marriages), and large whānau were able to develop into hapū in their own right.

According to King (2003), the emergence of large-scale tribal structures and culture, which characterised the later part of 1500 – 1600, were important evolutions. He contends that these coalitions enabled hapū to retain congenial areas close to food and minerals. They also created an ability to draw from larger and more organised groups to collectively cultivate crops, gather food and crucially join alliances in times of fighting - attack or defence.

While competition and warfare between hapū were common, trading across regions (including between the North and South Islands) was well organised and extensive (King, 1997). This shift towards more determined entrepreneurism is consistent with research analysed by Anderson et al. (2015) that suggests that during this time, these emerging societies were "organised more by political considerations, incorporating bigger and smaller groups of different hapū, not all of them related, under the direction of a chief" (p. 114). These powerful leaders continued to influence the social landscape as hapū groupings merged into large iwi collaboratives. These sophisticated tribal configurations would have reflected the social organisation of Māori communities when European explorers first arrived in Aotearoa and encountered the tangata whenua.

The arrival of Europeans

Explorers

As previously mentioned, the historical discovery of Aotearoa has often been attributed to the brave and pioneering exploits of early European explorers namely; Dutch seafarer Abel Tasman in 1642 and then the English Captain James Cook in 1769 (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 1997). Again, these European stories of discovery have been the dominant narrative, however O'Malley (2012) more accurately asserts that 1642 was the year that Māori discovered Europe and 1769 marked the rediscovery of Europe. He asserts that these initial encounters began "an irreversible relationship between Māori and Pākehā [that] was thereafter locked in, one in which both parties would come to define themselves by reference to the other" (p. 1).

How these two parties referenced each other is important because before the arrival of Europeans, Māori did not have a single term for themselves as a collective group given that they functioned in tribal groupings and therefore tribal names enabled them to distinguish themselves from each other. Walker (2004) explains that Māori means normal, usual or ordinary while the term Pākehā, which is derived from the word pakepakeha or pakehakeha described imaginary manlike beings with fair skin. As a consequence the fair-skinned European arrivals would come be known as Pākehā, a term that is still used to describe people

of European descent. In the texts that were examined for this doctoral research, the terms European and Pākehā were used interchangeably to collectivise and describe non-Māori. This pattern has been replicated in this thesis except in instances when specific British, colonial identities are referenced.

While there is little debate that Tasman and Cook were the first Europeans to record reaching Aotearoa, motives of these expeditions have not been fully critiqued beyond the generally accepted understanding that they were explorers in search of new lands. Recently in Aotearoa however, attention has been raised about an international law currently known as the Doctrine of Discovery (Miller et al., 2010). A national discussion about the Doctrine of Discovery has been actively promoted by many Māori (Jackson, 2019; Mutu, 2019; Ngata, 2019a, 2019b) as 2019 marked the 250th anniversary of the arrival of Captain Cook in Aotearoa.

The Doctrine of Discovery

According to Miller et al. (2010) the Doctrine of Discovery can be traced back to the fifth century when various Roman Catholic popes conceptualised the idea of "a worldwide papal jurisdiction that placed responsibility on the Church to work for a universal Christian commonwealth" (p. 9). The popes considered it their responsibility to enforce the Church's vision on all people and subsequently a series of Catholic laws were developed over centuries to rationalise the invasion of countries for the purpose of converting non-Christians to Christianity. Elements of the Doctrine of Discovery were developed overtime and by the 15th century, Miller et al. (2010) contend that the doctrine had been refined to a point where it provided the monarchies of Europe and Britain with the legal right to claim ownership over the lands that their explorers discovered. The ownership of these discoverers extended to authority over the indigenous inhabitants who were, by virtue of their non-Christian status, considered to be uncivilised and savage which rationalised a racial hierarchy that positioned Europeans as superior and indigenous peoples as inferior, non-human or at least less human than Europeans (Bess, 2011; Ngata, 2019a.).

The degree to which indigenous peoples were not recognised is illustrated in the concept of terra nullius which Bess (2011) explains refers to unoccupied land. The invisibility of indigenous people that terra nullius infers is also noted by Miller et al. (2010) who propose that terra nullius was an element within the doctrine that was developed by the British. They further explain that the "element stated that lands that were not occupied by any person or nation, or

which were actually occupied but were not being used in a manner that European legal systems approved, were considered to be available for Discovery claims" (p. 21).

It is safe to speculate therefore that the Doctrine of Discovery was firmly established and well understood by the authorities that commissioned both Tasman and Cook's exploration expeditions to Aotearoa and indeed by the captains themselves. The geographical observations of these explorers and the first encounters that played out, between their respective crews and Māori, provided important information for authorities in each of their homelands. It is hardly surprising therefore, that following these initial exploration expeditions, a steady flow of Europeans began to arrive in Aotearoa, all looking to benefit from the discovered land.

Sealers and whalers

Sealers and whalers were the first wave of Europeans to arrive, after the explorers, at similar times in the 1790s. Given that these groups migrated from countries that instituted the Doctrine of Discovery, they took for granted that they were entitled to hunt these marine mammals for their home markets, at various locations around the coast of Aotearoa. Māori tribes located within close proximity to where these groups established themselves recognised the opportunities, interaction with these Europeans represented (King, 2003; Walker, 2004). Māori quickly learned how to barter and trade in cash and subsequently prospered from providing supplies of food, flax and timber to the European ships. While tribal communities did benefit from the sealing operations, King (1997) proposes that the whalers had the most significant effect on Māori. Along with the introduction of new tools, utensils and garments, many of the whalers married Māori women and integrated into tribal life. The first firearms were also introduced by this group of settlers which would become significant in the evolution of history, however, at this time Māori were still numerically and politically dominant and the presence of Europeans was dependent on the goodwill of the local tribes.

Traders

In the 1800s the growing presence of Europeans in the Southern Hemisphere, in Australia as well as Aotearoa following the discovery voyages was generating a growing trading economy within and between these countries. Decades earlier in 1770 Captain Cook had raised a British flag in the area now known as Sydney to claim the territory of Australia (Miller et al., 2010) and by the 1800s the British government had established a convict colony in New South Wales. The colonial governors who resided in Australia were perhaps unsurprisingly, interested in Aotearoa and keen to maintain good trading relationships (Orange, 2004). Māori, who were

accustomed to and successful at trading between iwi and hapū groups welcomed and sought to capitalise on trading opportunities with Europeans. Securing relationships with traders that would benefit their communities were very calculated acts of engagement on behalf of Māori leaders. They entered into similar relationships with religious missionaries who also arrived in Aotearoa around this time.

Missionaries

Three main missionary denominations arrived in Aotearoa in the early 1800s and established themselves alongside Māori communities in the Far North region. The Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), led by Samuel Marsden were the first to arrive in 1814, followed by the Wesleyans in 1822 and 16 years later a group of Catholic missionaries from France arrived in 1838 (King, 1997; Stokes, 1980).

Under the Doctrine of Discovery, missionaries had an important role to play in terms of facilitating religious conversions. While the missionaries did indeed view Māori as heathens to evangelise and civilise, Māori viewed missionaries as a new group of trading partners whose presence in their communities would attract more ships and subsequently strengthen their trading economies (O'Malley, Stirling & Penetito, 2010; Walker, 2004). In the establishment of their first mission stations the missionaries were indeed largely dependent on Māori for food which they traded for items such as iron tools.

In these early years, despite their earnest efforts, the Anglican missionaries in particular, struggled to convert Māori to Christianity. However, according to Anderson et al. (2015), Māori attitudes began to change as the missionaries' command of te reo Māori (Māori language) improved. Encouraged by the improved engagement with Māori that proficiency in te reo fostered, Wesleyan missionaries followed the example of their Anglican counterparts and learned to speak Māori. Schools were established at mission stations and daily lessons in te reo resulted in the development of a range of texts written in Māori. These included Māori prayer sheets, hymns, translated extracts from the New Testament and sections of the Bible, all of which ignited a ravenous appetite in Māori young and old, to learn to read and write. This literacy revolution that started in the Far North created excitement around the country and generated requests from Māori for access to the missionaries. The missionaries strategically utilised Māori converts to carry the gospel south beyond the northern region (King, 1997). For missionaries, the nationwide, escalating demand for their services and resources facilitated the

spread of the Christian mission. For Māori, the ability to read and write was likely to have been a higher priority than Christian conversion as explained by Anderson et al. (2015):

> Tangata whenua were keenly interested in new ideas and technology, and literacy was manifestly a key to Pākehā culture – a skill associated with considerable mana. Written text became important in the practice of trade and making contracts. Literacy was also useful in the complex politics and alliance systems of Māori life. Some scholars have suggested that Māori 'conversion to Christianity' was essentially about literacy, that the connection between conversion and printed religious text was rather incidental (p. 172).

Whatever the case, literacy acquisition enabled Māori to evolve and respond both socially and politically at a time when the Pākehā communities were consolidating their settlement. Competency in reading and writing was to become even more important as the Pākehā population began to increase towards the end of the 1830s.

Emerging societies

While inter-liaisons between Māori and Europeans, as well as mutually beneficial trading and religious-based partnerships during the 1830s were facilitating the development of positive race relations in Aotearoa, the country's wider social and political context was far from harmonious and idyllic. Tribal warfare that began prior to European settlement had continued and was in fact escalated with the introduction of muskets. Northern Māori tribes had been the first to acquire the muskets but by 1830 all tribes were equipped with these weapons (Orange, 2004). Ballara (2003) stresses the point that while the introduction of muskets by Europeans into the Māori political system did have an accelerating effect in terms of intensifying and expanding warfare, the muskets did not cause war. Tribal warfare was already an integral part of the Māori political system, a cultural response and the ultimate sanction for dispute resolution when peaceful alternatives failed.

According to Ballara (2003) fatalities associated with tribal wars were having a significant impact on Māori population growth. Māori depopulation from the 1790s through to 1890s was also attributed to their lack of immunity and therefore susceptibility to a range of diseases including influenza, measles and typhoid that were unintentionally introduced by the Europeans (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 2003). Increasingly many Māori sought support from the missionaries to act as peacemakers, mitigate inter-tribal conflict, and explain and alleviate ongoing sickness and death in their communities (Belich, 2007; O'Malley, 2012).

While Māori were working to address issues that were in some cases threatening their survival, the British authorities in New South Wales were receiving complaints from missionaries about a range of questionable practices and undesirable behaviours of British subjects. Concerns ranged from British involvement in politically fraught activities such as inter-tribal warfare, the trading of preserved Māori heads, dubious land purchase arrangements, through to embarrassing anti-social behaviour including sailors' drunkenness and debauchery (Belich, 2007; King, 1997; Orange, 2004). According to Walker (2004), missionary leaders engaged the support of 13 important northern chiefs and guided them to petition the King of England to extend control over the British nationals by instating government intervention in Aotearoa.

In the interest of protecting Māori and British trading relationships, the colonial office responded to complaints about the conduct of their subjects with the appointment of James Busby, as British Resident in 1835 (Orange, 2004). Busby was stationed at Waitangi, a small coastal settlement located in an area known as the Bay of Islands on the east coast of the Far North. While Busby had no authority to enforce law, his presence in Aotearoa as a British official was the first step towards formal annexation (Walker, 2004).

In an effort to develop collective Māori authority and guard against the risk of foreign (French) interests setting up their own independent state, Busby persuaded northern chiefs to sign a Declaration of Independence. The declaration recognised that sovereign control of Aotearoa resided with Māori and that the British Crown acknowledged the country's independence and extended their protection (Orange, 2004). Despite the good intentions of this agreement, unified Māori tribalism did not materialise and the declaration had no constitutional status, rather it "became a foundation for the assertion of indigenous rights, and it *was* another step in the direction of a formal constitutional relationship with Great Britain" (King, 2003, p. 155).

In the years that followed the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the social volatility between and within Māori and European communities continued. The British Government in London was cognisant of the disquiet in Aotearoa and were also aware of the intentions of a private firm, the New Zealand Company, to "implement a plan for the formal colonisation of the country and set up some form of government of its own" (King, 2003, p. 156). In 1839, these concurrent concerns motivated the British Government to appoint William Hobson to the position of Consul to an independent Aotearoa and dispatch him to the South Pacific with instructions to establish a British colony (King, 2003; Orange, 2004). He was given the authority to make a treaty and while the initial plan envisaged a Māori Aotearoa within which

European settlers would be accommodated, concerns about the numbers of British people that would immigrate as a result of the New Zealand Company's campaign shifted the plan considerably as Orange (2004) explains:

> The shift reflected a fatalistic acceptance that the tide of British colonisation could not be held back forever. The change of stance did not bode well for Māori. The protection of Māori alongside settler interests was an attempt to reconcile what had previously been seen as irreconcilable (p. 19).

Māori and European civil unrest, impeding colonisation, Māori determination to maintain sovereign authority and British officials reacting under pressure to establish constitutional control all reflect the social and political conditions transpiring in Aotearoa at the beginning of 1840. It was within this tenuous and complex context that the Treaty of Waitangi, the constitutional foundation of Aotearoa emerged.

Treaty of Waitangi

Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands at the end of January, 1840. He began working on the wording of the Treaty document at this time and was supported by Busby and local missionaries Henry Williams and his son Edward who were proficient in te reo (Orange, 2004). Drawing from the work of Ross, Walker (2004) contends that the outcomes of the combined efforts of these men, none of whom were diplomats or lawyers, were three articles contained within four English versions of a Treaty and a translated Māori version which matched none of them. The English version of the Treaty, that the Māori version is said to be drawn from, has yet to be found and this has led to speculation that Williams changed some of the English wording through his translations, in order to make the conditions more acceptable to Māori (King, 1997; Walker, 2004). For example, Orange (2004) posits that the first article in the Māori version of the Treaty proposed that Māori would cede 'kawanatanga' – governance to Queen Victoria. In the English version however, the proposition stated that Māori would cede 'sovereignty' – the right to exercise power and authority to the Queen so that Britain would assume complete control of all land transactions. Similarly, Walker (2004) highlights that while the second article in the Māori version guaranteed Māori, 'tino rangatiratanga', exclusive chieftainship over their lands, estates, forests and fisheries, the English version is less specific about what Māori will actually have control over. The third article focused on equality and guaranteed the Queen's protection of the rights and privileges of both Māori and British subjects and in this respect at least there is congruence between the Māori and English versions of the Treaty (Walker, 1996).

On February 5th, 1840, 45 northern chiefs and their hapū members gathered on Busby's front lawn to meet with Hobson and his associated officials to discuss the Treaty. Perhaps unsurprisingly "a confused debate over the terms of the Treaty took place" (King, 1997, p. 30) and for over five hours, a range of perspectives were put forward by the chiefs, some of whom supported the Treaty while others did not. The meeting was adjourned in the evening and while the plan was to reconvene on February 7th, following further discussions overnight, most of the chiefs were prepared to sign the Treaty immediately.

The chiefs, colonial officials, missionaries and other interested parties regathered at Busby's property the next day, where prior to signing, a Māori version of the Treaty was read out once more. At this time the Catholic Bishop Pompallier requested that a clause be added to the Treaty which gave 'assurance that religion in Aotearoa would not be interfered with, and that 'free toleration' would be allowed in 'matters of faith'" (Orange, 2004, p. 32). Hobson agreed with this assurance and while it was not formally written into the Treaty, this addition is often referred to as the fourth article.

Over 40 chiefs signed what would come to be known as the Treaty of Waitangi, on February 6th, 1840. Each one was called by name and after they signed their name or moko (facial tattoo) on the Treaty they shook hands with Hobson, who, at the suggestion of the missionary Williams, said *'He iwi tahi tātou' – We are now one people*. Orange (2004) suggests that Williams was likely to have known that this gesture linking Māori and British would have special meaning for Christian Māori as they became united under the Queen as followers of Christ. Walker (2004) however, recognised a less optimistic and more enduring implication for Māori stating that the gesture laid "down the ideology of assimilation that was to dominate colonial policy well into the twentieth century" (p. 96).

The Māori version of Treaty (often referred to as Te Tiriti o Waitangi) was then taken around the country to gather signatures from chiefs who did not attend the Waitangi ceremony. While not all chiefs were prepared to sign the Treaty, some were not invited to sign and others had become unhappy about signing. Chiefs in the north for example indicated to Hobson that despite the signed agreement, they were concerned about their future and believed their freedom was at risk (Orange, 2004). Their concerns were well founded as a large-scale influx of British immigrants started arriving in that very same year.

Colonisation

The establishment of a British colony was ultimately what drove the development of the Treaty of Waitangi and the urgency that underpinned the British government's actions in 1840 was motivated by its determination to control the colonising process ahead of the French and the New Zealand Company. According to Stokes (1980) the colonisation process usually emerges in three distinct, sequential phases namely, Exploration and Infiltration; Invasion and Dispossession; and finally Consolidation of Immigrant Settlement. If the arrival of Tasman in 1642 marked the beginning of exploration, then the period up to the 1840s which saw settlement of sealers, whalers, traders and missionaries in and around Māori communities, would certainly be seen as infiltration. Inevitably the next phase, invasion and dispossession were about to become a reality for Māori.

Claiming the land

As the Treaty was being drafted in January 1840, in the Bay of Islands, the New Zealand Company's first wave of British settlers arrived in Wellington (Orange, 2004). Post-Treaty settler arrivals were initially welcomed by Māori. Walker (2004) contends that in the first 15 years following the signing of the Treaty, tribes located close to Pākehā markets enjoyed a period of economic expansion and prosperity. However, there were early indications of the danger that lay ahead for Māori as organised settlement initiated by the New Zealand Company had made Māori and Pākehā competitors for land because ultimately, "Māori owned it and the Pākehā wanted it" (Walker, 2004, p. 101).

Many chiefs started to become suspicious of the British government's motives and lost confidence that their rights under the Treaty would be upheld. Ngata (2019a) proposes that in the same year that the Treaty was being signed, Hobson declared Te Waipounamu (the South Island) terra nullius and thus claimed the land for the British Crown. This claim ignored the reality that Māori did occupy the island and was made despite the fact it breached the Treaty agreement. Hobson and successive governors then exercised their assumed superior status and proceeded to make laws and regulations that increasingly undermined Māori governance (King, 2003; O'Malley, 1998; Orange, 2004). The implications associated with land purchases were particularly problematic as explained by Orange (2004):

> From 1840, Māori gradually became aware that they were no longer free to dispose of their lands as they chose. Under the terms of the Treaty, they could sell land only to the government. If they wanted to sell land and the government did not want to buy it, the land could not be sold to anyone. If the government agreed to buy the

> land, officials could set a low price, and then on-sell the land to settlers at a much higher price (p. 50).

In the 1850s, as settlers flowed into Aotearoa and land purchase agents continued to pressure Māori to sell their land, conflicts played out all over the country and in some areas, such as Nelson, this tension escalated and resulted in loss of life of both Māori and Pākehā (King, 2003; Orange, 2004; Walker, 2004). At the same time that these conflicts were unfolding, in the Bay of Islands, Māori chief, Hone Heke who had been the first to sign the Treaty, had also become disenchanted with the effects of colonisation and demonstrated his frustration towards British authorities by cutting down a flagstaff flying the British flag (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 1997; Orange, 2004).

Collective frustration with the government and concern about their future prompted Māori tribal leaders in the central plateau of the North Island to engage in a series of meetings to canvass support for the idea of uniting under a Māori King (King, 2003). In an effort to have a stronger mechanism of self-governance, the Waikato chief, Te Wherowhero was selected to lead what became known as the King movement or Kingitanga, that envisaged a "complimentary, rather than antagonist, relationship with the government" (O'Malley, 1998 p. 17). Not all Māori tribes recognised the Māori King however, and while the intention of this movement might have been to better connect Māori and Pākehā so that they might live in peace, King (1997) proposes that it was seen as an act of rebellion and "a blatant attempt to prevent land sales" (p. 34). As a result many "settlers began to voice the opinion that only war could erase Māori disloyalty and open up land for further settlement" (p. 34).

The Kingitanga movement was one example of a collectively enacted, Māori response to the land conflicts which were significantly compromising Māori and European relationships. The British governor's responses to the mounting tension had been to push ahead with land purchases despite Māori concerns, and increase military numbers in order to curtail Māori resistance to their authority (Orange, 2004). In this atmosphere it did seem that the prospect of war was inevitable. These speculations became a reality in 1860 when Māori clashed with government authorities over land sales in the north Taranaki settlement of Waitara.

The land wars

Governor Browne led the government in 1859 and crucially accepted an offer to buy land at Waitara, from one of the local chiefs, without notifying and negotiating with the senior chief, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake Whiti (Anderson et al., 2015). Orange (2004) asserts that Browne

was aware that this chief who was referred to as Kingi was unwilling to sell the land and positioned the transaction as a symbolic political move where "the heart of the matter was sovereignty and the government's authority to run the affairs of the country" (p. 62). The following year, when Kingi and his people peacefully occupied the piece of land in question to prevent land surveyors from marking the land, British imperial troops were sent and what would become known as the Taranaki War commenced (King, 2003). Taranaki tribes fought against the British troops in a battle that would last for 12 months and ultimately be inconclusive (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 2003; Orange, 2004).

Cognisant that he was likely to be criticised for his actions in Taranaki by both Māori and Pākehā, Browne convened a meeting of strategically selected Māori leaders in a gathering that would thereafter be called the Kohimarama Conference (Orange, 2004; Walker, 2004). While 200 leaders gathered at Kohimarama, many of the chiefs who were loyal to the Kingitanga were not invited or did not attend. Walker (2004) recognised these calculated invitations as a means for Browne to isolate those who supported the Kingitanga and enact a "well-tried colonial strategy of divide and rule" (p. 114). Browne used the Kohimarama Conference as a platform to promote the importance of the Treaty and propose that if Māori pledged unconditional recognition of the Crown's sovereignty, this would be the first step towards their self-governance (Anderson et al., 2015). Many of the chiefs believed that Browne's assurances were genuine and the promise of self-governance affirmed their support for the Treaty of Waitangi, based on the understanding that they would benefit from allegiance to the Crown.

The differing understandings of sovereign rights meant that tensions continued to simmer between government forces and the tribes of the Kingitanga. These tensions were escalating as Governor Grey commissioned the building of a military road between Auckland and the Waikato. The governor viewed the King movement as "a major obstacle to the colonisation of the North Island" (Walker, 2004, p. 120) and thus proceeded with the construction of the road, despite the risk to peace he knew it represented. When fighting erupted again in Taranaki and local tribes were supported by Kingitanga tribes to defend their land, the governor used the involvement of the King movement to rationalise military invasion of the Waikato on the 12th of July 1863 (Anderson et al., 2015; King, 2003; Walker, 2004).

Orange (2004) explains that the invasion of Waikato was ultimately the beginning of what is commonly referred to as the New Zealand land wars that spread across a range of regions:

> In 1863 and 1864, British troops pushed further up the Waikato than was justified by the Māori opposition. Early 1864, a new operation was begun at Tauranga. Another campaign was launched in south Taranaki at the end of 1864, designed to make Taranaki habitable for settlers (p. 69-70).

These wars lasted for nearly a decade and involved some of the tribes who committed allegiance to the Crown at Kohimarama, fighting against Kingitanga tribes, alongside the British troops. These tribes were subsequently defined as *kūpapa* which from the British perspective meant *loyal* or *friendly*, but for Māori who stood against the Crown, *kūpapa* was defined in derogatory terms as *traitor* (Crosby, 2015). In his analysis of the historical kūpapa partnership between Ngāti Porou iwi and the Crown, Soutar (2000) cautions that it needs to be remembered that the tribe entered into this alliance not solely out of loyalty to the Crown, but as a means to both protect and advance their tribal interests. The degree to which the interests of tribes who fought for the British were protected at the conclusion of the war however, was inconsistent.

The consequences of war

While Māori had proved to be a formidable military obstacle, from the outset of war the struggle was unequal as the large number of British troops were joined and then supplanted by settler colonial forces (Orange, 2004; Walker, 2004). As the final shots of battle were fired in 1872 and Māori laid down their arms, they were unlikely to have been aware of legislation that had been passed by the settler government in 1863, that facilitated the confiscation of Māori land as punishment for their rebellion participation in the war (Orange, 2004). Confiscation further crippled tribes who had already been devastated by the consequences of war with Māori communities in Taranaki, Tauranga, Waikato and the Bay of Plenty losing over 1.2 million hectares of land (Walker, 2004). As King (2003) explains the application of the confiscation policy naturally focused on advancing the coloniser, and the benefits for tribes who had supported the government were not necessarily realised:

> The action also secured for the New Zealand Government, as it was intended to do, the land with which to reward the militia troops and settle new colonists. What was taken was selected more for its fertility and strategic importance than for the owners' part in the so-called rebellion: some tribes in northern Waikato who had remained loyal to the Government lost land along with those who had not (p. 216).

Successive Native Land Acts from 1862 through to 1880 became an effective mechanism for the government to convert collectively owned, customary land into freehold land for purchase or lease by Europeans, and saw Māori land holdings steadily diminish (Orange, 2004). When the Waitangi Tribunal was established over 100 years later in the 1970s, to investigate breaches

of the Treaty of Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019), the dispossession caused by land alienation during this time was indeed the focus of early inquires. These breaches continue to be relevant today for many iwi who have and continue to lay claims with the tribunal.

Another important government policy that was conceptualised during the wars and then applied in the post-war period was the introduction of the Native school system. It was envisaged that these schools "would ultimately foster an entirely English-speaking population" (Orange, 2004, p. 77). The Māori population was surpassed by Europeans in the 1860s and the wars had further exacerbated this situation therefore a political move to embed the English language was predictable. Such a move was also consistent with Stoke's (1980) earlier description of the third phase of colonisation as schools were positioned as ideal sites for consolidating immigrant settlement.

Native schools

Prior to the wars schooling opportunities for Māori children had been introduced in some communities by the missionaries, such as the case described earlier in Northland. The Māori language was initially the medium of education instruction in these schools until Governor Grey insisted that the missionaries conduct instruction in English. According to Walker (2004) Grey viewed the schools as a means of removing Māori children "from the 'demoralising influences of their villages', thereby 'speedily assimilating the Māori to the habits and usages of the European'" (p. 146). This discourse exemplifies how the colonisers upheld notions of European supremacy by reinforcing deficit views of Māori that were embedded in the Doctrine of Discovery.

The missionary schools however, were largely abandoned during the land wars and in the post-war period the government sought to formalise their control over education. The 1867 Native Schools Act, was consequently established reflecting a dual schooling system of Native and Public schools (Simon & L. Smith, 2001). The Native schools were specifically developed for Māori children and were underpinned by two key aspects. Barrington (2008) explains that the first aspect focused on English language to 'civilise' and assimilate Māori and the second aspect was 'self-help' which placed the onus on Māori to provide land and resources for the school, including the teacher's salary. However, some saw this as an ongoing ploy to acquire more Māori land.

The emphasis on English was unsurprising however, Barrington (2008) contends that the 'self-help' component of the policy emerged from the cynical pragmatism of Hugh Carlton. Carlton

was a school inspector and politician who in rationalising this approached claimed that "If we attempt to hunt them [Māori] into education as we have hunted them into selling their lands, a spirit of resistance will naturally be engendered…..Make education a part of the Runanga (Māori assembly); give the directions of it to themselves; let them feel it is their own work" (Barrington, 2008, p. 19-20). These self-help conditions placed pressure on some Māori communities to provide the resourcing required to set up these schools and amendments were made in cases where communities struggled. The condition however that Māori supply the land remained a requirement for many decades.

Many Māori communities responded positively to the introduction of these village-based Native schools although in areas that had been seriously impacted by the war such as the Waikato and Taranaki, there was strong resistance to these government-funded schools (Simon, 1998). As with the mission schools, Māori again welcomed the opportunities to learn to read and write that these Native schools represented for their children and they continued to seek out the skills and knowledge that contributed to Pākehā economic success for themselves. Simon (1998) contends that increasingly Māori came to recognise the need to complement traditional culture and knowledge with that of the Pākehā if they were to survive within a Pākehā-dominated society. Jenkins (2000) concurs with this sentiment and proposes that during this time Māori were not passive and victimised participants but rather they were "active, rational, thoughtful, hopeful and positive players" (p. 43).

In the early years of Native schooling, Walker (2004) contends that new entrant children were permitted to speak Māori as teachers inducted them into school routines. However, the incongruence between these schools and life in Māori communities meant that progress was slow and poor English was cited as the cause. This prompted school inspectors to instruct teachers to encourage Māori children to speak only English on the school playgrounds. These expectations progressively escalated to the general prohibition of Māori language within schools and for decades the prohibition was enforced in some instances by corporal punishment (Walker, 2004).

Education regulations continued to evolve in the decades that followed 1867 and while changes in some practices may have emerged, the eradication of the Māori language and the suppression of Māori culture remained consistent features of the assimilation policy (Barrington, 2008; Simon, 1998). As with the principles of the Doctrine of Discovery, determined social engineering also played out in the dual schooling system that enabled the ongoing advancement

of Pākehā. Simon (1998) highlights examples of this by stating that schooling for Pākehā became compulsory in the Education Act of 1877 but was not compulsory for Māori until 1894. It is important to note that this compulsory schooling was specifically secular, indicating the colonial government's intention to ensure that religion and spirituality had no, or at least a marginalised place in education. Additionally, curriculum in Native schools was not intended to extend the intellect of Māori children, but rather it focused on developing law-abiding citizens with practical skills to enter employment as labourers within society. This was particularly evident in the Native District High Schools that were established to cater for Māori secondary school students. The academic courses that characterised the curriculum in District High Schools that served Pākehā communities were simply not available to Māori students in the Native schools. In instances where an academic curriculum was available to Māori students, as was the case at Te Aute College (an Anglican Māori boys' boarding school), Simon (1998) contends that Māori students demonstrated that they were indeed capable of intellectual extension. The first group of Māori university graduates successfully matriculated in the 1890s from Te Aute, however, far from recognising the success and potential of their scholarly feat, the Department of Education pressured the principal of the school to replace the academic curriculum with a non-academic, agricultural alternative. The principal initially resisted this pressure but when the Department of Education suspended scholarships to the school, he relented and changed the curriculum back.

Largely in response to some societal changes, education policy did begin to shift from assimilation (Europeanisation) following the 1930s. Aotearoa had participated in two world wars and Māori and Pākehā had jointly represented the country and fought against the same enemy. Understandably, policy that framed race relations would need to be reconsidered.

The evolution of society and education policy

While Māori had fought alongside Pākehā in World War 1, unlike Pākehā serviceman, they were not eligible for ballots for farms upon their return from the war based on the inaccurate assumption that Māori already had their own land (Orange, 1987). However, immediately following World War 2 and the heroic deeds of the Māori Battalion, Simon (1998) suggests that at a superficial level a sense of goodwill towards Māori people played out in the form of substituting the term Māori for Native in official usage and there was also some criticism of the separate schooling system. In 1947, in an effort of avoid inferences of racial inequity, Native schools were renamed Māori schools and from the late 1950s Māori schools were gradually

phased out so that by 1969 all schools had been transferred to public schools controlled by regional education boards (Barrington, 2008).

Another important change that occurred at end of World War 2 was the rapid development of city suburbs and suburban culture (King, 2003). Many Māori who were still located in their rural settlements at the conclusion of the war struggled to sustain themselves on their reduced areas of ancestral land. Consequently, large numbers of Māori shifted during the earlier mentioned urban migration, from their rural homes into town and city settings and began living within close proximity to Pākehā. This national merging of cultures in urban communities provided the societal context within which the integration policy emerged.

Integration policy

While the transition from assimilation to integration in the mid 1940s might have seemed to be an optimistic progression in race relations, Kukutai (2010) states that in reality the shift reflected "changes in racial ideologies and economic circumstances, both of which provided compelling incentives for a change of tact towards the Māori 'problem'" (p. 56). The integration policy officially emerged in the 1960s following the publication of the *Report of the Department of Māori Affairs*, which is more commonly referred to as the *Hunn Report* (Hunn, 1960). This report was the first official publication to detail statistical evidence of the disparities between Māori and non-Māori with regard to health, housing, employment and education. In order to address these disparities Hunn proposed that the evolutionary development of Māori and Pākehā would need to involve the integration of both races "to form one nation wherein Māori culture remains distinct" (Hunn, 1960, p. 15). Although the integration policy sought to redefine the relationship between Māori and non-Māori by recognising diversity and selected aspects of Māori culture, it is difficult to ascertain how this approach was fundamentally different from assimilation. Simon (1990) contends that the integration policy provided a means to continue assimilation by obscuring the asymmetry in social relations between Māori and Pākehā.

During the integration policy period of the 1960s the social fabric of Aotearoa society continued to evolve with further migration of Māori from rural to urban areas and a significant influx of immigrant settlers from the Pacific Islands. This group was followed by immigrants from South East Asia a decade later and growing diversification of Aotearoa society in the 1970s instigated a policy focus on multiculturalism (Johnson, 1998).

Multicultural policy

According to Irwin (1989) multiculturalism was distinguishable from the policies of assimilation and integration because during the 1970s cultural diversity was acknowledged and considered to be acceptable within the social structure of Aotearoa. Multiculturalism therefore sanctioned and fostered notions of cultural distinctiveness and difference and did not require cultural groups to assimilate into the dominant Pākehā group.

While the objective of multiculturalism was to recognise and celebrate cultural diversity, how well this policy served non-Pākehā is questionable. Tooley (2000) acknowledges that while multiculturalism represented a progression from previous policies it continued "to draw its inspiration and rationale from the white-middle class professional understanding of how the education system might best respond to the perceived and assumed needs and interests of minority groups" (p. 48).

Multiculturalism was problematic for Māori according to Johnson (1998) who contends that this policy obscured the vision inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi, prompted a focus on relationships between *all* ethnic groups and consequently ignored the importance of the fundamental Treaty relationship between the Māori and Pākehā signatories. During the 1970s and 1980s, Māori sought to challenge the marginalisation of the Treaty and this dissatisfaction was the catalyst for a cultural revolution that became known as the kaupapa Māori movement.

Kaupapa Māori movement

Between the 1960s and 1970s, social activism emerged in different areas of the world in the form of a range of civil rights, feminist and anti-war movements (Berryman, SooHoo, Nevin & Ford, 2015; Johnson, 1998; Kukutai, 2010). In Aotearoa, Māori were becoming more vocal through the 1970s and 1980s about the degree to which the government had neglected their obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. G. Smith (2003) proposes that this revolution reflected a shift in the mindset of many Māori. This activism played out in the development of a range of groups to represent Māori interests and these groups demonstrated their opposition to ongoing political, social and cultural oppression through submissions to parliament and protest movements such as hīkoi (marching) and land occupation (Johnson, 1998; King, 1997). G. Smith (2003) contends that these shifts allowed Māori to progress beyond dwelling on the negative impacts of colonisation, and move to a place where they could talk about 'conscientisation' or 'consciousness-raising' and reclaim control over their lives. In this sense he describes kaupapa Māori is being a proactive and transformative theory and action. Kukutai

(2010) contends that the state response in Aotearoa to this seismic shift in ideology, manifested in a policy shift to biculturalism.

Biculturalism policy

Biculturalism was first referenced by Walker in 1973 in relation to the underachievement of Māori students. He proposed that this underachievement could be attributed to the monocultural (Pākehā) system that Māori students experienced in schools, within which their Māori identity was ignored and belittled so that they could not see positive associations with their culture. Walker's propositions reflected the concerns of Māori communities and these concerns along with the Māori activism demanded a political response.

Significant policy did begin to emerge from the mid 1970s under the mantle of biculturalism. Of particular note was the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. This legislation positioned the Treaty firmly in the national agenda and resulted in the establishment of the previously mentioned Waitangi Tribunal to investigate Treaty breaches (Kukutai, 2010).

Sullivan (1994) contends that biculturalism is defined in a range of ways in different countries. He posits that in the context of Aotearoa, biculturalism is underpinned by four central principles that in line with the policy mentioned above, prioritise a partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi:

- Biculturalism is an equal partnership between two groups that values and supports cultural diversity.
- Māori are acknowledged as the *tangata whenua*, the original inhabitants of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- The Māori translation of the Treaty of Waitangi is acknowledged as the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- Biculturalism is concerned with redressing past injustices and re-empowering the indigenous people. Implicit in this principle is the acknowledged fact that after a century and a half of cultural domination, Māori set their own path and make their own decisions about Māori development in partnership with non-Māori (p. 195-196).

In his discussion about biculturalism Sullivan (1994) also offers a solution to the tension that is created for non-Māori and non-Pākehā citizens of Aotearoa who feel marginalised when the Treaty partnership is only framed in relation to the original two signatories, Māori and Pākehā. He suggests that the term Tauiwi (non-Māori) is inclusive of all non-Māori and should replace the Māori/Pākehā partnership with a Māori/Tauiwi relationship. More recently Treaty educator

Ingrid Huygens (2016) references Pākehā and Tauiwi Treaty partners, rather than replacing Pākehā with Tauiwi which is a convention that has also been adopted in this thesis.

The timeframe between the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and Walker's (1973) call to recognise biculturalism was over 130 years. The ideology of biculturalism has subsequently influenced education policy since the 1970s and continues to frame policy development here in 2020. Given that Walker (1973) originally referenced biculturalism as a response to the underachievement of Māori students in public schooling nearly 50 years ago, it is timely to consider the picture of achievement for Māori and examine the policy context as well as the responses to policy that have emerged.

The current education context

Māori student achievement

In the past four decades, since Walker (1973) discussed the underachievement of Māori students, other educationalists have continued to express concerns about the ongoing disparities between Māori and non-Māori students (Bishop, Berryman, Taikiwai, & Richardson, 2003; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Phillips, McNaughton, & Mac Donald, 2001). In 1991, G. Smith referred to the disparities as a Māori educational crisis and, in 2003, Hattie undertook a large scale meta-analysis to compare student achievement in Aotearoa with international trends. He found that in Aotearoa, the bottom 20% of students were falling behind at a rate that was greater than many other Western countries and this decline has subsequently created the widest achievement gap for countries in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Many of the students represented in this bottom 20% were Māori and minority groups from Pacific Islands. Hattie (2003) further suggested, that based on these statistics, Aotearoa could have "the greatest proportion of physically present but psychologically absent students" (p. 6). This disturbing situation was aptly summarised by Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh and Teddy (2007) who identified the associated implications with underachievement:

> Statistical data have consistently shown that, compared with non-Māori students, Māori students consistently underachieve, are stood down and are suspended at greater rates than other student populations in this country, opt out of schooling (by leaving before the official leaving age of 16 or being exempted from schooling) at greater rates than other student groups, and when they leave, are less qualified. (p. 10)

More recently in 2018, a report released by the New Zealand School Trustee's Association (NZSTA) and the Office of the Children's Commission (OCC) identified that concerning

numbers of Māori students and students from other minority groups (non-Pākehā and disabled), commonly experience marginalisation, discrimination and racism across the education system (NZSTA & OCC, 2018). Another report released in 2018 by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) that investigated global trends in 41 high and middle-income countries in the OECD and the European Union found that disparities continue to characterise the education context with Aotearoa ranking in the bottom third for inequality across pre-school, primary and secondary education (UNICEF, 2018). The inequalities are reflected in the differences between Māori students and those from the Pacific Islands when compared to European and Asian students. Perhaps not surprisingly, in 2018 Secretary for Education, met with a government select committee. She explained that Māori underachievement was chronic, intractable and systemic and she specifically referenced the inability of teachers to respond to the identity, culture and language of Māori students as being a major problem (Radio New Zealand, 2018).

This recently gathered evidence confirms that little has changed for Māori students since Walker (1973) highlighted the monocultural construct of education in Aotearoa in the 1970s. Concerningly, the evidence also indicates that the contexts for learning that have been created in schools are not benefiting and, in some cases are in fact, negatively impacting on many Tauiwi minority students. Therefore an education system that is perpetuating the advancement of Pākehā and Asian students but having an adverse impact on the other Treaty partners is compromising the constitutional equity that the Treaty promised.

Wider societal implications of educational inequity are detailed in a report by Schulze and Green (2017) which, based on evidence, surmises that while the Māori population is growing much faster than the non-Māori population, "missed opportunities from the perpetuating inequity will continue to grow" (p. 2). The analysis of the evidence shows that currently one third of Māori of working age do not have a qualification and over half of the Māori population who are currently working are employed in lower skilled jobs. The authors propose that significant changes will be required to remove these inequalities and suggest that "the education system needs to be rewired for Māori success" (p. 2).

It is important to acknowledge that since the late 1980s, as a result of the kaupapa Māori movement, there have been two schooling systems in Aotearoa, namely state schooling and kaupapa Māori schooling taught through the medium of Māori and adhering to Māori beliefs and principles. State schooling has now come to reflect settings where educational instruction

is delivered through the medium of English or Māori. Collectively these school settings are often commonly referred to as mainstream and in some schools (such as Maungatapu Primary School in the following case study) the term kura auraki has been adopted to describe the English-medium classroom settings.

Māori-medium education is an umbrella term used to describe a range of schooling contexts which reflect varying levels of te reo. It is important to clarify, that Māori-medium education is not independent of the state as it is state funded and operated in accordance with state curriculum.

May and Hill (2005) explain that schools that are total immersion education settings reflect a situation whereby the vast majority of the learning programme (81-100%) is taught through the medium of te reo Māori. Typically, kaupapa Māori principles are foundational in these settings which are usually whole-school kura kaupapa Māori primary schools and wharekura secondary schools. Partial immersion or bilingual education in contrast describes schooling where lower levels (between 80 – 30%) of the learning programme is taught in te reo Māori. May and Hill (2005) contend that these settings usually reflect bilingual units located within English-medium schools. While te reo might characterise the medium of instruction in these classrooms, being positioned within English-medium settings means that often these bilingual units, (sometimes referred to as rumaki units), are not necessarily underpinned by kaupapa Māori principles and values which is an important distinction from total immersion settings.

When discussing the Māori educational crisis G. Smith (1991) asserted that kura kaupapa Māori immersions schools were a successful option in terms of both language ability outcomes and general achievement levels. Given the relatively small number of Māori students in total immersion education settings comparative analyses in achievement outcomes between total immersion Māori-medium and English-medium school settings should be undertaken with some caution. The Ministry of Education however, does undertake comparative analyses. In 2009 the annual report on Māori education showed that the proportion of students from total immersion Māori-medium schools that leave school qualified to attend university is much higher "than the number of Māori students in English-medium schools and comparable with the proportion of non-Māori in English-medium schools" (Ministry of Education, 2010a, p. 14).

While the caution regarding generalising comparisons between the performances of Māori students in total immersion Māori-medium and English-medium is valid, the higher success rate of students in education settings which are underpinned by Māori epistemologies and

ontologies does warrant consideration. Similarly, a characterising feature of total immersion Māori-medium schools that further distinguishes them from English-medium settings is the high levels of engagement of Māori parents and whānau. This feature is also worth considering carefully.

Māori whānau involvement in Māori-medium education

It must be remembered that Māori parents and whānau who chose to enrol their children in kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori schooling in the early years, made the decision to educate their children outside of the state system in order to gain, "greater control and autonomy over the important educational decision making related to the schooling of their children" (G. Smith, 1991, p. 14). G. Smith (1991) further explains that kura kaupapa Māori schools have established structures that require whānau support, mitigate mistrust, and reflect a context within which the whānau network can assist and contribute meaningfully to the education of their children.

In 1998 and 1999 McKinley conducted a research study in the Wellington area entitled: *Māori Parents and Education* to "give a better understanding of the relations between Māori parents and schools" (McKinley, 2002, p. 7). The study involved interviews with 96 parents from English-medium, bilingual and kura kaupapa Māori schools. The results indicated that while all parents said that they had some involvement in their respective schools, the highest levels of parental engagement occurred in kura kaupapa Māori schools and this was followed by bilingual schools. Māori whānau in kura kaupapa schools also talked about kura (school) guidelines for whānau involvement that made it clear that they could contribute as governors and managers. This meant that all whānau had a responsibility to attend hui and support the kura in other capacities such as joining subcommittee working groups (administration, building and resource groups).

The high levels of whānau and community involvement in kura kaupapa Māori education that McKinley found in 1998 and 1999 were consistent with the findings of an Education Review Office (ERO) report published 2002 which specifically noted that "community involvement and support is a strength of many kura" (ERO, 2002, p. 7). In contrast McKinley's findings pertaining to Māori whānau in English-medium schools indicated that parental participation had been largely confined to the school governance and in most cases, schools said they had difficulty finding Māori parents who were willing to stand for and enter into governance roles.

The combination of strong parental involvement in kura kaupapa Māori schools, where kaupapa Māori values underpin learning and the academic success of students in these settings raises some critical questions about what *is* or *is not* happening in English-medium schooling where in reality the majority of Māori students receive their education. It could be suggested that this situation has not entirely gone unnoticed by the Ministry of Education, given the drive to increase Māori whānau and community involvement in schools and the resulting policies that have evolved over the past two decades.

Policies and initiatives to foster whānau-school partnerships

Traditionally, from a Māori perspective, whānau and the wider tribal collective have always had important roles to play in the education of children. The notion of involving Māori whānau and communities in the education of children through home-school partnership initiatives is also not a recent phenomenon in education in Aotearoa. These official policies and initiatives have their origins in the previously mentioned Tomorrows Schools reforms of 1989 which sought to better meet the needs of Māori and consequently improve the educational experiences and outcomes of Māori students (Department of Education, 1988). The framework in which parents could become part of a school's Board of Trustees was predicated on the colonial voting system so that the school community voted in this governing body.

Māori were provided with the opportunity to comment on their relationship with schools in a series of 25 hui held throughout Aotearoa in 1997, eight years after the introduction of Boards of Trustees. The hui were part of an initiative entitled; *Making Education Work for Māori* (Ministry of Education & Te Puni Kokiri, 1998). A consistent theme that emerged from over 400 responses was that Māori parents and whānau were not entirely satisfied with their level of involvement in school and that they wanted to have a more active role in the education of their children, both at home and within the education system. As well as wanting more say in education Māori also stated that there needed to be greater accountability; more responsiveness and diversity in education; changes in attitudes and expectations; and better information and communication (Ministry of Education & Te Puni Kokiri, 1998).

This did indeed raise questions about the degree to which the Tomorrow's Schools' reforms were better meeting the needs of Māori although there was not an immediate response to these concerns. At the beginning of the new millennium and three years after the *Making Education Work for Māori* hui the Ministry of Education released the policy document titled: *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000a). This document detailed

guidelines that were specifically developed to assist Boards of Trustees and schools to engage with Māori parents, whānau and communities. *Better Relationships for Better Learning* was developed on the premise that schools, "that are more inclusive of the concerns and interests of Māori parents are better able to translate these into more effective programmes of learning and teaching for Māori children" (Ministry of Education, 2000a, p. 4).

Notably, the Treaty of Waitangi was referred to within *Better Relationships for Better Learning* with particular reference made to the responsibilities that schools have under the Treaty "to make sure that Māori parents are an integral part of the school and their children are getting the maximum benefits from what the school is providing" (p. 4). The professional initiative and responsibility to develop and maintain relationships with Māori parents and communities is ultimately positioned with the school and in stating that the "Treaty of Waitangi is about two peoples entering into an agreement as equal partners (p. 7)" an explicit connection is drawn between the Treaty partnership and a school's obligations to work in partnership with Māori.

While the principle of partnership is important, Durie (1994) also suggests that the metaphor of a partnership needs to extend to encompass a situation whereby "two partners to the Treaty work together to realise mutually acceptable goals" (p. 87). This emphasis on 'mutually acceptable goals' was reinforced by Durie in 2001 at the previously mentioned Hui Taumata Mātauranga: Māori Education Summit. During that summit Durie also discussed the need for "greater co-operation between institutions such as homes and schools... there needs to be some consistency and a shared sense of direction" (p. 7). Durie referred to the practice of developing greater cohesion between homes and schools as being the principle of integrated action which recognises the multiple players in education. He stated that:

> Success or failure is the result of many forces acting together – school and community; teachers and parents; students and their peers; Māori and the State. Lives in New Zealand are too closely intertwined to pretend that action in one sphere does not have repercussions in another. Unless there is some platform for integrated action, then development will be piecemeal and progress will be uneven (p. 7).

Further evidence of the Ministry of Education's endeavours to increase Māori whānau and community participation in education of students can be found within important strategic statements. Such examples include the National Administration Guidelines where point 1(e), stipulates that the board, principal and staff are required to: "in consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make known to the school's community policies, plans and

targets for improving the achievement of Māori students" (Ministry of Education, 2019a, para. 2). The national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) also identifies community engagement as one of the foundation principles for making decisions and emphasises the need for the school's curriculum to connect with student's lives and engage "the support of families, whānau, and communities" (p. 9). Additionally, the most recently published version of *Ka Hikitia*, the Māori education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2013) identifies *Productive Partnerships* as one of five guiding principles.

The Ministry of Education has been very clear through the range of policies discussed above, that they expect schools to connect with Māori whānau and communities and develop relationships that will facilitate a situation where the Māori community and the school are partners. This expectation has resulted in a variety of responses.

English-medium schools' responses to policy

In Aotearoa, McKinley (2002) found that common initiatives and practices that schools enacted to encourage Māori parental involvement were similar to the responses I detailed in Chapter 2 when I was a student, teacher and leader. These included encouraging parents to participate in school defined opportunities for engagement such as parent-teacher interviews; meetings for school policy development; sports events and school trips; and general parent help.

While as mentioned above, the opportunity to be elected for the Board of Trustees was an option for Māori parents, McKinley found that only one English-medium school (out of 62) had a proportion of Māori board members that was equivalent to the proportion of Māori students. Many principals in McKinley's research had a deficit response to the lack of Māori parent representation on Boards of Trustees, believing that Māori parents were not interested in governance. More recently an analysis of Boards of Trustees carried out by the Ministry of Education showed that only 41.5% of schools had fair Māori representation on Boards of Trustees indicating that the democratic board election process continues to have implications for equity of representation of Māori on Boards of Trustees (Ministry of Education, 2019b).

Māori whānau and community responses to policy

In 2001, Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richards conducted research to collect the narratives of experience of Māori students and their whānau in English-medium secondary schools as part of the Te Kotahitanga research that was referenced in Chapter 2. Māori parents were also interviewed to gain an insight into how they believed the educational achievement of their children could be improved.

The researchers interviewed 60 Māori parents and extended family members and found that despite over a decade after the Tomorrow's Schools reforms and the inception of the home-school partnerships model, many Māori parents and whānau did not feel that schools provided adequate and appropriate opportunities to involve them in the education of their children. In some cases, they reported negative views held by teachers about their children, their own negative experiences of schooling, poor communication and a lack of access to schools had compromised their ability to develop positive relationships with schools (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). More recently the barriers identified by this group in 2001 were repeated by another group of Māori parents and whānau who were interviewed by ERO in 2008. The interviews were undertaken as part of a major evaluation of school engagement with parents, whānau and communities and the feedback was consistent with the findings from the Te Kotahitanga interviews.

These narratives serve as evidence that despite the fact that the Ministry of Education had spent nearly twenty years directing schools to connect with Māori and develop partnerships that will give life to the intent of Tomorrow's Schools and the other associated policies, in 2008 these aspirations had not been realised. This has not deterred the government however, from maintaining their expectation that schools engage in meaningful ways with their Māori whānau and communities, as a means of raising Māori student achievement and addressing disparities. In recent years evidence has emerged to substantiate the impacts that can be made when schools develop learning focused partnerships with their Māori whānau and community.

Recent research

The impact of home-school connections

Prior to 2000 there was very little research based in Aotearoa that examined how whānau involvement in schools, impacted on learning outcomes. However, in 2003 Biddulph, Biddulph, and Biddulph, compiled a Best Evidence Synthesis Iteration (BES) on Family and Community Engagement. They surmised that parental, family, whānau and community involvement in education can influence greater improvement in learning outcomes for students than the school can do on its own.

Additionally, included within chapter seven of the school leadership BES, Alton-Lee, Robinson, Hohepa and Lloyd (2009) drew from extensive research to outline the kinds of whānau school connections that can be educationally powerful. They posit the importance of schools leaders understanding which types of connections are most powerful for three specific

reasons. The first reason is consistent with the suggestion offered by Biddulph et al. (2003) as they state that "school-family connections and interventions can have large positive effects on the academic and social outcomes of students" (p. 142). The second reason relates to the point that schools can inadvertently invest time and resources into particular kinds of engagement with families and communities that can be counterproductive, therefore they need to understand what is likely to have a positive outcome. Furthermore, by focusing on the establishment of educationally powerful connections with whānau and communities "leaders gain access to a greater range and depth of resources to support the work of their schools". (p. 142)

Alton-Lee et al. (2009) base their discussion about the impact of whānau-school connections on student achievement on syntheses and meta-analyses of 37 studies. Effect sizes were used to illustrate the impact of these connections on student achievement. An effect size is described by Robinson et al. (2009) as "a standardised measure of the strength between two variables" (p. 38). A benchmark for judging the effect sizes is provided by Hattie (2009) who suggests that 0.35 is the effect size one could expect from a year of 'average' teaching. An analysis of strategies for connecting homes with schools showed that at the upper end of the continuum, joint interventions involving parents and teachers could have a large impact on student achievement with a very high effect size of 1.81. The lower end of the continuum however, showed that parental help with homework could have a negative effect size of -0.24, which highlights the importance of school leaders and teachers understanding the nature and impact of certain practices when parents are encouraged and expected to assist their children with learning at home.

Evidence of the highest effect was drawn from a case study that was undertaken in a number of communities where the joint intervention was between Māori whānau and the school. The intervention was joint in the sense that an intervention that was being implemented in the school was simultaneously implemented by whānau at home over a period of one school term (10 weeks). The effect size of 1.81 therefore is most impressive when it is considered in relation to Hattie's (2009) benchmark of 0.35 for an 'average' year of teaching and 0.60 for a year of 'excellent' teaching.

The findings from the research analysed by Alton-Lee et al. (2009) provide critical, statistical evidence that whānau-school connections are important because "there is great potential for leaders to counter patterns of underachievement by building school-family connections that are

explicitly related to the core business of teaching and learning" (Alton-Lee et al., 2009, p. 143). These case studies and other evidence are usefully captured in the school leadership BES to provide leaders with examples of how educationally powerful connections can be created with their communities. There is less research available however, for leaders who are seeking approaches for engagement that specifically focus on developing connections with their Māori whānau and community, although the evidence base is growing. A literature review by Tahuri (2007) provides some useful insights into how leaders in English-medium education (referred to as mainstream education in the review) might develop and maintain educational powerful connections with their Māori whānau and communities.

Effective engagement of Māori whānau and communities

Tahuri's (2007) review of the literature specifically focused on effective engagement of families, whānau and communities in mainstream education and the building of partnerships. The sources that were examined included reports, publications by the Ministry of Education, education journals, conference proceedings and key note addresses. Literature dating back to as early as 1975 was also sourced to inform traditional Māori practices and ways of being. The review identified six conceptual themes:

- Mana Whenua – the unique and rightful place of Māori as an equal partner
- Tikanga – validation of Māori language, culture and knowledge
- Whakawhanaungatanga – nurturing sustainable relationships
- Mahi Tika – getting it right
- Ma te Katoa te mahi – shared responsibility
- Ma te mahi tahi ka ea – collaboration leading to realised potential

Mana whenua – The unique and rightful place of Māori as an equal partner

The concept of mana whenua has gained prominence in recent legislation as a means of defining connections between iwi, or hapū and land (Iorns Magallanes, 2011). Tahuri explains that this concept encapsulates the authority and prestige associated with the people who are connected, through whakapapa, to the land of the local district. This thesis adopts Tahuri's definition of mana whenua and given that hapū usually link to specific, localised areas of land the terms mana whenua and hapū are used interchangeably.

In her explanation of mana whenua relationships with schools, Tahuri proposes that understanding mana whenua and the role that they have within a school is key to establishing relationships with whānau. Mana whenua constitute a foundation link and consequently, "acknowledging, and respectfully but proactively engaging in discourse with mana whenua

around their expectations and aspirations is pivotal to the successful implementation of initiatives" (p. 3).

Tikanga – Validation of Māori language, culture and knowledge

Tikanga encapsulates the notion of customary values and procedures. Tahuri's literature review revealed that understanding and valuing Māori epistemologies and ontologies are important when developing relationships and connections with Māori communities. Recognition and legitimisation of kauapapa Māori worldviews affirms Māori people's position as Treaty partners and opens up the potential for partnership to play out.

Whakawhanaungatanga – Nurturing sustainable relationships

Whakawhanaungatanga is the process of building relationships between individuals and across collectives and connections that might not necessarily be kinship based. The evidence in the literature review suggests that there is a greater likelihood that Māori whānau will participate in education and engage in partnership with schools when schools "take cognisance of the characteristics and importance of the whānau, and concepts of whānau relationships are managed in this way" (Tahuri, 2007, p. 5).

Mahi Tika – Getting it right

Mahi tika, in the context of Tahuri's literature review, referred to schools asking whānau what is right for them, and working on what whānau determine to be right, despite that fact that this might challenge and cause discomfort for the school. This conceptual theme is connected to the previously mentioned concepts as it requires schools to build relationships and foster an environment within which whānau and communities feel comfortable to be Māori and where their cultural experiences will be valued and nurtured.

Ma te Katoa te mahi – Shared responsibility

Tahuri links the conceptual theme of Ma te Katoa te mahi to Durie's (2001) principle of integrated action, referenced earlier. In this sense positive outcomes for Māori students are seen as being a shared responsibility and consequently success transpires as a result of whānau and schools working together in determined ways.

Ma te mahi tahi ka ea – Collaboration leading to realised potential

A collaboratively developed vision, focused on improving outcomes for Māori students, is captured in the theme of Ma te mahi tahi ka ea. Again, the crucial importance of relationship

development interfaces with this theme, as does the notion of getting the vision and goals 'right' based on what whānau and mana whenua want.

While Tahuri's literature review has indeed revealed these six important conceptual themes, she also identified that in 2007 there was little literature and research that specifically explored the role of leadership in establishing and developing effective relationships between schools and Māori whānau and communities. Since this time some examples of leadership focused research, that includes findings related to effective whānau-school connections, have emerged.

The role of leadership in whānau-school connections

Research into effective primary school principal's strategies and practices in engaging whānau Māori was undertaken by Pearson in 2015. In a study that involved eight principals she identified that how these principals approached building "relational trust with their school communities impacts on the success or not of whānau engagement" (p. 135). Specific strategies and practices included ensuring that there was collective Māori representation on Boards of Trustees for example and that there were opportunities for whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider community to contribute to the development of the school vision and values. Establishing determined school processes and events that foster relationships with individual whānau and whānau collectives was also an important finding as was ensuring that curriculum reflected integration of Māori language, culture and history.

Similar findings regarding successful whānau-school partnerships emerged from more recent research that focused on the practice of leaders who had reduced disparities between Māori and non-Māori students in English-medium schools. Like Pearson's (2015) findings, both Anderson (2018) and Murfitt's (2019) later research has emphasised the critical importance of developing relational trust not only with individuals but crucially with collectives of Māori whānau. Murfitt for example created a Māori Focus Group that consisted of board members, staff and whānau who were primarily, (but not solely) Māori. Both studies identified that leaders prioritised the time to listen to Māori whānau and community voices and created opportunities for the community to contribute in self-determining ways to the strategic direction of their schools. These principals also privileged Māori epistemologies and ontologies and engaged community ways of being to overcome difficulties and create collective momentum to ensure improved outcomes for Māori students.

Understanding school leadership in relation to decolonisation was a particular focus of Murfitt's (2019) research. As a Pākehā principal himself, he sought to understand how his own

leadership practice, had enabled him to collaborate with others to transform the culture of his English-medium secondary school, which consequently lead to improved outcomes for Māori students. Murfitt acknowledges that there is a strong correlation between long-term underachievement of Māori students in English-medium schools and the fact that the formal state schooling system emerged out of colonisation and was thus set up to marginalise and suppress Māori language, knowledge and culture. He posits that educational leadership that seeks to address Māori underachievement and transform the experiences of Māori students and their whānau therefore needs to represent the antithesis of colonial discourses and practice and thus highlights the importance of a decolonising approach to educational leadership.

While the concept of decolonising leadership, as a means to redress the ongoing negative consequences of colonisation for Māori, seems rational, apart from Murfitt's research, I found little education research based in Aotearoa that explored this conceptualisation. An international literature review focused on indigenous decolonising education leadership however, was recently published by Khalifa, Khalil, Marsh and Halloran (2018) who state that the "colonial origins of schooling and the implications these origins have on leadership is missing from educational leadership literature. Indeed little has been published on decolonizing and indigenous ways of leading schools" (p. 1). The literature review therefore represents a synthesis of international literature on indigenous, decolonising education leadership values and practices.

Indigenous, decolonising school leadership

Khalifa et al. (2018) contend that schools continue to serve as sites of colonial oppression and control and state that "educational leadership scholarship has not done enough to disentangle school leadership practices from this colonizing legacy" (p. 1). They further suggest that contemporary school leaders have inherited colonial structures and practices that were ultimately intended to eliminate indigeneity. Indigenous decolonising school leadership (IDSL), therefore must represent an approach to leadership that seeks to address the harm that the colonial schooling system perpetuates for indigenous students and their families.

Khalifa et al. (2018) identify the following five expressions or strands from the literature that provide a framework for the forms and underlying values that capture the leadership praxis of indigenous decolonising school leadership:

(1) Prioritization of self-knowledge and self-reflection.
(2) Enacting Self-Determination for Community Empowerment.

(3) Committing to community voices and values.

(4) Servicing through altruism and spirituality.

(5) Prioritising collectivism in communication.

Prioritisation of self-knowledge and self-reflection

This first strand of indigenous leadership is concerned with "what is known, how it has come to be known, and the way in which it is reflected on, through self-knowledge and self-reflection" (p. 18). Cognisance of self and enactment of leadership practices that enable indigenous communities to re-centre their own epistemologies and ontologies are important characteristics of this strand.

Enacting Self-Determination for Community Empowerment

Leadership that facilitated self-determination was a prevalent theme throughout the literature reviewed. This involves leaders understanding the relevance of their indigenous communities historical experiences, advancing the struggle for autonomy and providing determined opportunities for the community to contribute towards developing and achieving an identifiable common objective. Self-determination is critical in colonised communities and provides school and community leaders with "a sense of destiny and shared values that propel them to act in spite of their social and political environment" (p. 22).

Committing to community voices and values

This strand of committing to community voices and values positions leaders as community brokers who leverage the resources that reside in the community for the achievement and success of children. They create school contexts that are welcoming of the indigenous community and knowledge. Furthermore they ensure that there are opportunities for the community to contribute and advance student teaching and learning and in so doing they affirm indigenous students' ancestral teachings and values.

Servicing through altruism and spirituality

The literature indicated that spirituality is an integral part of indigenous life thus the inclusion of spirituality in all facets of life – including education is critically important. Indigenous leaders, therefore embrace the spirituality of students and also embody a sense of altruism. Servant-based leadership also characterises this strand and highlights the propensity of indigenous leaders to build trust with their students and communities and focus on their well-being.

Prioritising collectivism in communication

In contrast to leadership in a colonising context which is characterised by individualistic practice with dominating information transmission patterns, IDSL practice is characterised by collectivist approaches to communication and action. Collectivist approaches prioritise relationships and interpersonal harmony and therefore ensure that there is time and opportunities for groups of people to think, talk and contribute to shared decision-making.

While this international analysis describes the theories and practices of indigenous leaders, the five strands provide some useful conceptual understandings for non-indigenous school leaders to consider. There are also synergies between these concepts and the themes that emerged from the previously mentioned research on school leadership undertaken in Aotearoa (Anderson, 2018; Murfitt, 2019; Pearson, 2015; Tahuri, 2007). While this emerging research does provide evidence of school leadership theories and practices that can strengthen equity, the perspectives of tangata whenua and more specifically the voices of mana whenua are not yet strongly represented in the current research-base. This doctoral research, which examines the perspectives school leaders and considers these perspectives alongside the perspectives of the whānau of Māori students, tangata whenua and mana whenua.

Summary

The literature examined in this chapter described the origins of Māori knowledge and people and chronicled their pre-colonial histories in Aotearoa. It discussed the historical impact of European colonisation and described the current educational outcomes for Māori students in both total immersion Māori-medium and English-medium schools. These outcomes indicate Māori students in total immersion Māori-medium schools experience greater levels of success than Māori students in English-medium schools and the achievement inequities in English-medium between Māori and Pākehā confirm that colonisation is ongoing. These outcomes and the associated literature also verified that many Māori students and their whānau do not experience an education that is nurturing or fosters their sense of value. However, recent research detailing how school leaders can work in more determined and effective ways with the whānau and communities of Māori students was discussed, as well an analysis of indigenous, decolonising school leadership. This doctoral research provides insights into how school leaders can create contexts for learning that are nurturing and do foster a sense of value for Māori students and their whānau and therefore builds on and strengthens the current research base.

Chapter 4: Seeking, understanding and sharing knowledge

Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere. Engari, ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao

The bird that eats from the Miro tree owns the forest, the bird that eats from the tree of knowledge owns the world

Introduction

The whakataukī above that I have selected to frame this chapter reminds me that the decisions we make, influence the knowledge that we are able to attain. It also prompts me to consider not only the nature and origin of the knowledge that I seek to attain but also, it challenges me to think about *how* I will go about attaining that knowledge and more specifically, what theories and principles will determine the gathering of that knowledge. Accordingly, this chapter presents the research methodologies that guided this research as well as the rationale for selecting these methodologies. I also explain the research methods within which, I begin to introduce the participants and outline the important procedural decisions that were applied in the gathering and analysis of evidence. Each method and the subsequent research procedure is presented consecutively and in order.

Methodology

In its simplest form, L. Smith (2012) describes methodology broadly as being the theory of methods, or the rationale for selecting specific research methods. The selection of research methods therefore is an important consideration, particularly for researchers who seek to work within indigenous communities where, as L. Smith (2012) contends 'research' is viewed by many as one of the dirtiest words in their vocabulary. The harmful consequences, born out of their experiences of Western research linger in the memories of indigenous peoples and in response to this legacy Denzin, Lincoln and L. Smith (2008) call for a paradigm shift in research proclaiming that "it is time to dismantle, deconstruct, and decolonize Western epistemologies from within to learn that research does not have to be a dirty word" (p. ix). I was very conscious of L. Smith's (2012) warning and the challenge laid down by Denzin et al. (2008) while I contemplated the most appropriate methodology to guide my research practice. The research questions that I wanted to respond to and the participants I hoped to engage to answer these questions were critically important initial considerations.

The research questions

This research sought to understand how school leaders can develop more effective connections with Māori whānau and communities to facilitate educational success for Māori students through an examination of the leadership practice of two leaders. Responding to this central question required me to explore the perspectives of the principals themselves as well as Māori whānau and community members. Accordingly, two sub-questions were posed for each group:

Principal questions:

3. What experiences do you have of connecting with Māori whānau and community members?

4. What have you learned from these experiences in terms of what has been effective and what has not been effective?

Māori whānau and community questions:

3. What experiences do you have of connecting with your principal and the school?

4. What have you learned from these experiences in terms of what has been effective for you and what has not?

When contemplating methodologies it was important to consider the purpose of the research because there is an interrelationship between the purpose and the methodology that guides the research. Collective, indigenous, solution seeking are fundamental tenets of this research therefore I wanted to apply methodologies that would be, decolonising, participatory and emancipatory. Consequently, I selected culturally responsive methodologies to guide this research and incorporated case study and mixed methods research.

Culturally responsive methodologies

Culturally responsive methodologies are presented by Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin (2013) as an emerging research framework that promotes a stance where "establishing respectful relationships with participants is central to both human dignity and the research" (p. 1). Culturally responsive methodologies challenge notions of objectivity and neutrality that typify traditional approaches to research and encourages researchers to intimately come to know their participants and create a relational context within which the researched community defines the terms for engaging and interacting throughout the process of co-creating new knowledge.

Culturally responsive methodologies draw from both kaupapa Māori theory and critical theory and are characterised by three key dimensions, namely; "cultural and epistemological pluralism, deconstruction of Western colonial traditions of research, and primacy of relationships within a culturally responsive dialogic encounter" (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 15). While Berryman et al. (2013) acknowledge that some kaupapa Māori researchers recognise connections between kaupapa Māori theory and critical theory, they are also cognisant that others view them as being quite separate. While acknowledging these differing perspectives, these scholars do contend that both theoretical frameworks engage with "the complex, historical, and cultural realities of participants" (p. 8) and, that these are important, fundamental commonalities.

Kaupapa Māori theories

The connection between kaupapa Māori theory and history is made explicitly by Nepe (1991) who asserts that kaupapa Māori is "a body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Māori people" (p. 4). Building on this conceptualisation, more recently Pihama (2016) has suggested that kaupapa Māori theory is informed by mātauranga Māori which provides a cultural template to encompass Māori philosophies, beliefs, values and ways of operating.

As mentioned in the previous chapter the kaupapa Māori movement of the late 1970s emerged out of dissatisfaction and conscientisation of Māori, to the impacts of colonisation. This instigated over 25 years of Māori development that has continued to focus on self-determination, revitalisation and protection of all things Māori (Berryman, 2008; Bishop 1997b; Smith, 2012).

The simultaneous development of kaupapa Māori theory and corresponding research methodologies are according to Pihama (2016) inter-related like whakapapa in that "they are continually layered with each other" (p. 106). Kaupapa Māori research in particular, provided a mechanism by which Māori sought to challenge the dominance of Western research. Historically, research concerning Māori had been undertaken by non-Māori researchers and the outcomes had predominantly benefited the researchers, rather than the Māori participants themselves (Bishop, 1996, 1997b; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). L. Smith (2012) concurs with this position and states that:

> Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories which have dehumanized Māori and in practices that have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture (p. 185).

In order to speak back to Western traditions of research therefore, it is imperative that kaupapa Māori research not only locates power and control over all aspects of the research process with Māori, it must also assert and validate Māori epistemologies and ontologies. Collaboration between the researcher and the research community are emphasised and a determined focus to ensure benefits emerge for the participants is also a defining characteristic of kaupapa Māori research (Pipi et al., 2004).

Māori researchers have also identified principles and concepts which underpin and guide kaupapa Māori research which include: tino rangatiratanga – Māori self-determination; whānau, whakawhanaungatanga, whakapapa – family identity, connectedness and relationships; kawa and tikanga – Māori protocol; te reo – Māori language; a Māori worldview and social justice (Bishop 1996; L. Smith, 2012; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). While these principles are specifically connected to Māori, Berryman et al. (2013) contend that their application could be considered for other minoritised groups. Consequently, these principles from kaupapa Māori are carried through to underpin culturally responsive research methodologies. There are also strong connections between these principles and the tenets of critical theories.

Critical theories

Critical theories seek to interrogate the location of power in any given society and address issues of injustice. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2017) provide a more specific description of this theory:

> Its intention is not merely to give an account of society and behaviour but to realize a society that is based on equality and democracy for all its members. Its purpose is not merely to understand situations and phenomena but to change them. In particular it seeks to emancipate the disempowered, to redress inequality and to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society (p. 51).

The notion of pursuing freedom is consistent with Freire's (1996) conceptualisation of critical pedagogy which is grounded in critical theory. He asserts that achieving liberation from oppression and thus transformation of the world, is the great humanistic and historical task of oppressed peoples. It requires conscientisation, through which oppressed people become consciously aware of reality and the conditions that perpetuate their disadvantage and sustains a situation whereby social, political and economic power continue to be located with one group - the oppressors. It is not just the oppressed however, who need to be conscientised to oppressive systems. Love (2000) contends that we are all socialised into playing either dominant or subordinate roles which preserve and perpetuate a 'dis-equal' society. It is

imperative therefore that both the oppressed and the oppressors become conscious to oppressive systems. Just becoming conscious however is insufficient to generate social change or what Freire (1996) refers to as praxis. He proposes that praxis can only transpire from "the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality" (p. 62). Furthermore, he contends that the reflection and action that materialises as critical intervention, and results in liberation must be led by the oppressed group and not imposed by the oppressor because it "is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free the oppressor" (p. 38).

Building on Freire's (1996) conceptualisations of consciousness raising, reflection, action and praxis, G. Smith (1999) posits an indigenous representation of critical theory that positions the three concepts of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in a cycle. By rejecting a sequential linear representation of these concepts, G. Smith (1999) asserts that the cycle provides a model where "all of these components are considered important; all can be held simultaneously; all stand in dialectical relation to one another" (p. 39). He then specifically references the development of kaupapa Māori education as a model where this transforming cycle has played out in the context of Aotearoa. For example, Māori communities who were conscious of the implications of colonisation made a commitment to revitalise Māori language, knowledge and culture through a series of Māori immersion pre-school then schooling initiatives. These actions represent collective resistance because they exemplified a rejection of colonial state schooling. The resulting successful revitalisation of Māori language, knowledge and culture constitutes the transformed reality or transformative praxis that Māori communities were seeking. Given the ongoing evolution of kaupapa Māori education across generations, G. Smith (1999) contends that these communities can continue to participate (sometimes unconsciously) in the transforming cycle - "freeing themselves from multiple oppressions and exploitation(s)" (p. 38).

The premise of enabling freedom from oppression must be visible within research that is guided by critical theories. Denzin et al. (2008) assert that "the emancipatory, empowering values of critical pedagogy" (p. 5) are embodied in critical qualitative research and that this approach brings "researchers and the research participants into a shared, critical space, a space where the work of resistance, critique and empowerment can occur" (p. 5). In highlighting the nature of the interplay between the researcher and research participant(s) these authors specify that while a critical theoretical approach to research should take account of and seek to address unjust power dynamics in society, careful attention must also be paid to power dynamics within the research relationships. This view is consistent with Berryman et al. (2013) who propose that

culturally responsive methodologies reject conventions that enable researchers to exert power over participants. In this sense, culturally responsive methodologies represent the antithesis of impositional research as the approach is "the conjoined work of both the researcher and the participant(s) of carving out a liberatory research pathway toward mutual respect and freedom from domination" (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 4).

So, while kaupapa Māori and critical theories can and do exist separate from each other, there are strong similarities which make them complementary theoretical companions. Berryman et al. (2013) more specifically explain the interrelationship:

> Both theoretical traditions value human dignity and strive for voice, both honor the necessity of relationships and dialogue, both desire multicultural revitalization, both cultivate the social and political consciousness necessary for reform, both vision power over one's own destiny, especially those on the margins (p. 15).

These similarities resonated with the purpose of my doctorate.

Application to this research

The experiences of school leaders in relation to their Māori communities and the experiences of Māori participants are the primary focus of this research. Accordingly, I wanted to apply a methodology that would draw from kaupapa Māori, authentic ways of knowing and being to optimise Māori self-determination, cultural revitalisation and protection. Additionally, as outlined in the previous chapter, the colonisation of Aotearoa has perpetuated a state education system, within which Māori and other minority groups of students experience far less success when compared with their Pākehā peers. These education inequities playout in wider society whereby Pākehā continue to occupy a position of social, economic and political dominance (Bishop, O'Sullivan & Berryman, 2010; Schulze & Green, 2017). Critical theory therefore, provides a means to critique the oppressor and oppressed relationship through a wider lens and consider how all students on the margins, might benefit from a critical response to education inequities.

Other principles that feature prominently in both kaupapa Māori and critical theoretical approaches to research are relationships and narratives. Consequently, Berryman et al. (2013) identify relationships and narratives as being important principles of culturally responsive methodologies.

Relationships

In describing the importance of relationships in research, Berryman et al. (2013) cite Freire's (2004) collectivising notion of dialectical solidarity. This means that questioning experimenting and planning are tasks that are undertaken by people together in order to "mutually explore the knowledge of living experiences" (p. 12). Accordingly, relational interaction becomes the means by which the researcher and the research participants' questions, experiences and interpretations of the same event can become intertwined to create a "richer picture that is formed through a reciprocal and co-created response" (p. 12).

Clandinin and Connelly (1994) contend that if individual and social change are going to emerge from research, relationships need to be built between researchers and their participants first. Reason (1994) promotes the idea of collaborative and participatory inquiry which is derived from a worldview that is more pluralistic and egalitarian. Reason positions "human beings as co-creating their reality through participation: through their experience, their imagination and intuition, their thinking and their action" (p. 324).

As mentioned earlier, the prioritisation of relationships and connectedness in research also defies traditional methodologies which promote distance, objectivity and neutrality between the researcher and participants. Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) claim that these conventional approaches to research can be perceived as colonising acts and thus relational approaches resist the perpetuation of colonisation. Bishop (2005) concurs with this position and asserts that applying kaupapa Māori principles and in particular the principle of whakawhanaungatanga, is fundamental if indigenous peoples are to be freed from neo-colonial domination in research.

The importance of understanding relationships, not only between people but also the interconnectedness between people and the wider physical and spiritual world is also acknowledged by Durie (2008). He cautions that researchers who exercise an undue, micro-level focus on smaller methodological issues "may fail to engage Māori minds because it focuses downward and inwards" (p. 271). He suggests that researchers resist exercising this centripetal view to research in isolation and adopt a centrifugal stance that enables a wider upward and outward perspective to be gain through which the interconnectedness of both micro and macro dimensions can be considered.

Narratives

Narratives are a natural companion to relationship-based research as they provide a means for both the researcher and the research participants to pool their collective experiences and

resources to collaboratively make meaning. The comfortable intersection of relationships and narratives is reinforced by Berryman et al. (2013) who contend that stories "advocate for the importance of human connections and relationships when using personal experience method, both between the researcher and the participants, but also among the researcher, participants and intended audience" (p. 13). SooHoo (2006) suggests that storytelling promotes both community and group solidarity and describes this practice as being "the social glue that connects the vast web of humanity" (p. 18).

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) explain that narrative inquiry has a long history both in and outside of education. They suggest that the propensity for the use of this approach in education research can be attributed to the fact that:

> humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially lead storied lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world. This general notion translates into the view that education is the construction and reconstruction of personal and social stories, teachers and learners are storytellers and characters in their own and other's stories (p. 2).

Just as relationship-based approaches to research can speak back to colonisation, Mutua and Swadener (2004) contend that storytelling is the "central genre of contemporary decolonizing writing" (p. 13). Bishop (2005) also promotes the decolonising potential of collaborative research stories as the ongoing process of co-constructing the research narrative in order to optimises opportunities for participants to have their interests, needs and concerns represented. Importantly, participants legitimate the validity of the emerging narrative and the researcher is ultimately accountable to the participants. Research undertaken in this way can provide a means for indigenous communities to affirm and create new stories which provide counter-narratives to those that have emerged from colonisation.

Within culturally responsive methodologies, Berryman et al. (2013) propose that relational and narrative principles provide the means to engage both kaupapa Māori and critical theories. Researchers wishing to work in culturally responsive ways must therefore, carefully consider these theories and principles in the early conceptualisation phases of the research. This involves co-constructing the plan for the research with participants and ensuring that the methods are coherent with and responsive to the shared ideologies and epistemologies of both the participants and the researcher.

The determined co-construction of the research agenda and the ongoing narrative inquiry between the researcher and the participants promotes shared ownership over the evolution of

the research story(s) and the emerging findings. The researcher, participant relationship therefore is one of reciprocity and interdependence. The respectful listening and considered responding that happens in these interactions is referred by Berryman et al. (2013) as occurring within the "responsive dialogic space" (p. 22).

The responsive dialogic space

The importance of cultural contexts that develop relationships are highlighted by Berryman (2008) who used the metaphor of a koru, or double spiral, represented in many traditional Māori carvings, as a visual representation of dialogic interaction. She explains that "the centre of the double spiral represents the interlocking passive and active elements from whence symmetrical patterns of change emerge and flow" (p. 258). She further proposed that when one element is active the other is quiescent so the risk of talking past each other is mitigated which means that listening and learning are more likely to occur.

Berryman et al. (2013) extend on this metaphor of the double spiral and propose a visual representation of the responsive dialogic space. The image is presented here with the permission of the first author.

Figure 1: The responsive dialogic space (Berryman, et al., 2013, p. 22)

In this figure the double spirals represent the researcher (left) and the participant (right) and the area between them constitutes the responsive, dialogic space. Importantly the different colours of the spirals symbolise "the identities, prior knowledge, cultural experiences, and connections that each brings with them to an encounter; knowing what one brings to the relationship is important" (p. 21). This is where mutual trust and respect can be nurtured.

While for the purposes of this chapter the central principles of relationships, narratives and the responsive, dialogic space are presented in independent sections, in culturally responsive

methodologies they are not linear rather they are interdependent. Relationships and connectedness are fundamental within the responsive dialogic space, from which the research narrative spirals and iterates through each interaction. Through the narrative iterations, relationships strengthen and deepen, the responsive dialogic space builds and becomes an exciting and inspiring site of creative and collaborative discovery.

The dual theoretical foundations of kaupapa Māori and critical theory, as well as the central principles of relationships and narratives within culturally responsive methodologies, form the frame for this research. How these theories and principles were applied within at the different phase of the research will be explained in each of the following sections.

Responsive connections to key participants

Prior to commencing this doctorate research I had existing relationships with both principals as each of them had invited me into their respective schools for different reasons. In the case of Sue Horne, who was the principal of Maungatapu Primary School, her leadership practice had been the focus of my Master's research in 2010 and I had worked closely with her in her school. In 2011 Chris Grinter, the principal of Rotorua Boys' High School, had invited me into his school to provide professional learning and development support.

In terms of commonalities between me and these principals, in both cases, we shared an interest in school leadership practice that facilitated the achievement of Māori students and elimination of achievement disparities. Over the years, we engaged in ongoing professional learning experiences and conversations about leadership practice and the impact of interventions on experiences and outcomes for Māori students. In some instances, these engagements were formal such as in-school meetings and shared presentations to other educators. At other times we had informal phone conversations or casual meetings outside of school, over coffee. Regardless of whether the engagement was formal or informal we were seeking to connect-reconnect and draw from each other's experiences through speaking, listening, responding and thus mutually making meaning. In retrospect, I recognise that these conditions are consistent with how Berryman et al. (2013) describe the responsive dialogic space and it was through these ongoing rituals of encounter that our relationships of trust, mutual respect and connectedness strengthened. As L. Smith (2012) explains, it is important in this research relationship to acknowledge my position as an insider and not an objective outsider. Our personal and professional connections preceded this research and the relationships that we had developed through our shared interests and commitments have endured beyond the research.

I had observed with interest the ways in which both leaders were determined in their practices to strengthen engagement between themselves and their Māori communities. I also noted that they were both Pākehā, and this was a point of interest rather than a catalyst for their selection for participation because I felt that each principal and their communities had different, but in some ways similar stories. How the research commenced and was undertaken in each school however, was different as first and foremost it was respectful of and responsive to the context rather than being determined by my research agenda.

The Rotorua Boys' High School research context

The professional learning and development I engaged with at Rotorua Boys' High School focused on supporting teachers and Māori whānau members to implement literacy strategies. While these initial interactions were predominantly between Noreen Botha and I, the school's learning centre coordinator, over a period of two years I worked with Noreen and some other middle leaders and teachers to implement a set of specific literacy strategies. After each term we evaluated the impact of the support that we were providing and planned our next steps so the research agenda was an ongoing, co-constructed endeavour. Our collaborative work progressed to a point where in 2013 we began working with a group of Māori whānau members whose children were under-achieving in reading and therefore needed specific support to improve. The high levels of engagement that transpired from this whānau-school intervention, was the catalyst for me as a professional development coordinator, to engage with school leadership and whānau members to collaboratively develop a series of video resources that presented our work and learning together over a period of many months. The school leaders and Māori whānau and community members agreed to allow me to capture the work and learning we did together and this constituted the contemporary narratives of experience for this research.

The Maungatapu Primary School research context

In 2016 I reconnected with Sue Horne, to discuss the possibility of collaborating on this research. This would provide an opportunity to build on previous research undertaken together through my Master's research in 2010, during which we had jointly reflected on and analysed her leadership practice and how this impacted on Māori student's achievement. However, my doctorate research would more specifically focus on her leadership practice in relation to how she connected with and engaged her Māori whānau and community. Sue was interested in participating in this research as she was about to undertake a sabbatical to explore leadership in

Dual-Medium [3] schools and she saw that there was potential congruence. We agreed that we would meet to discuss the research question and then develop the next actions based on the sense making that emerged from this initial discussion.

Having secured the participation of both principals in the research, I considered the feasibility of applying a case study approach to this doctorate.

Case study

Case study research is a form of inquiry that has been widely used in the social sciences, including educational research and although these studies tend to be more qualitative in nature they can also encompass quantitative research (Burns, 2000; Dixon, Bouman & Aitkenson, 1987; Thomas, 2011). Stake (2005), a key advocate for case study research agrees that case studies are not essentially qualitative and further suggests that the selection of a case study approach to research "is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied. If case study research is more humane or in some ways transcendent, it is because the researchers are so, not because of the methods" (p. 443).

An early definition of case study research was offered by Schramm (1971) who proposed that the essence of a case study is to illuminate why decisions are made, how they are implemented and to examine the subsequent result of the decisions. This definition sat uncomfortably with Yin (2009) however, who is another key advocate for case study research. Yin (2009) suggests that Schramm's example cites cases of 'decisions' as being the major focus of cases studies and as such, it cites the case topic, which does not sufficiently define case studies as a research method. Yin (2009) resolves this tension by offering a twofold, technical definition of case studies. The first part of the definition is concerned with scope as he describes case studies as an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Given that it can be difficult to differentiate phenomenon from context in real-life situations the second part of the definition includes technical characteristics such as data collection and analysis strategies. He states that a case study inquiry:

> copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another

[3] Provision for learning through the medium of both English and Māori languages

> result, benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (p. 18).

There are similarities between Yin's conceptualisation of case study research and the definition offered by Stake (2005). Stake contends that case studies comprise five key requirements – issue choice, triangulation, experiential knowledge, contexts and activities, stating that for the research community case studies can gain:

> credibility by thoroughly triangulating the descriptions and interpretations, not just in a single step but continuously throughout the period of study. For a qualitative research community, case study concentrates on experiential knowledge of the case and close attention to the influence of its social, political and other contexts. For almost any audience, optimizing understanding of the case requires meticulous attention to its activities. (2005, p. 443–444)

Both definitions promote the application of multiple forms of data collection and triangulated data analysis to capture the lived reality of participants within their own contexts. When considering a range of methods, Yin (2009) specifically suggests for example that case studies and histories can overlap and that the ability of case studies to deal with a full variety of evidence, documents and interviews is a unique strength of this approach. The flexibility to utilise multiple methods enables researchers to be responsive to participants and undertake an in-depth investigation, within unique contexts to understand the "complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance" (Cohen, et al., 2011, p. 289).

Case study research can include both single and multiple-case studies with Yin (2009) suggesting that ultimately the purposes of the case study will determine the type of approach applied. Accordingly, he posits that there are three types of case studies; exploratory, descriptive or explanatory. Exploratory case study designs include pilot studies which can precede major investigations (Burns, 2000). Descriptive case studies provide a descriptive or narrative account of phenomenon, while explanatory case studies are concerned with explaining phenomenon such as cause and effect relationships (Cohen, et al., 2017; Hancock & Algozzine, 2006).

Case study research procedure

In this research the two schools and their respective Māori communities represented the research contexts within which I wanted to understand the lived realities of the research participants. The boundedness of the school communities and the focus on understanding

activity patterns (Stake, 2005) meant that a case study method was appropriate to apply to this research. The ultimate purpose of the research was to understand and then explain the participants' narratives of experience by articulating the cause and effect relationships between school leaders and their communities. Consequently, this research reflects a combination of both a descriptive and explanatory case studies. My commitment to be responsive to my participants meant that multiple methods of data collection (qualitative and quantitative) were required and this necessitated a mixed methods approach.

Mixed methods research

While Cohen et al. (2017) contend that mixed methods research is not new, they claim that the ascendancy and prominent rise of this approach to research has been meteoric. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) would agree with this position as they present mixed methods as being "a research paradigm whose time has come" (p. 14) and "the natural complement to traditional qualitative and quantitative research" (p. 14). As the name suggests, mixed methods research involves 'mixing' both qualitative and quantitative research methods within a single study. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) further suggest that while these traditional paradigms of qualitative and quantitative research remain important and useful, each approach used in isolation has associated strengths and weaknesses.

Qualitative research

Defining qualitative research is challenging because it includes a wide range of approaches to research (Cohen et al., 2017; Hammersley, 2013). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) contend that the open-ended nature of qualitative research projects leads to resistance against a single, umbrellalike paradigm. It is important therefore to be cognisant of this risk and think of qualitative research as being:

> a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world…At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3).

The importance of understanding the meaning that people make from their own experiences is also emphasised by Watling (2002), who states that, "the qualitative researcher is likely to be searching for understanding rather than knowledge, for interpretations rather than measurements, for values rather than facts" (p. 267).

Since a qualitative approach requires researchers to enter into the world of the research participants, it is preferable that the researcher is familiar with the research context when attempting to understand an individual's point of view (Burns, 2000). This means that interpretation can occur in relation to the researcher's engagement in the social setting (Wearmouth, Glynn, Richmond & Berryman, 2004). Bishop (1997b) further suggests that the aim of qualitative research therefore, is to "paint a picture, potentially facilitating the voice of the research participant to be heard, for others to reflect on" (p. 30).

Acknowledgement of social settings and perhaps more specifically social interaction emphasises the importance of relationships in qualitative research. In their description of naturalistic qualitative research Cohen et al. (2017) highlight the importance of "establishing the meanings of things through illumination and explanation rather than through taxonomic approaches or abstractions, and developing theories through the dialogic relationships of researcher to researched" (p. 292). In this sense qualitative research facilitates culturally responsive research by ensuring that researchers acknowledge their participatory connectedness by promoting "a means of knowing that denies distance and separation and promotes commitment and engagement" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 103).

Qualitative research procedure

Participant's understandings, interpretations and experiences form the basis of this research which necessitated a qualitative approach. I had existing relationships with the two principals and with fellow leaders and teachers in their respective schools prior to the commencement of the research and my prior experience as a school leader and teacher meant that we shared similar professional backgrounds. Both principals also suggested that I gather perspectives from fellow leaders and teachers in the school to allow me to gain a wider view of their leadership practice. Given that qualitative research requires the researcher to enter into the world of the research participants, this was a natural and comfortable undertaking because of our pre-existing relationships and my familiarity with the social settings of their schools.

The principals made suggestions about staff members and members of each school's Māori whānau and community who they felt would be prepared to participate in and contribute to the research. Each principal then contacted Māori whānau and members of the community and explained the research. Participants were invited to share their experiences of connecting with the school and principal to improve learning experiences and outcomes for their Māori children. Every person who was approached accepted the invitation to participate and times were

arranged for each person to meet with me, either individually or as part of a pair. I explained the qualitative nature of the research in that I was interested in understanding and jointly making meaning of their experiences of working with the school and in particular the school principal. I also explained in our early introductory meetings, that like them, I was also Māori and a whānau and community member whose children were engaged in English-medium education. I further explained that, like them, I tried to be involved and work closely with my children's schools to increase the likelihood that they would enjoy education and achieve success without compromising their own cultural identity. Clarification of my personal positioning as a Māori parent and thus my personal investment in the research promoted whanaungatanga – establishing connections with these Māori whānau which assisted me to develop mutually supportive relationships with all of the research participants.

While the nature of this research required a qualitative approach Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) propose that qualitative research alone, can be limiting because the knowledge produced may not necessarily generalise to other people and other settings. A further implication that they suggest is that some administrators may consider that qualitative research has lower credibility based on the assertion that "results are more easily influenced by the researchers' personal biases and idiosyncrasies" (p. 20). However, in this research, I was not seeking to generalise, but rather to provide rich insights into the experiences of how these principals had connected with and engaged their Māori whānau and communities, for others to reflect on and consider for themselves. A culturally responsive methodological approach to research is inclusive of the theorising and sense making of the participants (both the researcher and the research participants) and this is jointly represented in the final text thus limiting the potential for the researcher's personal bias to dominate the narrative.

Given that this research was going to focus on the narratives of experience of the two principals as well as Māori whānau and community members, we anticipated that a qualitative approach to the research would enable us to sufficiently respond to the research questions. However, at Rotorua Boys' High School, the research explored the experiences of whānau members who were supporting their sons at home with Pause Prompt Praise reading tutoring strategies. As I worked with the whānau and the school over a period of weeks, I became increasingly interested in understanding what, if any impact, the reading tutoring at home was having on the reading progress of this group of boys in comparison to the group of boys who were not receiving reading tutoring at home. Therefore, while a comparison between the boys who were receiving home reading tutoring and the boys who were not was not specifically considered at the outset

of the research, as our work with whānau progressed Noreen and I did feel that this would be an interesting component of the relationships to understand. Consequently, this focus on understanding and comparing the rates of progress, required a quantitative dimension to be incorporated into the research design.

Quantitative research

Muijs (2011) explains that "quantitative research is essentially about collecting numerical data to explain a particular phenomenon" (p. 13). The quantitative researcher therefore, is concerned with gathering quantifiable data in order to test hypotheses and validate theories by means of statistical analysis of specific, measurable and observable numeric data. Creswell (2008) contends that the emphasis on standard and fixed variables means that quantitative inquiry constitutes an objective and unbiased approach to research. While O'Dwyer and Bernauer (2013) would agree that this is the intention of quantitative research, they caution that this is "easier said than done— even supposedly "objective" approaches and tests carry with them a great deal of human intentionality and value" (p. 47). These scholars do however agree that quantitative research "aims to minimize the attachment between the investigator and participants and to quarantine the values of the researcher as much as possible" (p. 47).

Through the tracking and monitoring of numerical data, quantitative research does allow researchers to describe and explain trends in order to answer a research question. Creswell (2008) suggests that this approach can also be used to explore the connection between variables as it is useful in "determining whether one or more variables might influence another variable" (p. 52). The exploration of relationships between variables is also supported by an explanatory case study approach which as mentioned earlier, endeavours to explain cause and effect situations (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006).

Quantitative research procedure

Culturally responsive methodologies require researchers to be flexible and responsive to their participants and their evolving narrative. While whānau felt confident that their home tutoring was having a positive impact, there was an opportunity to test this and given that case study research facilitates multiple methods of data gathering, adding a quantitative element into the research was appropriate. This did however require careful consideration given the objectivity and minimal attachment between researcher and participants that quantitative research demands. I was mindful of the relationships that I had developed with whānau members over the months that we had worked together. I did not, however, have the same level of relational connection

with each of the boys as my engagement in this research context was almost exclusively with the whānau members and Noreen. I was also cognisant that reading progress data for all students who were receiving Pause Prompt Praise tutoring support was collected by the school's reading tutors through the diagnostic reading assessment that was undertaken three times a year. This was an established assessment convention that the school had institutionalised over many years. The collection and analysis of this quantitative data was therefore undertaken for the school's own monitoring purposes and was independent of the research. Given that I had minimal interaction with the boys and had not collected or analysed any of their reading data, I felt that there was sufficient detachment between the boys and I to objectively analyse the data. The collection and analysis of this data will be specifically discussed, in the methods section of this chapter.

When considered within the research continuum posited by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), this research would be positioned at the qualitative end with the reading progress data representing a small quantitative aspect. Nevertheless, incorporation of this numerical data constituted a shift from an exclusively qualitative study to more of a mixed methods approach.

Mixed methods - Triangulation

O'Dwyer and Bernauer (2013) caution again setting up qualitative and quantitative research traditions in opposition to each other because "both research traditions are fundamentally connected by their underlying purpose of discovering new knowledge" (p. 43). These scholars further promote the idea of combining qualitative and quantitative research and assert that "researchers who embrace both the research traditions are likely to be better prepared to collaborate with colleagues by asking and seeking to answer interesting questions that do not fit neatly into one tradition or the other" (p. 44). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) concur and advocate for a mix methods approach claiming that it allows researchers to "draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies" (p. 15). Bryman (1988) also suggests triangulation as a means of combining qualitative and quantitative research.

Triangulation is often used in mixed methods research and is defined by Denzin (1978) as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (p. 291). Building on this definition Denscombe (2010) has more recently described triangulation as being:

> the practice of viewing things from more than one perspective. This can mean the use of different methods, different sources of data or even different researchers

> within the study. The principle behind this is that the researcher can get a better understanding of the thing that is being investigated if he/she views it from different positions (p. 346).

As a technique for understanding multiple perspectives, triangulation appeals to researchers because it can improve the validity and accuracy of the data which allows researchers to have greater confidence in their findings (Burns, 2000; Cohen et al., 2017; Creswell, 2008; Jick, 1979).

The principle of triangulation can be applied in a range of different ways. Denscombe (2010) suggests that the most common approach is methodological triangulation (between methods) which allows researchers to compare and contrast the findings from one method with the findings from another method. Denscombe (2010) contends that this approach is advantageous because "findings can be corroborated or questioned by comparing the data produced by different methods" (p. 346) and "findings can be complemented by adding something new and different from one method to what is known about the topic using another method" (p. 347).

Data triangulation is another form of triangulation referenced by Denscombe (2010) which involves comparing data or different data sets from different participants. Bush (2002) refers to this more specifically as respondent triangulation and explains that this technique enables the researcher to ask the same questions of multiple participants. Participant's responses can then be considered alongside each other and checked to identify where there is convergence of ideas as well as inconsistencies.

Mixed methods research procedure

This research utilised methodological triangulation which involved comparing qualitative and quantitative sources of data. It also applied respondent (data) triangulation through a comparative analysis of informant, qualitative data. To provide a comprehensive picture of research contexts and to enhance validity and reliability of the findings, four methods of data collection and analysis were employed in the Rotorua High Boys' School case study while three methods were employed in the Maungatapu Primary School case study. These methods included interviews, historical and documentary records and student achievement.

Through the initiation phases of the research the image of the responsive dialogic space represented in Figure 1 aptly represented the relationships I sought to share with the research participants. We engaged in face-to-face interactions, which enabled us to bring and disclose our authentic selves, jointly understand the goals of the research and the knowledge and

experiences we could contribute. Although I knew the principals very well, I had endeavoured to set a context within which the Māori whānau and community members could develop a deeper sense of relational and dialogical consciousness with me, and we could establish some initial shared relationships and agreements.

Methods of data collection

Interviews

Interviews are recognised as being a preferred method of data collection by qualitative researchers (Bell, 2005; Bishop, 1997b; Burns, 2000; Creswell, 2008; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Mann, 2016; Wragg, 2002). Cohen et al. (2017) propose that the popularity of interviews as a research method marked a shift away from viewing humans as able to be manipulated and individual sources of data towards a view that recognises that knowledge is generated between humans through dialogue in social contexts. These scholars draw on Kvale's (1996) conceptualisation of an interview being "an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest" (p. 506) that, "sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasizes the social situatedness of research data" (p. 506). Fontana and Frey (2005) concur with this view and describe the interview as being a process by which two or more people, through their exchanges develop a "contextually bound and mutually created story" (p. 696).

The point made by Fontana and Frey (2005) about two or more people who are contextually bound is an important one because while the most common form of educational research is one-to-one interviews (Wragg, 2002), it is sometimes useful for an interviewer to interview more than one person at one time. Moving beyond one interviewee to several respondents who share common characteristics and experiences can be advantageous as it provides a wider forum for discussions to open up, which is likely to yield richer information because participants are similar to and in cooperation with each other (Cohen et al., 2017; Creswell, 2008). However, Cohen et al. (2017) warn that in group interview situations, researchers need to ensure that one respondent does not dominate the interview and/or, that the group context is not perpetuating 'public line' or 'group think' discourses, rather than allowing personal perspectives to emerge.

In case study research Yin (2009) proposes that interviews are essential sources of information that should be guided conversations that pursue a line of inquiry rather than structured queries. The point that the conversation is guided rather than structured is supported by Creswell (2008)

who advocates for open-ended questions "so that the participants can best voice their experiences unconstrained by any perspectives of the researcher" (p. 225).

While Creswell (2008) promotes interviews as a means to address researcher imposition, he also acknowledges that the information needs to pass through the filter of the researcher which can have implications for researcher bias. The need to be cognisant of the risk of researcher bias in interview situations is not new. Bishop (1995), for example warned "the interview itself can be a strategy controlled by the researcher and repressive of the position of the informant/participant" (p. 69). Culturally responsive researchers must be cognisant of these risks and work in determined and transparent ways to establish and maintain non-dominating relationships with their research participants. To mitigate the potential for researcher imposition, Bishop (1997b) suggests that sequential, semi-structured, in-depth, interviews as conversations are interview procedures that support enhanced research relationships and reduce the risk of "the impositional power of the researcher to deny a symmetrical relationship" (p. 33).

Semi-structured, interviews as conversations

Interviews in qualitative research are differentiated by the level of structure and these levels range from structured, semi-structured to unstructured (Burns, 2000; Denscombe, 2010; Mann, 2016; Wragg, 2002). In structured interviews, Fontana and Frey (2005) contend that the interviewer controls the pace of the interview and "asks pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories" (p. 702) and there is very little room for variation. In contrast, Fontana and Frey (2005) contend that interviewers in unstructured interviews avoid close-ended questions and instead attempt "to understand the complex behavior of members of a society without imposing any prior categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (p. 706). In between these two extremities semi-structured interviews offer interviewers the luxury of being able to draw from structured and unstructured approaches. Denscombe (2010) explains that while the interviewer might still have some questions and issues that they would like to discuss, the interviewee has some agency to be self-determining within the interview in order to develop ideas and elaborate on points of interest.

Interviews as conversations have elements of unstructured interviews and what Burns (2000) refers to as open-ended interviewing because they allow for free-flowing dialogue that relies heavily on social interaction between the researcher and research participants. These conversations differ from everyday conversations however, and are perhaps better described as

questioned based conversations with a purpose (Burgess, 1991; Cohen et al., 2017) because they are focused and in-depth but within a fluid and relaxed interaction.

Burns (2000) suggests that flexibility of open-ended questions inherent in semi-structured interviews allows for a more valid response of the research participant's perception of reality because "the informant's perspective is provided rather than the perspective of the researcher being imposed" (p. 425). In this regard semi-structured interviews can provide research participants with a greater level of control over the interview process because they can revisit aspects of the interview and clarify their understandings and perspectives (Cohen et al., 2007; Goulding, 2002; Mutch, 2005). The idea of revisiting and repeating interviews was promoted by Lather (1991) who suggested that implementing a sequence of semi-structured, in-depth interviews maximises the potential for reciprocity through negotiation.

The socially situated and interactive nature of semi-structured, interviews as conversations reinforces the importance of researchers contributing to the interview conversation as a speaker, not just a questioner, to enhance the research relationship. Accordingly, these types of interviews are consistent with culturally responsive methodologies as they provide the contextual frame for the responsive dialogic space, promoted by Berryman et al. (2013). The researcher and the research participants equally share both the responsibility and opportunity to listen and respond and create the research narrative through ongoing dialogic negotiation.

In terms of kaupapa Māori theory the principle of tino rangatiratanga can be enacted through this process as within ongoing dialogic negotiation, the ability for both the researcher and research participants to be self-determining is maximised. In traditional forms of research where many Māori perspectives have been either invisible or misrepresented (or both) the critical theoretical aspect of culturally responsive methodologies means that within semi-structured interviews as conversations, both the research participants and researcher can initially speak for themselves and then the subsequent narrative represents the research group speaking together. This sits comfortably with Freire's (1996) assertion that the "word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone-nor can she [sic] say it *for* another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words" (p. 69). The collaborative construction of meaning is not however, confined to the interview process, but extends into the analysis and interpretation of all of the data represented in the research. The means by which interviews were analysed and this collaborative

construction of meaning was developed is explained and discussed in the data analysis section of this chapter.

Research procedure for semi-structured, in-depth interviews as conversations

Prior connections and associations between the research participants and me have already been acknowledged and provided a platform for the ongoing development of mutually supportive relationships. How the interviews were undertaken in each case study differed slightly, as again, I sought to be respectful of and responsive to the narratives that were emerging from different participants in each context.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews as conversations at Rotorua Boys' High School were undertaken as part of the development of the video resources (Berryman & Ford, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Poutama Pounamu, 2019). These involved individual interviews with school leaders and Māori whānau members who were prepared to share their experiences of the practices the school had implemented to improve Māori student success. In some of the interviews I was the interviewer and in others the producer of the video resources assumed the role of the interviewer as he interviewed school leaders, Māori whānau and me. In line with semi-structured, in-depth interviews as conversations open-ended questions were posed that allowed participants to share their experiences of the whānau-school intervention.

At Maungatapu Primary School, a series of four sequential semi-structured interviews as conversations were undertaken between Sue Horne and I through 2017 and 2019. During conversations in 2019, Sue mentioned that the school's 2017 ERO report had detailed an external perspective of whānau-school connections and had also provided an analysis of school achievement data. Additionally, Sue mentioned people from her senior leadership team and members of the Māori community, people whom she felt would provide relevant and useful perspectives regarding how she connected with her Māori whānau and community.

The senior leaders included both the Deputy Principal, Sandra Portegys and the Dual-Medium Leader Ngaire Paki. Initially the Māori whānau and community members that Sue suggested were Des Heke and Kiri Diamond. Des had multiple connections to Maungatapu School. He was mana whenua as he had whakapapa links to the hapū of Maungatapu and he provided cultural advice to the school. He had also been a student of the school, a teacher-aide and a parent of a child who attended the school. Similarly, although Kiri was not mana whenua she had close historical relationships with the hapū of Maungatapu. She too had been a parent of children who attended the school and she had also been the chairperson of the Board of Trustees.

Sue felt that these four people represented a useful cross-section of experiences of the school and her leadership and consequently all four participated in an individual, semi-structured, in-depth interview as conversation with me. These participants were asked the two broad questions detailed on page 70.

A point of interest throughout the interviews with Des and Kiri was that even though they were interviewed separately, the historical context of the school, or more specifically, Sue's understanding of the historical context was a strong and reoccurring theme throughout their responses. I recognised that although my initial questions sought to understand their contemporary experiences of Sue's practice, which Durie (2008) might describe as being a centripetal focus, both Kiri and Des wanted to contextualise their experiences within the wider history of the land and school which supported me to develop a centrifugal perspective of their narratives. This consciousness raising became the catalyst for a second interview with Sue within which we discussed her perspectives of the centrifugal view of her practice that Des and Kiri were highlighting. We also discussed other potential participants who could support us to further explore the history of the school and the relationship between this history and her leadership practice here in the 21st century.

Sue suggested three Māori women who had whakapapa links to Maungatapu; Marama Furlong, Kathryn Bluett and Marama Reweti-Martin. Marama Furlong had been a student of Maungatapu Primary School when it was a native school in the 1940s and had also been a kaiārahi i te reo (expert Māori language mentor) in the school's bilingual unit in the late 1980s. Kathryn Bluett had been the Assistant Principal at Maungatapu Primary School between 1985 and the early 1990s when the school's bilingual unit was established. She had also been a parent of a child who attended the school and had worked as a researcher alongside Sue. Marama Reweti-Martin had been a student of the native school in the 1950s and was also a current member of the Board of Trustees. While I undertook a single individual interview with Marama Reweti-Martin, I interviewed Marama Furlong and Kathryn Bluett together, over a series of three interviews. Given that Marama and Kathryn had worked closely together at the school between the 1980s and 1990s they wanted to speak to me together about both their shared and individual experiences of the Māungatapu Primary School context. These participants also provided me with some historical documents to analyse.

Discussion points from the interviews as conversations were recorded in field notes and a digital voice and video recorder were used to record the semi-structured interviews as conversations.

The interviews were transcribed and extracts from the transcription that were likely to be used in the research were returned to the research participants to verify and amend where necessary. Approaching interviews in this manner provided participants with a means of addressing their own self-determination and provided each person with an opportunity to make further sense of the interview conversation.

Historical and documentary research

According to McCulloch (2011) the purpose of historical and documentary research methods is to provide access and "insights into, three related areas of knowledge about human social activity" (p. 248). He explains the three related areas in further detail:

> The first of these is the past, whether that of modern history over the past two centuries or of earlier times. The second is that of processes of change and continuity over time, including the contestation and negotiation that is involved in these and the broader social, political, economic and other forms of context with which they take place. The third relates to origins of the present that explains current structures, relationships and behaviours in the context of recent and longer term trends (p. 248).

In discussing historical research, Martin (2017) explains that the challenge of accessing the voice of the past excites historians who produce knowledge, explanations and interpretations of what has gone before. She warns however, the historical sources must be appreciated and understood in their social contexts as historical products because there "is no straightforward sense in which history simply 'speaks for itself'" (p. 323).

Documents can be broadly defined as a record of an event or process, produced by individuals or groups that can take many different forms (Cohen et al., 2011). Documentary evidence is often collected in research to supplement information that has been gathered from other research methods (Duffy, as cited in Bell, 2005). The purpose and nature of the research, informs documents selection and the analysis that is subsequently undertaken (Bell, 2005; Cohen et al., 2007).

Yin (2009) contends that document collection and analysis can be valuable in case study research as the documents can provide a useful means of corroborating information from other sources and they allow the researcher to make inferences about the organisation. At the same time however, he cautions against relying on inferences made from documentation and suggests that they should be treated "only as clues worthy of further investigation rather than as definitive findings" (p. 103).

Historical and documentary research procedure

While the incorporation of an analysis of the Maungatapu Primary School documents (2017 ERO report, school strategic documents and the school curriculum document) were suggested by Sue, in the early phases of this research we had not anticipated that an analysis of documents that captured the history and evolution of the school was required at that time. However, as mentioned the narratives from the Māori members of the school community indicated that it was important to explore and understand the history of the school or more specifically the history of the land upon which the school is located within the wider historical context of Tauranga. This necessitated the collection of a range of documents to provide insight into the three related areas of knowledge about human activity described above by McCulloch (2011). Specifically these were insights into the past, the processes of change and continuity with regard to the broader social, political and economic context and the origins of current structures, relationships and points of engagement.

The inclusion of the historical narrative in the Maungatapu Primary School case was in response to the research participants' determination to have the important historical connection of the school to the hapū represented in this story. This promoted me to consider the historical origins of Rotorua Boys' High School and when I proposed the idea of exploring the school's historical context both Chris and Noreen supported this proposal.

The iteration of the Maungatapu narrative however changed the chronological order of the case studies in the thesis. Given that the research began in 2011 at Rotorua Boys' High School, I initially positioned this context Case Study 1. However, when I started to chronicle the historical events in the Tauranga region that lead to the establishment of Maungatapu Native School, it made more sense in terms of historical sequencing, to position the Maungatapu Primary School narrative as Case Study 1 and Rotorua Boys' High School as Case Study 2.

Historical research sits comfortably within the paradigm of culturally responsive methodologies, because it provides a mechanism by which to critique, understand and potentially address the implications of colonisation (historical and contemporary) for Māori learners; the kaupapa or main agenda of this research. Participants from both schools provided me with a range of historical school documents. These documents were supplemented with published and unpublished literature documenting the history of both Tauranga and Rotorua. To ensure that criticality was maintained however, I needed to be discerning and carefully select the historical records I accessed. This meant that I selected documents that drew from Māori perspectives of

history in these regions or at least drew from non-Māori perspectives that were legitimated by local Māori. These included Waitangi Tribunal reports, academic theses and books published by Māori authors as well as books published by Pākehā historians who undertook their research with Māori.

Student achievement data

A range of strategies can be used to collect quantitative data and Creswell (2008) contends that researchers need to consider the types of data that will measure variables and the instruments that will be employed to collect the data. He also identifies four major types of information that reflect quantitative data collection and details corresponding examples of the tests and instruments used to collect the data. Quantitative measures include performance measures, which are used to assess an individual's ability to perform on achievement tests for example. Creswell (2008) then explains that based on past research, researchers have developed 'norms' "so that they can compare individual scores with typical scores for people who have taken the test" (p. 161).

Research procedure for student achievement data

Given that the reading achievement and progress of students was already being tracked and monitored by Rotorua Boys' High School we were interested in comparing the reading progress of students whose whānau had received professional development to implement Pause Prompt Praise and had utilised the tutoring strategies at home, with the students whose whānau did not.

The data collection process was one that was already being applied by the school, therefore, I did not select, or influence the selection of the instrument that was used to collect the reading achievement data. The instrument was a diagnostic reading assessment, which generated a reading age score. The school reading tutors administered the reading assessment with students three times a year. At the end of 2013, I received all the assessment results (for all three points in the year) for all students who received Pause Prompt Praise tutoring at school. Given that I knew the whānau members who had attended the initial training hui, I was able differentiate between those whose parents received the training and support from those who did not. The analysis of this data is discussed in the next section.

The second image offered by Berryman et al. (2013) of the responsive dialogic space is Figure 2 presented below and is entitled Listening and Learning: Reciprocal Understandings Within the Responsive Dialogic Space (p. 394).

Figure 2: Listening and Learning: Reciprocal Understandings Within the Responsive Dialogic Space (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 394)

The progression from Figure 1 to this image Figure 2 symbolises deepening relationships between the researcher and research participants that are represented by the changing colours in the double spiral. Each of the spirals is still representative of the researcher and the research participants so while we maintain ourselves, we shift and grow as a consequence of our dialogic encounters. This deepening of relationships, shift and growth in this image captures how the data collection processes in this research played out for me and my research participants. We learned from multiple sources, most importantly each other, as we shared our lived stories and explored the historical documents. This reciprocal sharing, learning and growing strengthened our relational and dialogical consciousness as we engaged in ongoing critical reflection about what we were jointly discovering.

Data analysis

Data analysis is a crucial undertaking in the research process because data collected by both qualitative and quantitative methods is of limited value until it is analysed and evaluated. Quantitative data analysis usually requires researchers to explain numeric data, while qualitative data analysis generally sees researchers engaging in a process of "making sense of data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situation (of which, in this case, the researcher is one), noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 643).

As has been discussed, culturally responsive methodologies require researchers to be constantly cognisant of the risks associated with researcher imposition at every phase of the research project. When approaching data analysis, researchers need to be particularly mindful of the power and control that traditional research methodologies have afforded researchers and avoid a situation whereby the participant's stories get submerged and reconstituted within the researchers own narrative (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Just as culturally responsive methodologies can guide researchers to work in relational and dialogical ways to collaboratively collect research data, these same methodologies can be applied to the analysis and presentation of the data. The next section discusses how the interview, historical and documentary records and student achievement data were analysed.

Interview analysis procedure

The relaxed but focused nature of sequential semi-structured interviews as conversations provide a forum for reflecting on and revisiting aspects of the discussion. Within this context, researchers and research participants can develop co-joint reflections and co-joint constructions to make meaning of the data (Bishop, 1997b).

Maungatapu Primary School

Following the first interview with Sue I analysed the transcript by highlighting and identifying reoccurring themes that emerged from our first discussion. During our next conversation we discussed these reoccurring themes and at a following conversation Sue had reflected on the themes and had brought notes to our meeting that captured further examples and reflections on the emerging themes that we had discussed.

The individual interviews with Sandra, Ngaire, Des, Kiri and Marama Reweti-Martin were transcribed and I completed a thematic analysis in which I found that there were consistencies in themes between these four participants and Sue. I spoke with each participant about their interviews and sent them extracts of their interviews to check and change if necessary. They were able to reflect on and determine for themselves how their perspectives would be represented in the collaborative story. Each person either emailed or phoned me to verify that they were comfortable their interview extracts.

I had a series of three conversation with Marama and Kathryn. I arranged extracts from their interview into a collaborative story and in our third conversation we collaboratively worked

through each section and they made additions, verified details, changed or deleted any text that they felt needed attention.

After I had arranged the participants' interview extracts into themes and linked their ideas to form the first iteration of a collaborative story I sent this to Sue to read and reflect on. She rang me two weeks after she received the draft of the story and we met again. Following her analysis of the draft we co-constructed an interpretation that reflected our co-joint understandings of her theorising and subsequent practice.

Rotorua Boys' High School

At Rotorua Boys' High School I reviewed the interview transcripts of all participants and identified reoccurring themes. Again, these extracts were then sent back to each participant to check, comment and or make amendments. I also had phone conversations with some of the whānau members to verify that they were comfortable with their extracts being represented in the story of the work and learning we undertook together. Additionally, ongoing visits with Chris and Noreen and ongoing emails and phone-calls when visits were not possible to share, check, listen, and then share and re-check over two years characterised the means by which the narratives were co-constructed.

Historical and documentary analysis procedure

I was provided with historical documents to guide me in developing the historical narrative for each school. Māori members of the Maungatapu community in particular, wanted to see the history of the iwi in the Tauranga area and the influence that the hapū of Maungatapu had on the establishment of the school represented in this narrative. This pathway provided a template for the historical narrative of Rotorua Boys' High School.

I analysed historical events detailed in the documents that I had been given together with published and unpublished documents I accessed myself. I drafted a time sequenced narrative that detailed the relationship between iwi, hapū and the land in each respective region. This incorporated pre-colonial history in each context and the impact of colonial policies. It also specifically detailed the association that the iwi and hapū had with the establishment of each school. I then shared each draft with the respective principal and some members of the Māori community. Once people had had an opportunity to read through and reflect on the historical narratives, I met with some people in person to rework the draft, and others emailed me their thoughts and comments which I incorporated into the narrative.

At Maungatapu Primary School, Sue provided me with the 2018 school strategic documents (the charter and strategic plan) and Sandra gave me the school's curriculum document. The most recent ERO report for both schools was also included in the document analysis to provide an external perspective of community and school connections as well as student achievement.

Student achievement data analysis procedure

The student achievement data that I received from Noreen contained three assessment scores for each student and the scores represented chronological reading levels. Assessment point one was pre-intervention, assessment point two was mid-intervention and assessment point three was the end of the intervention. Noreen and I discussed the outcome data and noted that while the vast majority of the students had improved throughout the year, there appeared to be a trend indicating that the boys whose parents participated in the whānau-school Pause Prompt Praise intervention had experienced a greater level of improvement with regard to increasing their chronological reading level . We agreed that I would look at the two sets of data and do a more fine grained analysis to understand the impact of the intervention and come back to her. This was an opportunity for me to build on the analysis that Noreen had undertaken and facilitate a situation whereby we pooled our skills and knowledge to create a different perspective of the quantitative data.

In the analysis that I undertook I was guided by the work of Hattie (2009) and Robinson et al. (2009) who, as discussed in the previous chapter used effect sizes to illustrate the impact of teacher practice and/or learning interventions on student achievement. Specifically drawing from the work of Robinson et al. (2009) the table below presents the conventions for interpreting effect sizes:

Effect size value	Effect size descriptor
0 – 0.19	No or a weak effect
0.2 – 0.39	Small effect
0.4 – 0.59	Moderate effect
< - 0.6	Large effect

Table 1: Conventions for interpreting effect sizes

In order to undertake the comparative analysis between the group of students whose parents had received the Pause Prompt Praise training and the group whose parents did not, it was necessary to convert the reading age assessment scores to an attributed numerical value. This conversion enabled me to generate effect sizes and calculate the impact of Pause Prompt Praise on both groups of students.

Assessment using Reading Ages	Attributed Numerical Value
Less than 5	1
5 years	2
5 years 6 months	3
6 years	4
6 years 6 months	5
7 years	6
7 years 6 months	7
8 years	8
8 years 6 months	9
9 years	10
9 years 6 months	11
10 years	12
10 years 6 months	13
11 years	14
11 years 6 months	15
12 years	16
12 years 6 months	17
13 years	18
13 years 6 months	19
14 years	20
14 years 6 months	21
15 years	22
15 years 6 months	23

Table 2: Reading age assessments conversion to attributed numerical values

Morgan, Gliner and Harmon (2006) propose that statistical analyses commonly use *p* values to determine the statistical significance of the impact of an intervention. A *p* value of less than 0.05 is defined as being statistically significant because one can have at least 95% confidence that the result is not due to chance. Consequently, I wanted to incorporate a *p* value interpretation into this analysis to understand the impact of whānau reading tutoring.

How this analysis was applied to the data is discussed in the finding chapters.

Connecting with culturally responsive methodologies

Berryman et al. (2013) offer a third image of the responsive dialogic space to represent what they call "Research within the Responsive Dialogic Space" (p. 395). The image is presented below (Figure 3) as a means of representing how the data analysis phase of this research played out for the research participants, including me.

Figure 3: Research within the Responsive Dialogic Space (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 395)

Applying culturally responsive methodologies to the analysis of data in both case study contexts required an ongoing interchange of meaning making between me and research participants. The level of interaction and dialogue needed to collaboratively undertake the analysis varied depending on the data being analysed. The co-constructed analysis of the interview data in both school communities took place over months and even years in some instances, while the exchanges around the historical documentary and quantitative analysis only required a matter of weeks. Despite pressures and responsibilities outside of the research that prevented my research participants and I from connecting regularly, we still prioritised time to locate ourselves within this responsive dialogic space either physically or through emails or phone conversations. In terms of kaupapa Māori principles, this ongoing interdependent exchange reflected mahi tahi (working together) which is a culturally appropriate way to make sense of the data and collaboratively understand how schools and Māori whānau and communities might work together more effectively.

The increased spirals in this third image reflect the notion of active spiralling and thus represent a dynamic intensity that was not apparent at the outset of the research or during the data collection. While "both entities (e.g., researcher and participants) can maintain original integrity" (Berryman, et al., 2013, p. 395) the blending of the colours signify that through ongoing dialogic encounter we learn, change, grow and co-create something new. Berryman et al. (2013) propose that this image and metaphoric space represents both confluence and integrity of difference.

Ethical considerations

Ethics should be prioritised by researchers at the outset of research and be a primary consideration throughout the entire process, rather than an afterthought (Creswell, 2008). In indigenous and in other marginalised communities L. Smith (2005) states that "research ethics is at a very basic level about establishing, maintaining, and nurturing reciprocal relationships, not just among people as individuals but also with people as individuals, as collectives, and as members of communities" (p. 97).

It was my intention that all ethical considerations as outlined in University of Waikato guidelines as "General Principles for Research Involving Human Participants" and the code of ethics of the New Zealand Association for Educational Research (NZARE) were strictly adhered to. Both written and verbal information was provided to research participants and written consent was gained. Given that I wanted to utilise culturally responsive methodologies in my engagement with these communities as mentioned previously, it is important to acknowledge that my role was to act as an insider working alongside these communities to co-construct the research narrative rather than as an objective outsider.

Summary

This chapter has presented the culturally responsive research methodologies that guided this research, which included an explanation of both the theories and principles that underpinned my practice. The research community was introduced and the chapter also described how a case study approach, incorporating mixed methods enabled me to use a range of methods to gather and analyse data with the participants in order to collectively co-construct the research narrative.

The next chapter presents the co-constructed narrative that articulates the historical context of Maungatapu Primary School.

Chapter 5: Understanding the past, present and future

Titiro whakamuri haere whakamua

Look to the past in order to move forward

Introduction

This whakataukī has been used as a frame for this chapter because it aptly captures the advice that I was given by the research participants who contributed to this chapter. When I began to collect the narratives of experience of Sue Horne's leadership practice, from participants from the Maungatapu community, every participant referenced the history of the community and the school. Many of the Māori participants in particular drew connections between the school's history and Sue's leadership and advised me to find out about the history of the school as a means of understanding her current leadership practice. In essence they were advising me to look back into the past, in order to understand the present and future.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, some participants provided me with documents that captured the history of the school and some directed me towards documents that would be useful such as Waitangi Tribunal reports. I was also advised to speak with Māori community members who had historical experiences of the school. These three participants, Marama Furlong, Marama Reweti-Martin and Kathryn Bluett, who were introduced in Chapter 4 all had whakapapa links to the hapū of Maungatapu and had occupied a range of roles at the school (see pages 92 and 93). Marama Furlong and Kathryn asked to be interviewed together while Marama Reweti-Martin was comfortable to engage in an individual interview.

This chapter draws from reports, published and unpublished documents as well as interviews to present the historical context of the Maungatapu community and school. The chapter begins by explaining the arrival and settlement of Māori in the Tauranga area. It then chronicles significant events that influenced the development of formal schooling at Maungatapu through to the appointment of Sue to the position of principal in 2002.

Te Tangata whenua o Tauranga Moana

Although the date of the arrival of the first Māori settlers in Tauranga is unknown, according to Stokes (1980) "Tauranga was among the first areas of New Zealand to be settled" (p. 17). Located in the Western Bay of Plenty region on the east coast of the North Island, these early settlers anchored their waka in the sheltered waters of the harbour and named this area Tauranga,

which means resting place or anchorage (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). Tauranga Moana translates to the seas of Tauranga although the name also includes the surrounding land encompassed within the tribal boundaries of the area. As previously discussed, tribal boundaries and indeed the tribes themselves are defined in relation to the ancestral waka and the associated anchorage and settlement points.

Ngā waka

While there is acknowledgement that the Tainui waka had a historical presence in the Western Bay of Plenty, three specific waka; Takitimu, Mataatua and Te Arawa are closely associated with Tauranga (Te Ara, 2019c). These waka carried chiefs from different Polynesian villages although each waka was captained by one specific chief. The crew that travelled in each waka had whakapapa connections to the chiefs and the collectives onboard constituted the wider iwi.

The landing place of each waka is significant because this provides the point of origin for the relationship between the people who arrived in the waka and the physical landscape. Stokes (1980) references as an example the arrival of Te Arawa waka. As the waka approached land, the mountains and hills of the Western Bay of Plenty area would have come into clearer definition. The captain, Tamatekapua could then begin to identify and name significant land features after whānau members, thus beginning the process of laying claim to different sections of territory. Historically however, this laying claim to land was not necessarily finalised upon the landing of the waka, but was ongoing over a period of many generations and resulted in the establishment of both the external and internal tribal boundaries of Tauranga, as it did in other parts of Aotearoa.

The external tribal boundaries of Tauranga Moana begin at Otawhiwhi (Bowentown), on the border to the Hauraki region at the northern end of the harbour and stretched along the coastline to Wairākei in Pāpāmoa. The inland boundaries encompass Ōtānewainuku maunga in the south then run along the Kaimai ranges and back to Otawhiwhi. The internal tribal boundaries are relative to the locations whereby iwi who travelled onboard each waka landed and subsequently established themselves.

Ngā iwi

The coastal location and inland biodiversity made Tauranga an attractive location to settle. It is not surprising therefore that there were regular incidences of warfare between different iwi in this region to gain control and guardianship over territory. Although the land was

continuously occupied for over five centuries by many generations of Māori from different tribal affiliations, four main iwi descend from the three waka that are associated with Tauranga.

The Takitimu was believed to be a sacred waka that carried the aristocracy and priestly class from Polynesia (Te Ara, 2019c). When Takitimu first arrived in Tauranga the iwi in residence was Ngā Mārama, who descend from Tainui. Ranginui arrived in Tauranga onboard Takitimu and was said to be the son of the captain Tamatea-pōkai-whenua (Te Ara, 2019c). Ranginui is the founding ancestor of Ngāti Ranginui iwi. Ngāti Ranginui engaged in battle with and successfully defeated Ngā Mārama to consolidate their position in Tauranga. They subsequently settled on both the shores and the inland areas of Tauranga Moana.

The Mataatua waka landed at Whakatane and was captained by Toroa (Stokes, 1980). While most of the iwi who descended from Mataatua settled in Whakatane and around the Eastern Bay of Plenty, the people of two ancestors, Te Rangihouhiri and Pūkenga, at different times migrated to Tauranga. The descendants of Te Rangihouhiri adopted the name Ngāi Te Rangi and engaged in battle with Ngāti Ranginui to gain possession over much of the region, including the islands off the coast of Tauranga (Te Ara, 2019c).

Ngāti Pūkenga, were known for their prowess in war. Their battle efforts resulted in them settling in the southern area of the Tauranga region with Ngāi Te Rangi on their north-eastern boundary and Ngāti Ranginui to their north-west.

As mentioned previously, the Te Arawa waka was captained by Tamatekapua and the final landing site of this waka was at the mouth of the Kaituna River at Maketu. Hei, one of the chiefs on Te Arawa, named an area of land, not far from the landing site Waitaha after one of his sons. Waitaha was adopted as the name of the iwi and while this iwi whakapapa to the wider Te Arawa confederation of tribes, they also have connections with Tauranga iwi given their close proximity to Tauranga. Waitaha ancestral lands are located close to the south-eastern boundary of Tauranga to the south of Ngāti Pūkenga.

The map below (Figure 4) provides an indication of the territorial boundaries of each iwi. Although these defined boundaries might infer bordered segregation, intermarriage between tribal members means that the fixed nature of these boundaries is contestable. Additionally, while intermarriage between iwi facilitated connections, and descendants acknowledge their interconnectedness, they are still in the main iwi-centric and hold fast to the founding ancestor they whakapapa to and the traditions of that particular line of genealogy.

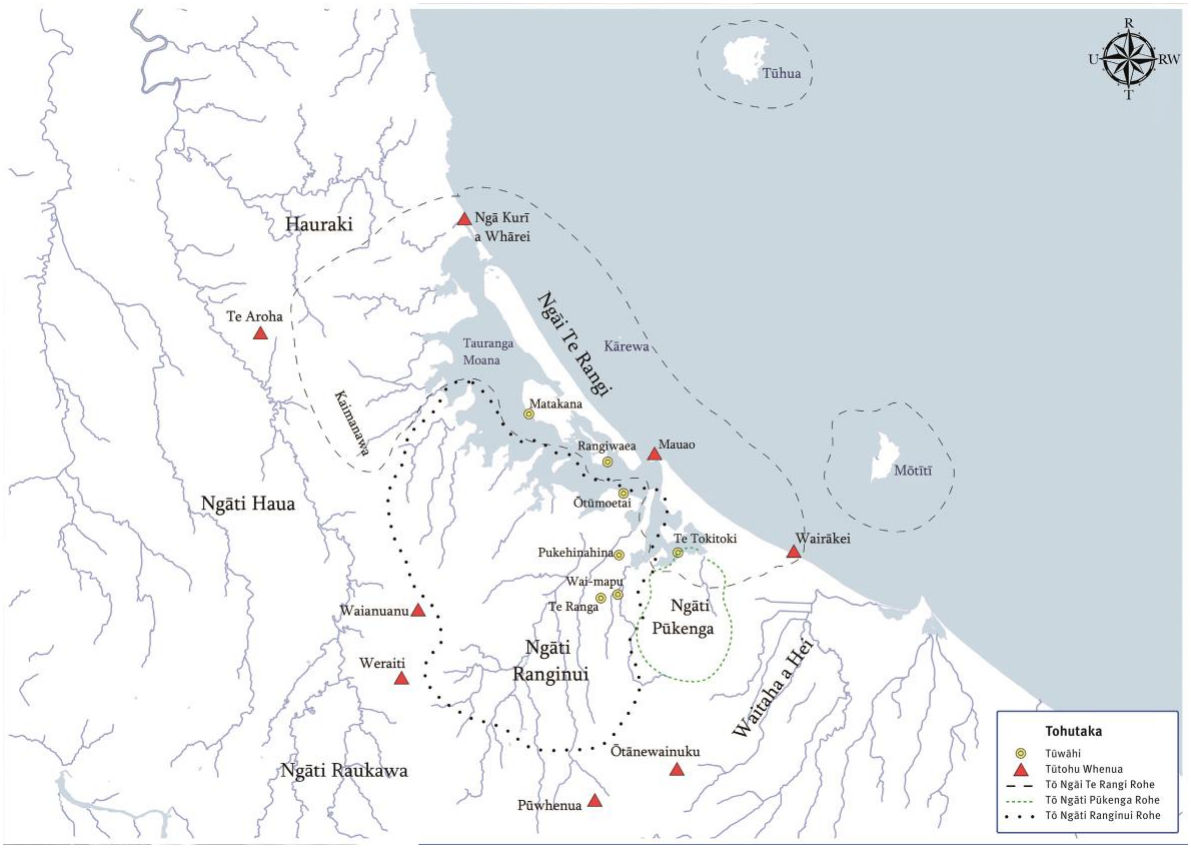

Figure 4: Ngā mahere e whai ake nei: Te mahere o ngā pāhuki o ngā iwi o Tauranga: The map of the boundaries of the tribes of Tauranga (Black, 2008, p. ii)

Note: This image was obtained with permission from Huia Press, Nā History Works Ltd.

Overtime, the population of each iwi increased and bifurcated into a number of hapū. Just as the captains of each waka had been very calculated in their navigation of Te Moana nui a Kiwa, and the chiefs had been selective about the wider territories the iwi would fight for, hapū were also calculated and determined in their selections of specific settlement sites in Tauranga. Historical accounts of Māori settlement describe Tauranga Moana as:

> a place of great natural beauty, and diverse and productive ecosystems: open seas, offshore islands, coastal sandy beaches and rocky shores, the large harbour lagoon and its many estuaries, mud-flats, tidal pools, and wetlands, together with many waterways draining densely forested hills. Over generations, many hapū have been drawn to Tauranga Moana by the plentiful resources offered by these different environments – the seemingly unending supplies of fish and shellfish in Tauranga Moana itself; the eels, freshwater fish, and kōura found in the waterways draining the hills encircling the harbour; the abundance of animal and plant resources in the forests. As hapū became entwined with this environment and its resources, they became the tangata whenua of Tauranga Moana. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 489).

Stokes (1980) proposes that by the 1800s Māori patterns of settlement in Tauranga had stabilised and reflected the establishment of several small hapū-based villages located around the shores of the harbour, which retained a traditional form of communally grouped houses around a marae (Bellamy, 1982; Stokes, 1980). The Maungatapu peninsula is an example of a piece of land within the inner harbour, where two of these hapū-based villages were constructed.

Maungatapu hapū and marae

Maungatapu peninsula borders the south-eastern basin of Tauranga harbour. The peninsula is part of the ancestral homelands of both Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Te Rangi iwi. Hapū from each iwi settled at either end of the peninsula (Bassett, 1996).

Ngāti Hē hapū of Ngāi Te Rangi established their pā site (village) around Maungatapu marae at the northern end of the peninsula. This was a large and significant pa site for the iwi. Given the height of the peninsula, the entrance to Tauranga harbour to the north and activities on Rangataua harbour to the south could be easily observed.

Ngāi Te Ahi hapū descend from Ngāti Ranginui. Their pā site was originally established in the Waimapu-Poike area before being relocated to Hairini which is positioned on high ground near the southern end of the peninsula. This also provided clear views of Tauranga harbour and the surrounding land.

The pā sites were located in close proximity to each other and both hapū utilised the rural setting and productive soil along the peninsula to grow and harvest crops. They also gathered seafood from the harbour as well as birdlife from the surrounding wetlands and bush to successfully sustain themselves (Diamond, 2011). Their ability to utilise the land and resources provide further evidence of how well-considered and refined early Māori settlement patterns were prior to the arrival of Europeans. We can deduce from this evidence that Māori would have expected to maintain these successful lifestyles and that their ways of knowing and doing might have been enhanced by European settlement in the Tauranga area if an equitable partnership had transpired.

European Settlement

Missionaries

European exploration and infiltration of Tauranga mirrored the pattern that played out in the Far North in 1814. Just as Samuel Marsden had been amongst the first CMS missionaries to settle in the Far North, he arrived in Tauranga in 1820. This initial visit was followed by a

number of visits to three major pā sites around the area one of which was at Maungatapu. The other pā sites were Ōtūmoetai, which was positioned near the entrance to Tauranga harbour and Ōtamataha which was further up the harbour, on the Te Papa peninsula and in between Ōtūmoetai and Maungatapu. These three pā sites were strategically selected sites on the inner harbour. Their close proximity meant that each community could easily monitor and support each other and the locations also enabled them to monitor potential threats in terms of incoming seafaring invaders.

In 1828 the pā site at Ōtamataha was largely destroyed and abandoned by Māori following a battle with Ngāti Maru of Thames (Te Ara, 2019d). The only building the war party left intact was the home of well-known and greatly feared tohunga Tahu. The missionaries recognised the potential of this pā site, which would provide easy access to the harbour and to both Ōtūmoetai and Maungatapu which were at that time, the two most populous pā in Tauranga. In the 1830s CMS missionaries developed a relationship with Tahu who was curious about Christianity, and consequently provided approval as one of the landowners, for the missionaries to establish a mission station, close to Ōtamataha pā, at the northern end of Te Papa peninsula.

During this time, the land in Tauranga was still highly contested by Māori. Iwi from Te Arawa were determined to gain access to and control over the coastal trading opportunity that Tauranga offered. This determination created tension between Ngāi Te Rangi and Te Arawa and the potential for war. Despite this intertribal tension, however, Tauranga Māori still wanted missionaries to settle in the area:

> The willingness of Tauranga Māori to see the missionaries settle at Ōtamataha may have been due in part to a belief that the missionaries would help to protect the site. It is also likely that they hoped that the missionary presence would attract trade and deter attacks from their enemies (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p. 50).

Traders

Traders were another group of Europeans to settle in Tauranga during the 1830s. Tauranga Māori were already well practiced in trading with Māori across the country and prior to the arrival of Europeans in the area they had a range of different crops and animals including potatoes and pigs. Upon the arrival of European settlers in Tauranga however, Māori quickly learned that the missionaries and traders had distinctly different agendas that motivated their engagement with tangata whenua. Stokes (1980) suggests that Māori recognised that the traders could provide "muskets, powder, rum, blankets and other merchandise in return for large amounts of scraped flax, pigs and potatoes" (p. 45), while the "missionaries introduced a new

kind of religion in all its nineteenth century narrowness to upset the ancient beliefs and undermine the mana of chiefs and tohunga" (p. 45).

The evolving trading system in Tauranga provided a means for Māori communities to strengthen their economic base. The growing settler population in Auckland had generated increased trading opportunities so that during this time there was a steady flow of trading vessels between these two ports. While in the 1840s, the trading vessels were predominantly operated by Europeans with Māori crews, according to Stokes (1980), by the 1850s many Māori owned vessels were controlling trading interests. This meant that Māori were no longer dependent on European support and intervention but were self-determining in their trading transactions and successfully competing with European traders to serve the growing Auckland market as well as the goldfields of Australia with their own produce.

This propensity for Māori to seek out imported European knowledge and practices to benefit and advance their own interests was not isolated to trading enterprise. As the presence of European families increased so too did the spread of Christian teaching. Māori parents in Tauranga were interested in the evolving mission schooling system and the potential that this form of education offered their children.

Mission schools

Following the founding of the mission station, the first mission schools were established in Tauranga in the 1840s with seven schools catering for approximately 400 students (Stokes, 1980). As they did in the north, CMS missionaries utilised their Māori language bibles and their ability to speak te reo to provide teaching instruction in Māori. While the missionary agenda was firmly focused on Christianisation and civilisation, Māori parents in Tauranga, like the Māori parents in the Far North before them, also had their own agenda and saw the mission schools as a means of enabling themselves and their children to read and write in Māori and in English.

From the 1840s, the spread of literacy increased and became an important means of communication for Māori (Simon, 1998). In 1845 Reverend Brown observed with pride the purposes to which the new literacy knowledge was being used in Tauranga, noting that notices were being placed on trees or painted on posts to indicate ownership (of crops and animals) and to leave messages (Stokes, 1980). However, Brown also observed with some concern the increasing self-determination of Māori parents. Woller (2016) contends that while Māori parents in Tauranga in the 1840s were keen to have their children exposed to learning in the

mission schools, they were also determined to maintain control over the learning and how this learning was interpreted and understood. Additionally, they were prepared to remove their children from school and keep them at home to prevent them from being harmed by missionary teachers' often harsh, physical discipline practices.

Māori parents' willingness to activate their agency and manage their children's participation in education greatly frustrated Brown. He also had wider concerns about the increasing emphasis he was observing from Māori communities on trading and commercial interests, which he recognised as a distraction from and thus a threat to his religious teaching. Some Māori for example had taken up opportunities of paid employment in Auckland and had "returned with abundance of clothing and money but with an increased indifference to spiritual things" (Stokes, 1980, p. 65).

Just as Brown was becoming increasingly disappointed with the lack of control he was able to exercise over the Māori communities in Tauranga, they were equally growing concerned about some of the detrimental implications of European settlement both in Tauranga and in the wider context of Aotearoa. Such concerns related to the devastating impact of the hitherto unknown deadly diseases that the colonisers unwittingly brought with them. As in other regions, death from introduced diseases contributed to decreases in the Māori population in Tauranga during this period. This caused many Māori to question their faith in Christianity which inevitably created tensions in the relationship between Tauranga Māori and the missionaries (Woller, 2016).

Iwi in Tauranga were also aware that iwi in other regions had experienced similar significant loss of life as a result of the introduced diseases. The decrease in the Māori population and the simultaneous increase in the European population was shifting the political balance of power across Aotearoa. The British government sought to secure more property for their British subjects and this created pressure for land. Therefore, the tension that was emerging between Māori in Tauranga and the missionaries was indicative of the growing tension that was emerging in the national relationship between Māori and the European settlers towards the end of the 1850s. This situation would eventually lead to the land wars of the 1860s.

Land wars

While Christian mission was Brown's primary purpose in Tauranga, as a subject of Britain he was still a subject of the Crown and was therefore required to respond to and support the intentions of the British colonial government. This meant that Brown was unable to

disassociate himself from the government as hostilities between Māori land owners and government officials increased.

Iwi in Tauranga paid close attention when the conflict between the military and Taranaki iwi was closely followed by the military invasion of the Waikato region. Patterns of tribal loyalties followed traditional lines during these wars and Māori warriors from Tauranga supported iwi in both the Taranaki and Waikato invasions (Stokes, 1980). The colonial government were aware that the trading port at Tauranga was a transition point for the importation and subsequent distribution of firearms to iwi in Taranaki and Waikato. The government viewed the support that iwi in Tauranga provided to Taranaki and Waikato iwi as acts of rebellion and therefore rationalised military intervention in Tauranga.

In January of 1864 over 600 troops landed at Te Papa and set up camp at Brown's missionary station immediately implicating Brown in the land wars. Although the intention of this expedition was 'to create a diversion' (Stokes, 1980, p. 76) and discourage Tauranga iwi from further participation in the Waikato wars, "Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui interpreted the arrival of troops as the beginning of an attempt to seize their land" (Stokes, 1980, p. 78). Tauranga warriors consequently returned from fighting in the Waikato to defend their own territories while the government increased the number of military troops stationed at Te Papa.

The inevitable battle between Tauranga Māori and the British military in April 1864, took place at a pā that iwi had constructed at Pukehinahina This battle would become significant in the history of the land wars on account of the trenches that were dug around the pā to successfully conceal the warriors, and because of the rules of battle that were developed by Ngāi Te Rangi chiefs (New Zealand History, 2019). Despite being considerably outnumbered, Ngāi Te Rangi successfully defended the pā and defeated the British.

While the Māori defenders emerged triumphant from this first battle, the triumph was short lived. British troops regathered and increased their numbers to overpower Māori nearly two months later at the inland pā site of Te Ranga. Crucially, the military authorities warned that the Māori surrender from this battle would also mean the surrender of some of their land. Although government authorities were concerned that the condition of forfeiture of land was not fully understood by the chiefs, a military officer exerted his authority and proclaimed in reference to Māori that "he did not care on what terms peace was made, so long as it resulted in their removal from the country" (Stokes, 1980, p. 80). This blatant disregard for Māori and

determination to expunge them completely aptly reflects the ideology inherent the Doctrine of Discovery.

Through the enforced surrender of land following the Tauranga land wars, and the complementary strategy of punitive land confiscations, as a consequence for the rebellious Tauranga iwi who fought against British troops in the Waikato and Taranaki, the colonial government were successful in gaining significant amounts of land in the Tauranga region. The invasion and dispossession of iwi land from its people, ultimately opened up the opportunity for even more determined and organised European settlement in Tauranga.

The land wars had disrupted and undermined much of the work and influence of Brown's mission. He was also concerned about the arrival of more Europeans and the threats that this represented for the Māori population of Tauranga. The mission schools throughout Aotearoa had also been seriously disrupted by the wars to the point that some were virtually deserted (Simon, 1998). As has been discussed, following the wars the British government recognised the opportunity a schooling system represented to advance its assimilation policy and it was not long before native schools were established in Tauranga.

Native schools

Iwi in Tauranga were interested in gaining access to the Native schooling system and a number of communities in the district approached the government about education for their children. Maungatapu iwi were among those groups who indicated an interest in schooling provision for their children.

Maungatapu Native School

In 1881 the first native school at Maungatapu was opened at the Anglican church on the north end of the peninsula (Bellamy, 1982). Later in the same year Ngāti He demonstrated their support for the development of a dedicated local school by gifting two acres of land to the Crown for the purposes of building a school house and a teacher's residence (Maungatapu School, 2019). For a range of reasons, over the following decades, the school roll fluctuated and by the end of the 19th century numbers of children had declined to the point that the school was closed. In 1908 however, Ngāti He hapū reaffirmed their aspirations for their children to have local education by petitioning the Education Department to establish another school and gifted another three acres of new land for a school and school house. In 1913, five years after

the land was gifted to the Education Department the Maungatapu Native School was opened on the site where Maungatapu Primary School is currently located.

In the establishment years of the native school at Maungatapu the roll consisted of predominantly Māori students although in 1922, 25 of the 65 students were Pākehā. As the school roll increased buildings and facilities such as tarsealed tennis courts and a driveway were added and a further two acres of playground space was gifted by local hapū (Maungatapu School, 2019).

Marama Furlong was a pupil of the school during the 1940s and can confirm that assimilation and consolidation of English language and knowledge were indeed key drivers of education during this time. Consequently, she did not have fond memories of school on account of being regularly physically punished and humiliated in front of her peers and whānau. She made specific reference to being made to wear a dunce cap, which was a discipline artefact that teachers imposed on students who they identified as being incapable or non-compliant. She also acknowledges her relative and fellow school attendee Rangiwhakaehu Walker (nee Reweti) when recalling her experiences of school:

> I have nothing to thank the education of the time for where I am now. When Rangiwhakaehu and I went to school we were punished for speaking our reo. When I went to school the only two words I knew in English was yes and no. Imagine what one went through then?
>
> When you are made to wear the cap of a capital dunce - that is patu wairua (spiritual humiliation) the opposite of whakamana (supportive and uplifting). But one did not recognise it as such until one grew up. That really had a huge impact on the way that one looked at education.
>
> There were a lot of unhappy parents because the children were going home and speaking pigeon Māori and pigeon English. As time progressed our parents and grandparents especially couldn't understand and couldn't hold a conversation with their mokopuna because they didn't understand the English language. That was a connection between grandparents and mokopuna that became broken.

In the following decade (1950s) Marama Reweti-Martin was a pupil of the native school and recalls her upbringing in the community:

> I lived in Kaitemako road in Welcome Bay and at that time Welcome Bay, Hairini and Maungatapu were Māori communities. There were very few non-Māori people who lived there. It was a very rural area at that time, we'd stop at the river and catch whitebait after school. It was a community where we all lived together,

> worked together, went to school together. We all knew that we were connected, we just knew that we were all whānau.
>
> Maungatapu was a thriving community in those days it's a really special and unique place. You have this combination of the two iwi, the two hapū and the two waka and there are some real distinctions. It goes back to the tribal histories. Ngāti Ranginui were here when Ngāi Te Rangi arrived and there were those old battles that pushed Ngāti Ranginui back into the hills. My connections are through Ngāti Ranginui (Ngāi Te Ahi). While I'm not Ngāi Te Rangi in terms of Ngāti He and while we know we were connected with them, I heard kōrero as a child that helped me to understand that our whakapapa is different and to acknowledge that.

While Marama Reweti-Martin and her whanaunga grew up, immersed in their distinctive communities, the native school that they attended held fast to the government's assimilation policy and continued to deliver a Euro-centric education experience. In contrast to Marama Furlong's experience a decade earlier, Māori children were not punished for speaking reo at school because 10 years of assimilatory schooling meant that this generation of children by and large did not speak te reo or if they could, they certainly did not speak te reo at school. However, the grandparents, parents and the children themselves, in the 1950s had come to accept that these were the terms of engagement in native schooling and they welcomed the education that was being offered:

> The school when I started was all Māori students. We had a mixture of Māori and Pākehā teachers, the tumuaki (principal) was always a Pākehā. Some of their children came to school with us – so that was our only contact really with Pākehā because our world was totally Māori. However, my generation was the generation that missed out on the reo. The government political agenda at that stage was to assimilate Māori so our parents and our grandparents felt that te reo was not going to be useful to us in the long term.
>
> In the school the only Māori influences were waiata and kapa haka, other than that it was a very European - Pākehā curriculum. But we loved learning. We were there to learn and we wanted to read, we wanted to write.
>
> The connection between the school and marae was seamless really and integral to the whole community. Our parents and grandparents wanted us to do well. My kuia was a teacher so in the Reweti whānau education was really, really important.

As the population of Tauranga grew through the 1950s and 60s there was pressure on local government to expand the transport network through Maungatapu in particular so that the peninsula could provide a connection point between Tauranga and Mount Maunganui through the construction of major roads and bridges. Marama Furlong recalled the devastating impact

of the urbanisation of Maungatapu which felt like their community was being completely distorted. She sadly recounted instances where land was removed from Māori whānau to build roads:

> People lost their homes, some people lived underground for a while and some people had to live in a caravan. My aunty and her husband lost their homes through the development of the road. There were so many sad stories. We became landless, except for where our home stood.

Kathryn Bluett who had relatives living at Maungatapu at the time recounted a conversation with a relative who returned to Maungatapu after being away for some time and could not understand why and how hapū whānau had been dislocated from their land and relocated. She particularly noticed that Pākehā families had built homes on land at the edge of the peninsula which meant that they had beautiful panoramic views across the harbour:

> People had moved in from outside of the area and built flash houses with sea views. My cousin asked her mother "How come we got on the other side of the road (distanced from the sea views) when we used to own all of this land?

Marama Reweti-Martin also recalled that development of these roads had a major impact on the community as the expansion of the road network was the catalyst for the urbanisation of Maungatapu:

> The road impact was huge. I just recently read something, whereby some of the whānau were approached through public works and the Ministry of Māori Affairs during that time. They said that the government wanted the land for roads, so they bought them a house in Greerton, and then they found out later that the land was being sold to other people to build houses on.

Scrupulous land acquisition practices such as this in the urbanisation of Maungatapu considerably affected the native school and soon, the increased Pākehā population in the community was reflected in the demographic of the school. Bassett (1996) suggests that this urbanisation meant that "Maungatapu was no longer seen as a Māori centre" (p. 71), and it is likely that this prompted a realisation at the level of the government that Pākehā families would want their children to attend a general school. Consequently, in 1962 the Maungatapu Māori School (as it was known by then) was disestablished and the buildings and site were reclassified as a new public school that came under the control of the South Auckland Education Board (Bellamy, 1982). This government enforced, change of status was upsetting for local Māori as described by Bassett (1996):

> The Maungatapu Māori School was established originally on land donated by local Māori, to serve the education needs of their children, and was part of the Māori community. As the Maungatapu Peninsula has been subdivided, and the sections mainly sold to Pākehā, local Māori have lost the feeling of control over the school and the education of their children (p. 72).

While Maungatapu iwi were disappointed by the government's disregard of the historical significance of the school site and the aspirations that they had for their children, this did not diminish the priority they placed on schooling or their resolve to ensure that their children were provided with opportunities to engage and be successful in education. In the years following the reclassification of Maungatapu Primary School, the iwi's initial response to the removal of the Māori school status was to establish their own education centres.

Establishment of kōhanga reo

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the kaupapa Māori movement that was gaining momentum around Aotearoa was being closely observed by Māori in Tauranga. Prior to this movement, Kathryn contends that in the Tauranga area in the late 1960s, Māori mothers were encouraged and supported to establish playgroups by Lex Grey, a pre-school officer for the Māori Education Foundation. Kathryn specified that these groups included June Thatcher, Hine Potaka and Mere Palmer, all of whom had strong connections with the iwi in Tauranga and were passionate advocates of education.

The establishment of these early pre-school playgroups focused on recognising and utilising the skills and expertise located in whānau and hapū. These groups laid the foundation for the hapū of Maungatapu to establish the first kōhanga reo in the Tauranga area. Marama Furlong recalled that Waimatao Reweti (Ngāi te Ahi) had been working in the Wellington region in the late 1970s where the first kōhanga reo had been established and instigated the idea of kōhanga reo at Hairini. The process of establishment was then picked up by June Thatcher who had supported the establishment of the playgroups and other women from the hapū who had a strong interest in education, including Rangiwhakaehu Walker, Aroha Luttenburger, and Kapuhuia Muru. Kathryn explained that this group of women, "set the scene for the revitalisation of te reo Māori from the kōhanga reo basis".

Marama Reweti-Martin also proudly recalled that the Maungatapu hapū led the drive for kōhanga reo:

> With that resurgence in kaupapa Māori and the kōhanga, it was my whānau that spearheaded that because Hairini had the first kōhanga reo in Tauranga. That was

> started by Aunty Nan (Rangiwhakaehu) as the kuia, and Wai Reweti who was a trained kindergarten teacher. They started it off and I'm not sure how much later Maungatapu started their kōhanga?

Soon each hapū established kōhanga reo within their respective marae. Rangiwhakaehu Walker was particularly prominent in the development of kōhanga reo in Tauranga. Following the establishment of the kōhanga reo at Hairini she supported the hapū at Maungatapu and across the harbour she also assisted the hapū at Huria marae to establish their own centre. These kōhanga reo are all still thriving today.

These early learning centres provided a means by which hapū could work to revitalise te reo and tikanga and enable their children to experience sound, pre-school learning that strengthened their sense of culture, language and identity. Importantly and subsequent to these kōhanga reo being set up and running effectively, the hapū wanted to ensure that these children were provided with opportunities to continue to experience this learning once they entered primary education. This aspiration resonates with the vision of Ka Hikitia, because fundamentally, the hapū wanted their children to enjoy and achieve education success – 'as Māori'.

Establishment of bilingual schooling

Kathryn was appointed to the role of Assistant Principal of Maungatapu Primary School in 1985. She recalls that this was an interesting political time in education, particularly in communities where kōhanga reo were located. Parents of kōhanga reo children wanted to ensure that their children continued to receive Māori immersion education as they entered and progressed through primary school. Given that the foundation children of Hairini kōhanga reo had reached school age, Kathryn suspected that it was not coincidental that she, a Māori woman with whakapapa links to Maungatapu, was appointed to the Assistant Principal position at the school by the district education board.

From the time Kathryn began in her role as Assistant Principal, she was very aware that the hapū wanted their children to be able to transition from the kōhanga reo into bilingual primary education so that the continuity of the reo and tikanga learning would be maintained. Parents from the hapū were very explicit about this expectation and this positioning challenged the Pākehā principal of the school at that time who Kathryn suggested did not understand why the Māori community wanted Māori to be taught in the school:

> The principal was a nice man, but he threw up his hands, quite literally and said, "Who are these people demanding that Māori be taught in the school. It's too much for me, that's your job!"
>
> There were a number of variables that made my transition difficult. One was that I had been an intermediate[4] teacher so the junior teachers did not want a bar of me and there was definitely some resistance from within the senior leadership. There was cultural resistance. We can now recognise those difficulties and barriers for what they were.

The principal subsequently asked Kathryn to take responsibility for listening and responding to what the hapū was asking for. She explained some of the challenges that she experienced as she transitioned from her previous teaching position at an intermediate school into senior leadership position at Maungatapu Primary School and worked to fulfil the expectation of developing a bilingual unit:

> It was a big learning curve transitioning from an intermediate to a primary school context. That was fascinating for me, but the idea of then developing and creating a bilingual unit was the beginning for me of getting off the fence. So instead of wanting to be the best teacher for all children I was now going to need to decide what side of the fence I was going to park myself on. It really wasn't a difficult choice because I was excited and interested by the educational challenges and I have the whakapapa links to relate to and engage with Ngāti He and Ngāi te Ahi to build the relationships.

Kathryn described the processes that she engaged in to instigate the development of the bilingual unit at Maungatapu Primary School. This included building her own knowledge of bilingual education practice in Aotearoa and critically it also involved working closely with the hapū:

> I decided that I needed help so I decided to read the research. The best pieces of research at the time were in the Set articles. I came across the work of Dr Richard Benton and fell in love with his work. Then I had to use my whanaungatanga ties from Parone Reweti, my aunty June Thatcher, Rini Ormsby, and Marama (Furlong). So finding a network of Māori in the hapū where my whanaunga – whakapapa ties would allow me access and build those connections. There was amazing support, we had the strength of educators in our hāpu.

Marama (Furlong) added that the hapū had been waiting for the opportunity to establish bilingual education at the school for some time. They understood that it was a matter of

[4] Intermediate schools in Aotearoa provide education specifically for Year 7 and 8 students (ages 11-12). These are considered to be intermediate years between primary and secondary schools.

identifying someone to lead the development and they were happy that it was Kathryn although, they recognised that it was a major responsibility. Kathryn got a clear sense of this responsibility:

> The first wave of children from the kōhanga were ready to go into the school and the kaiako (teacher) there had been making attempts with the principal to find out, when the children come to school, what ability and what resources would be available for the children coming from kōhanga reo. The hapū had very high expectations - they didn't want to see just one bilingual unit they wanted to see two units so there was pressure from the Pākehā and from the Māori. It was hard work, it was a stressful time.

Although there were determined and highly experienced educators in the hapū, there was also a large proportion of Pākehā in the community and on staff who did not understand why the development of a bilingual unit was important. Kathryn suggested:

> They didn't see the rationale or the value of having a bilingual unit and this was the argument from the non-Māori community of Maungatapu. Those people who had come from outside of the area and had built flash houses on hapū land.
>
> It was not that the principal was reluctant to have the bilingual unit, he couldn't see the value in it but he couldn't do anything about it [such was the determination of the hapū].

Despite the fact that the principal and the wider Pākehā community wanted to resist this act of decolonisation and maintain the superiority of the English language, Kathryn set about working with hapū, school leadership and the regional ministry office between 1985 and 1986:

> I do believe that the regional ministry at that level understood that the revitalisation of kōhanga reo was a strong, powerful movement and it was not going to be stopped. Therefore, schools needed to be inclusive. The principal knew that this was an unstoppable evolution of change which was going right through Aotearoa at the time. Regional office had obviously thought about this and there was an appointment of kaiārahi i te reo. If there was going to be the inculcation of bilingual units in mainstream schools, those units would need to be supported by kaiārahi i te reo.

In 1987 a class was opened to focus on the promotion of te reo and Māori culture and then in 1988 the bilingual unit was formally established. The unit was named Te Puwhāriki which is the traditional name of the area where the school is located (Maungatapu School, 2019). As Kathryn noted, bilingual units were beginning to emerge in schools across the country but the infrastructure models and resourcing to support these teachers were not readily available. Kathryn continues:

> Maungatapu was the first recognised bilingual unit in Tauranga Moana and Marama was one of the first wave of kaiārahi i te reo to be appointed in New Zealand. Because it was so new, there wasn't even a job description, so Marama was appointed before she even knew what her job was, neither did I or the principal so we had to develop that and there was a conscious decision to attempt to build the infrastructure around the bilingual unit.

As she reflected on the establishment phase of the bilingual unit, Marama Furlong commented on the mixed emotions that she had about being asked to take on the position of kaiārahi i te reo at Maungatapu school. She recalled the trauma that she and her relatives experienced as students at the school, and contemplated the implications of returning to the school in the role that would require her to teach children the very language that she had been punished for speaking as a child:

> When I was asked to go to the kura to become a kaiārahi i te reo, it sat uncomfortably with me, knowing what I had been put through while I was a child at that school. As time went on I thought "How ironic that the very school that I went to punished me for speaking my reo, and how ironic that in later years, I was asked to go back there to teach the reo". So there was a whole mixture of feelings there. I did become comfortable with the realisation that we had to move on and move forward.

Kathryn on the other hand, commented on how important and wonderful it was to have Marama as a native speaker and expert in te reo, in the role of kaiārahi i te reo:

> Marama had come in as a te reo expert. It was wonderful after all those years her skills and expertise were being valued. On the ground we had to work through what the job description would be and now that we had this beautiful inclusion in the school, we had to think about how best she could be included in our teaching staff.

Maintaining momentum

While the establishment of the bilingual unit was celebrated and welcomed by the hapū, Kathryn did not feel that it was necessarily embraced with the same level of enthusiasm within the school. The principal and other senior leaders did accommodate hapū and regional ministry expectations and enabled the establishment of bilingual unit, but this did not mean that there was an understanding of what the unit represented for the hapū and the wider school. Kathryn got a sense that the leadership team hoped that the establishment of the unit would simply satisfy and thus pacify the hapū.

Not long after the establishment of the bilingual unit the principal retired and a new Pākehā principal was appointed. This change in leadership however, did not mean that the positive

potential of the bilingual unit was recognised. The new principal's lack of understanding about the values that underpinned Māori-medium education meant that Kathryn frequently found herself advocating for and protecting the very existence of the bilingual unit:

> The principal was attracted to the idea of leading a school with a bilingual unit because this was something new in education that he wanted to be involved in, but the poor guy did not understand all of the values and the important things about looking after and supporting a bilingual unit.

As well as not understanding the values and practices associated with supporting a bilingual unit within the school, Kathryn felt that the principal did not understand the connection between the unit and the aspirations of the hapū. This was evidenced through his insistence that learning programmes and teaching practices more closely resembled what Pākehā teachers were doing. Kathryn explains:

> He thought that it would be a unit that would emulate the values of an English-Pākehā curriculum, and he wanted to see his version of 'top' teaching.

Consequently, the principal proposed that the unit be disbanded and the classes be relocated so that the bilingual teachers could work alongside, follow the example of, and learn from good Pākehā teachers. Kathryn recognised that he associated 'good' teaching practice with having access to resources and materials that enabled regular testing and she was frustrated that he did not acknowledge or value the pedagogical principles that underpinned bilingual teaching and learning. The paucity of resources and research available for teaching in these settings was a further problem:

> He wanted to disengage our unit and force them apart to put them beside good Pākehā teachers around the school. That's when we decided as a whānau that we would put our preverbal foot down. The arguments and the barriers just got worse and worse. There was a series of years when as a whānau unit, we had to deal with a principal who had no perception, no aptitude, no empathy around what bilingualism would even look like. He had no idea of any of the research, or the developing pedagogy that would be needed to develop good teaching practices for our teachers in the bilingual unit.

Kathryn recognised the risk that this thinking and proposed actions presented for the hapū who had worked hard to reclaim and revitalise te reo and tikanga through pre-school and now primary school education. She understood that the Māori community were likely to view the disbanding of the unit as an act of colonisation all over again and her observations of their response to this plan confirmed their rejection of this proposal:

> He [the principal] was advised by a Māori whānau member not to share his plan to split the bilingual unit up with the Māori community but he went ahead and did. He handed out a piece of paper to whānau detailing his plan and one of the parents took the piece of paper from him, screwed it up and then dropped it on the floor and proceeded to stamp on the piece of paper. She said "That's what I think of your plan" and that was typical of the type of reaction that he got.

Marama Furlong was not aware of these political tensions that were playing out at the senior leadership level between the principal, Kathryn, and members of the Māori community:

> I was not aware of the detail of the politics I was learning to teach and the children were my concern, not the politics of it. Had I become part of that, how could I be with the children – knowing what was happening, so it was best for me to concentrate on the role that I was there for.

Kathryn affirmed that it was appropriate and important that Marama remained focused on the children in the unit and that the difficulties with the principal were her responsibility to address. She was very well supported by members of the hapū who contributed their perspectives regarding how they could prevent the principal from separating the bilingual unit and integrating the classrooms, and thus their children, into the English-medium area of the school. One suggestion that was explored was the possibility of removing the bilingual unit from the school and re-establishing it in a different location:

> We had clever people amongst the whānau. One of the mothers had financial expertise and we were starting to think and ask "What percentage of money is this bilingual unit entitled to in terms of the purse of the school?" We were quite forward and we asked "Why can't we have that money in order to get the resources that we need for our curriculum and our pedagogy?" That was our entitlement, or at least that was what we thought. So, our position was "Give us the monetary value of what we are entitled to if you don't like our ideas and you want to tear us apart". But this wasn't going to happen. Then I had the thought "Why can't we be a separate unit somewhere else on the grounds of our school?" Well that caused very big issues. The trustees absolutely opposed this, they called it apartheid and we got accused of that type of thinking.

While they were accused of being separatist, Kathryn was adamant that herself and the hapū did not actually want to remove the unit and separate the children from the land. Fundamentally, they wanted to maintain the rights that they believed they had, as the original custodians of the land, to have their children educated in a way that strengthened their identity as Māori. During discussions between Kathryn and the school governance, the point that the land had been gifted to the government from the hapū was reiterated:

> A commissioner or someone like that was bought in to talk to the community. The education board owned some land in Poike. My position was, if the Board of Trustees will not allow us to still operate within the school, with our own budget and operate on the school grounds, which our tupuna [ancestors] gifted, then we could actually uplift ourselves and go to Poike and start our own school.

Kathryn realised that relocating the unit to Poike seemed like a drastic measure, but the intention that sat behind this suggestion was to make the point that the bilingual unit was so important to the hapū, that they were prepared to take drastic action in order to keep the teachers and the children together. She concedes however, that the suggestion was not well received by the school or the hapū and this caused further implications for her:

> It was not really favoured by anyone. I felt the tide turn so that some of the Māori community started to think that this was just an argument between me and the principal and actually we are not moving. So, they came all the way back to the fact that they were mana whenua and we are not moving. Which was their choice to make. But the principal was putting us in a position that was so bad, that I was considering options, because what else could I do? I was trying to look after the interests of young parents who were passionate about our little unit. They did not want to see it torn apart and not valued.

Throughout our conversation, Kathryn and Marama returned to the principal's unwillingness to understand bilingual education as being the central tension during this difficult time. Kathryn was particularly disturbed by his propensity to criticise the teachers in the bilingual unit and measure their performance in relation to the Pākehā teachers who worked in English-medium. She felt that this was terribly unfair and inappropriate considering the wealth of resources, testing materials and professional development support that English-medium teachers had access to. By comparison, Māori-medium teachers did not have access to basic literacy reading texts, numeracy resources or professional development support given that this was a new and emerging form of education in Aotearoa. Kaiārahi i te reo such as Marama were busy learning how to teach, being a language model for the teachers and learners, translating teaching and learning materials while also making the resources they needed to teach. Kathryn recalled how:

> The principal stood up time and time again and talked about how bad our teachers were - to their faces and to whānau faces. That's something that just goes straight to the heart of the whole issue. He did not value our teachers, but worse still, he did not consider how long mainstream curriculum had been around to trial pedagogy, to change it, to grow it and evolve. Aren't mainstream teachers lucky – they have a whole plethora of research and resources behind them, to support them to be good teachers, but we were just starting off with Māori-medium education and he had no idea about the journey. But his measuring stick was Pākehā mainstream teachers and this measuring stick was inappropriate for our journey.

Kathryn recognised that increasing knowledge and understanding of biculturalism and thus bilingualism at the leadership level of the school was critically important. She felt that this would serve to mitigate the tensions between herself and the principal within the school and it would also possibly ease the tension that had been created between the principal and the Māori community. She explains:

> When the other deputy principal resigned I thought that it would be a good time for us to have a deputy principal who might well be Māori. I suggested that the advertisement be put in to the Gazette in both Māori and English.

Much to Kathryn's disappointment, this suggestion was not well received and tensions between Kathryn and the principal remained. Frustrated by the rejection of her suggestion, Kathryn sought some external advice which further escalated the tension:

> That prompted another big fight. I got a bit radical and activist about that. I knew someone in the Race Relations office so I sent a fax off to ask some questions and that was not well received by the school. I was going to be taken to task, so I left and went to work at the Ministry [of Education] in 1991.

While Kathryn left her position at Maungatapu school she remained involved with the school in the role of a parent when her son began school in the bilingual unit. She also undertook some research in the bilingual unit. This meant that she witnessed the resignation of the principal and the appointment of Sue Horne to the principal's position in 2002 to commence her principalship in 2003. Kathryn looked forward to what she felt would be a new era of leadership for the school.

A new era of leadership

At the time that Sue was appointed to the position of principal, like Kathryn, Marama Furlong was no longer employed by the school, but she continued to live in the community and thus maintained a connection and an awareness of what was happening at the school. Kathryn and Marama were both familiar with Sue as she had been the Deputy Principal at Maungatapu School between 1993 - 2000 so based on their experiences they both recognised that it was likely that she would bring a different approach to leadership than what they had experienced under the leadership of the previous principal.

Kathryn immediately noticed a stark contrast between the way the previous principal engaged with the Māori community and the way that Sue engaged:

> The previous principal, based on my experience, had no wish to work alongside the whānau, he did not embrace them and he was not inclusive. Sue had a completely different whakaaro (way of thinking) from the previous principal. Sue came in and was the complete opposite. She was inclusive, she recognised the importance of developing a relationship with Māori, she had a different personality.

While Marama also noticed that Sue bought a *"different dynamic",* Kathryn really wanted to emphasise the degree to which Sue prioritised her relationship with Māori:

> With Sue, she bought the human relationship aspect to the principal's role. There was definitely a willingness to connect and she was such a breath of fresh air – a niceness, a beautiful person and you just want to work with someone like her. She really recognised the importance of forming relationships with the Māori community whereas the former principals, I believe had been blind to it. Sue was a person who had genuine feelings for things Māori, you could tell.

Following Sue's appointment, both Marama Furlong and Kathryn believed that the optimism they felt, about the future of the bilingual unit and thus the future of Māori children at Maungatapu Primary School was widespread across the hapū. Given the difficulties that they had endured under the leadership of the previous principals, it is perhaps unsurprising that Sue's efforts to connect with the hapū and develop genuine relationships early in her principalship increased the community's sense of optimism and hope that the pathway between the kōhanga reo and the school would be strengthened. They looked forward to the future and the possibility that the Māori community could work together with Sue to improve the experiences and outcomes of their children.

Summary

This chapter has presented the historical context of Maungatapu community and detailed the evolution of Maungatapu Primary School. It describes the wider and ongoing consequences of colonisation for the iwi of Tauranga and the localised impact of urbanisation on the hapū of Maungatapu. By 2002, (the year Sue began her principalship) it had been 121 years since the hapū first gifted land for the school to the Crown and at that point in time five generations of hapū had attended the school. As Marama Furlong's and Marama Reweti-Martin's narratives confirm, their education experiences of the native school were characterised by physical and psychological punishment for speaking Māori (for Marama Furlong) and determined assimilation (for Marama Reweti-Martin). For Kathryn the challenges she and the hapū faced to establish the bilingual unit and the struggles they endured to prevent the unit from being disbanded are still painful to recall more than 30 years on from these events. This chronicle of

historical oppression exemplifies a story of intergenerational trauma that is not uncommon throughout Aotearoa. Many in the hapū recognised that the appointment of Sue to the position of principal in 2002 signalled the opportunity for a positive change in the hapū-school relationship. Some of them even dared to believe that their children might actually experience an education that would enable them to be successful as Māori, which was the fundamental aspiration that their tupuna had when they originally gifted the land for the school, back in 1881. The next chapter details the contemporary school context and how the Sue has sought to connect with and engage her Māori whānau and community.

Chapter 6: Caring for the land and the people

Nōku te whenua, o ōku tupuna

The land is mine, inherited from my ancestors

Introduction

The above whakataukī, provides a segue between the previous chapter which details the historical context of Maungatapu Primary School, and this chapter which describes Sue's current leadership practice in the contemporary context of the school. The narratives of experience of Māori participants in the previous chapter, verify that overtime, the fact that the land for the school was gifted to the colonial government has been expunged from the memory of the coloniser, but was held on to by mana whenua who have a different relationship with it. The mana whenua relationship with the land, is not one of ownership but one of guardianship, a responsibility that they inherit, through whakapapa from their ancestors. These same Māori participants confirm however, that from the time Sue Horne was appointed to the position of principal, she did recognise the significance of the gift of land and subsequently sought to develop relationships with the Māori community that honoured their status as the mana whenua.

This chapter presents a collaborative story, developed from a co-constructed analysis of interviews. It also includes an analysis of selected strategic school documents that were considered to be relevant to the research questions namely the school charter, strategic plan, the school curriculum and the most recent ERO report.

The Interviews

As detailed in Chapter 4, there were two semi-structured interviews as conversations undertaken with Sue the principal of Maungatapu Primary school and these interviews were followed by a series of conversations to collaborate and collectively make sense of both her interview data and the interview data of other school and community participants. The first interview with Sue did not specifically incorporate the research questions as it was a contextualising conversation within which I explained the general scope of the research project. In this conversation, Sue talked in general terms about some new practices that had been developed and institutionalised in the school since I undertook my Master's research that were relevant to her efforts to maintain and strengthen relationships between herself, the school and the whānau of Māori students and the Māori community. This conversation provided us with

an important opportunity to reconnect and we were both able to affirm our relationship to each other and discuss our shared interest regarding leadership practices that improve the experiences and outcomes of Māori learners. We were both enthusiastic at the prospect of exploring Sue's leadership with a more specific focus on understanding how she develops and fosters whānau-school connections with Māori whānau and community members.

The second interview that we engaged in was more structured than the first in the sense that Sue had taken time to consider and reflect upon the two research questions prior to the interview. In particular, she had noted specific experiences of engagement with her Māori community which she felt had been successful and she explained why she believed that these engagement practices had been effective. At that time, we also discussed some other potential participants from within the school and from the Māori community who could contribute their perspective to this research narrative. Sue suggested both of her fellow senior leaders: Sandra Portegys, the Deputy Principal, and Ngaire Paki, the Assistant Principal and Dual-Medium Leader. Other members of the Māori community who were initially identified were Des Heke and Kiri Diamond. Des is mana whenua with a wealth of historical knowledge about Maungatapu and the wider Tauranga area. Over many years Des has provided cultural guidance and support to Sue. He is also a former pupil of the school, a parent of a child who attended the school and at one time he was employed at the school as a teacher's aide. Kiri does not have direct whakapapa links to Maungatapu but she was raised in the community and hence has close connections with the hapū. She was a parent of children who attended the school and was a former Board of Trustees chairperson.

After undertaking individual interviews with Des, Kiri, Ngaire and Sandra, I was encouraged to find out more about the historical context of the school. Following a conversation with Sue about who could be approached to offer further historical perspectives I talked with Marama Furlong, Kathryn Bluett and Marama Reweti-Martin. While the former three interviewees did contribute historical perspectives as outlined in the previous chapter, they also provided insight into Sue's current leadership practice which is also presented in this chapter.

Participants' interviews were triangulated to understand, compare and contrast their responses to the research questions. Through this analysis a range of themes pertaining to Sue's leadership were identified. These themes are presented in the next section using direct quotations in a collaborative story that illustrates our co-constructed understandings and interpretations of Sue's leadership.

Whakapapa – Understanding people and place

Whakapapa refers to understanding who people are, that is their personal identity and their collective identity in relation to their familial connections with other people (whānau, hapū, iwi). Whakapapa also encompasses the connections between people and the land (where they come from), and in terms of Maungatapu Primary School this includes how and why the school came to be established.

When Sue was a teacher at Maungatapu in the 1990s, she was not aware of the historical significance of the school as its historical origins were not acknowledged or valued by school leadership during this time. However, once she became a principal she took the time to learn about the history of the school and researched the school archives. Consequently, she became acutely aware of the experiences of the hapū and whānau and their special connection to the land. Through Sue's research she became conscious of the fact that "this school is a jewel" and she felt a deep sense of responsibility to care for this jewel and everything it represents for the mana whenua. Consequently she has always acknowledged that Maungatapu Primary School stands on land that, as required by the government of the time, was gifted by hapū for the establishment of a school that would serve their community by providing education for their children and the children of others. This acknowledgement of the whakapapa of the school is significant because it recognises that the school has its origins in the historical relationship that was forged in the early 1900s between the hapū and the Education Department of that time. For Sue, understanding the people and place that constitute the cultural context that is Maungatapu Primary School, has always been important as these understandings influence how she engages in leadership and responds to the whānau, hapū, teachers and the wider school community. Understanding her personal identity within the school context was also important.

Personal identity

In order to understand and be responsive to people within the cultural contexts and school setting, Sue recognised the importance of understanding her own identity as a Pākehā woman. This was a reoccurring theme in the conversations we had. At the time of the second interview Sue had engaged in some reading that had prompted her to reflect on and question the culture of schools. Sue suggested:

> The dominant culture in school tends to be Pākehā. Pākehā ways of making decisions and having conversations with parents and whānau. It's a model we all use which raises the point: what about the indigenous people in the school - what is it like for them?

In contemplating the question about what schooling is like for indigenous people, Sue made reference to the fact that she is a Pākehā female and as such she is always very conscious of her own cultural identity. Sue concedes that being married to a man who has whakapapa connections into Maungatapu did initially support her to build and strengthen relationships with this particular Māori community. For a time, as a young adult, her husband Jock lived with his sister and her whānau at Maungatapu and thus was a member of the Māori community himself. Additionally, he worked for many years at the Port of Tauranga with a large number of men from the Maungatapu community so these relationships also provided connectivity into this community:

> I guess being married to Jock I've got a slight advantage. He has got connections with Maungatapu through his own family so occasionally, we are at events that local families are part of.

Kathryn and Marama Furlong also recognised in their reflections the conduit role that Jock played in supporting the brokering of relationships with the Māori community. They acknowledged however, that Sue had a relational disposition, that enabled her to develop relationships with Māori in her own way, making the point that relationship development with the Māori community was not entirely dependent on her marriage to Jock. Kathryn explains:

> Being married to a Māori I think would have helped her to know where she was at and to recognise some of the cultural identity differences. But she came with her own respectfulness in terms of the type of women that she was so that was very, very fortunate for Maungatapu.

While this marital connection was beneficial, Sue still recognised that as a member of the dominant cultural group, she could not assume that her own values, beliefs and ways of being were necessarily consistent with those of her Māori community. Sue recalls:

> Despite my best intentions, I never assumed that my ideas and suggestions would be openly accepted without questions.

Based on this understanding, Sue worked in very deliberate ways to develop relationships with members of her Māori community. These relationships, while important in themselves, also enabled her to broker relationships into the wider Māori community network. The point about brokering relationships with her Māori community was reinforced by the Māori members of the community who were interviewed. Kiri talked about her experiences in supporting Sue to negotiate relationships and cultural processes with some Māori whānau. Kiri recognised that while Sue had good intentions, in some instances her identity as Pākehā might have had

detrimental implications. Kiri recalled that Sue was open and willing to be guided in order to maintain the cultural safety of everyone involved:

> She felt some stuff wasn't her place to go as far as our cultural practices go. She didn't feel that it was her place to go there but she did go as far as she could, so whatever she was able to do, she did do. I think that having somebody who had experience in working between two worldviews in that context was important for her.

Ngaire also identified Sue's ability to recognise when her identity as a Pākehā women needed to be taken into consideration, when engaging with some Māori whānau. An additional consideration that Ngaire suggested was the point that Sue did not live in the community. She noted for example, that Sue acknowledged when it was more appropriate for someone who does have whakapapa links, to support her to negotiate the terms of engagement. Ngaire described her thoughts on these points:

> She [Sue] is open to opportunities to engage and recognises when perhaps she doesn't have a strength herself so she looks for support to bridge those relationships. A characteristic of her leadership quality is her ability to open up and be vulnerable to say "Look I don't know how to make those connections as strongly perhaps as someone who is from within that community". Because some of these relationships come out of a sort of lifestyle, it's not just school-kura relationships its broader than that and she recognises this and puts things in place that can help strengthen those connections for her.

Des made reference to Sue's practice of drawing on the relationships that she had with hapū to actively seek their perspectives so that her own cultural identity did not dominate and hapū cultural values, histories and beliefs were incorporated into the fabric of the school. Des stated:

> You're in Maungatapu so there is a large number of tangata whenua here. There was an opportunity to learn lots of history. There are also the practicalities because there are local traditions occurring.

Closely connected to the notion of the personal cultural identity is the concept of the collective identity of people and place. All participants talked at length about the importance of the cultural location of the school within the context of the hapū.

Hapū and whānau identity

Sue had mentioned the significance of the school's historical origins in a number of conversations. In recent years excavation work on the school site to prepare for the construction of new buildings had uncovered early archaeological settlement. Sue was pleased that hapū

were involved when the artefacts were uncovered as they were able to provide cultural guidance. While having hapū present and engaged at this level is a normalised process at Maungatapu Primary School it might not be common practice across schools given that the incident uncovered a loop hole in the Ministry of Education processes. Sue explained the implication this experience revealed:

> There has never been a clause in Ministry protocols that requires engagement with local iwi or to make sure that they are on-site when they start digging into banks and things like that so we have become a case study.

All participants referenced the history of the school and the multiple generations of whānau who have attended the school over the past century. Kiri made explicit the associated sense of connection and responsibility that the hapū feel:

> The whānau is very driven. That was their school. I think maybe six or seven generations of families have gone through there so they are very connected to the land and the school.

Marama Reweti-Martin referenced the intergenerational representation of whānau that she observed in Te Puwhāriki:

> From what I see from Te Puwhāriki at the kura, I see the [family] names of the tamariki (children), those are the people I went to school with, their parents and grandparents. Generally, most of those children who are in the unit are the local tamariki. The ones who have come from outside the region tend to be the ones who are in the mainstream.

Sandra also referenced how important it was to acknowledge the history of the land the school is built on for the Māori community, and also for the teachers and the school's community as a whole. Additionally, she noted that Sue's own history with the school over many years has also supported her to develop intergeneration connections with families. Sandra explained:

> This land was gifted for the purpose of education and that's really important to our whānau. Our staff and our [non-Māori] community need to know that.
>
> In terms of Sue's history with the school she knows the families, who the grandparents are, she's made sure that she knows who they are. She's getting to the point now where she has taught some of the parents. She's made sure she knows who those families are and what their family's histories are.

Connected to the theme of knowing and understanding the people and the place is the idea of knowing, understanding and agreeing with the kaupapa (purpose) of the school. The historical

purpose was to provide education for local Māori children and the contemporary shared purpose is to provide education that is founded in both mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Pākehā.

Kaupapa

Throughout the interviews each participant discussed in some way the special and defining character of Maungatapu Primary School. These references included the Native school origins and the unique relationship this represents between the school and the hapū. This foundational relationship informed the development of practices that enabled opportunities for the hapū to be self-determining and contribute to decision making so that their children can enjoy and achieve education success, strong in their Māori cultural identity. This extended to understanding the importance of brokering the relationship between the rumaki (bilingual unit) and auraki (English-medium) areas of the school so that both dimensions of the school and community could work together in bicultural and inclusive ways. These two succinct and connected agendas were articulated in different ways when participants described the kaupapa of the school.

Hapū self-determination

The Board of Trustees as the governing body of schools sets the long-term vision and the strategic direction and priorities for each year. In terms of honouring the historical relationship between the hapū and the school, a specific position for a hapū member to be represented on board was established prior to Sue becoming the principal. Having a person represented in this role meant that the board could be made aware of aspects of the school's systems that were not working for children of this community and then respond with a better understanding. While the rationale for this role was sound, Sue felt that in the early years of her principalship a number of board members did not understand or recognise the importance of this position and at times the role seemed to be minimised. Sue believes that the introduction of Kiri onto the board and into the role of chairperson was significant in reprioritising the status of the hapū representative. Sue described how Kiri worked alongside the hapū representative:

> Kiri was a proactive spokesperson to provide a conduit between the board and the rumaki unit. This led to clearer and more robust reporting to the board regarding pupil achievement in both Māori and English-medium.

Kiri herself talked about how her own appointment to the board was driven by Māori whānau members whose children were in the rumaki unit. Having had experiences of governance in

other areas she found herself explaining to whānau, the complexities associated with decision making at different levels of education. Kiri explained how this played out:

> I wasn't going to go on the board. I really wanted to just be a parent. I found I was talking to parents and saying "Ok that's not senior management decision and that's not a board's decision, that's a Ministry decision." So, I was giving that information to the whānau. For those first couple of years and helping them to understand the school situation.

While Kiri initially resisted the idea of joining the board, following an incident that concerned her, she changed her mind and agreed to both stand for the board, and to put herself forward for the position of chairperson:

> The whānau asked if I would go [for the board position], they constantly asked. I went back to the whānau and said yes but the condition is I will be going for Chair. I knew the whole board was coming off bar one person. The hapū representative was thinking about coming off but I encouraged them to stay because I still needed someone who could whakapapa to the whenua. I don't whakapapa, I was born and bred with them, but I don't whakapapa to the whenua. So that person stayed.

Kiri further explained how both the whānau and Sue recognised the benefits of her being on the board:

> My election onto the board was very planned, the whānau planned how to make sure I got on. I think for the whānau having another person who was there, of them, on the board was really important for them. I think for Sue having somebody who had experience in working between two worlds in that context was important for her. Sue and I would have meetings and we would talk things through.

As well as working in determined ways with hapū at the board level, Sue also recognised and placed priority on providing hapū with multiple opportunities to contribute. This was an observation noted by Des:

> The principal says we have to develop our own unique way. The land has been gifted to the school so I think that part of the role for the tangata whenua is to support the school for school things. We have a lot of strong families within Maungatapu and Hairini who have been involved in education. Strong components who are tangata whenua, they know education is important. Kuia who have passed and some of our kuia are still here today. The whānau they are all direct descendants.

Another example of hapū self-determination that Sue noted related to fundraising for the rumaki unit. She explained that there are mandated financial conventions associated with school budget allocations and there are associated processes and rules for fundraising. She recalled

one occasion when Ngaire approached her to let her know that the rumaki kapa haka group needed new uniforms and that the whānau of the children (who were predominantly from the hapū) were prepared to fundraise so that new uniforms could be purchased:

> I said "Oh no, no we have allowed for that in the budget. We've got money set aside for piu piu and money set aside for this and for that" and she totally threw me. She [Ngaire] counted this offer with "You know Sue – Māori get a lot out of fundraising. It's more than just raising money. It's coming together for a common purpose, that's the way we do things". So, then I realised why she wasn't excited and we thought that we were being smart, the board and myself, by specifically allocating money but the whānau wanted to raise the funds their own way.

Sue recognised what Ngaire was suggesting and when they worked together to enable this fundraising to happen she observed the solidarity that this engendered:

> You just saw parents, who come up to the school. The kids were right involved, the teachers were right involved, every single member of their staff worked really, really hard and they just ran like a well-oiled machine.

> So really this is what Ngaire was saying to me and again I learned a lot from her. Even though the board had set money aside she said, "this is how we all get together Sue because some parents can't donate money but they can donate their time and energy, or they can look after little children while others do something else and take part without digging into their pockets or just receiving it from the board. They're not being disrespectful about the board, but they wanted to make the money themselves.

Accordingly, Sue continued to find ways through the financial conventions so that the whānau could fundraise for specific kaupapa that they determined to be important and to fundraise through whatever mechanism suited them. Sue appreciated that while the raising of funds was the outcome of these endeavours, more importantly the whānau valued the opportunity to work together and support each other, on their own terms for the benefit of their children.

The prioritisation of pōwhiri at the school is another symbolic means of reinforcing hapū self-determination. This also ensured that the cultural rituals were authentically carried out.

Pōwhiri

Pōwhiri are important Māori rituals of encounter that provide an opportunity for mana whenua to welcome and meet manuhiri (visitors or newcomers). These ceremonies are usually undertaken in te reo Māori and there are culturally authentic, clearly defined and complimentary roles for males and females. While it is not unusual for schools in Aotearoa to begin a school year and welcome a special guest with a pōwhiri, there can be variations across schools

regarding why and how pōwhiri are enacted, who leads the formalities and who else is involved. Often these variations are set by the school.

At Maungatapu Primary School, Sue and the Māori community have moved away from a traditional practice that saw them enact pōwhiri exclusively for special visitors, to a more authentic model that sees them acknowledging the arrival of newcomers to the school on a more regular basis. Sue explained:

> In our school we only had pōwhiri when Education Review Office came. Then we started having them at the beginning of the year as a way to start the year off. Now we have them at the start of every term to welcome all of the pupils who started during the term who haven't been welcomed with their families plus new staff who have come in.

These pōwhiri are very well attended by the local community including Pākehā families. Sue noted that new arrivals to Aotearoa have commented on what an honour it is to be welcomed into the school in such a special way. From a school leadership perspective, while the pōwhiri do serve the cultural purpose of welcoming manuhiri, another important purpose of the pōwhiri is for the hapū of Maungatapu (Ngāi te Ahi and Ngāti He), to enact their local kawa (protocols), in welcoming newcomers to their ancestral homelands as important and valued members of their community. This in turn models these rituals of engagement for their children who participate with them in culturally authentic and appropriate ways. Sue acknowledged the important and symbolic powershift this represents for her as the principal to create space and opportunities for hapū to lead and be self-determining. She also acknowledged that this shift was initially challenging:

> The dominant culture takes the less powerful role and that was quite a challenge for me because when you are the principal you are used to being in charge of proceedings. You are usually the first person to welcome visitors and do all of that. Also, although we are the tangata whenua in a pōwhiri we are like the visitors in someone else's space because Māori usually lead it. It's like a marae but it's not a marae but we use the local protocols. When the kaumātua come the first thing they always say in their speeches, is that they respect the way the school allows them to conduct the pōwhiri according to Māori protocol although it's a school.

Sue further explained that this shift in control from the school across to the hapū is also something that teachers have also had to get used to:

> What it has done for us as a staff is put us all on our toes because you go down the pecking order you're not in control here. The whānau have the structure. I have to stop looking at my watch, we can't say it's going to be finished at 10:20am.

> Sometimes it is and sometimes it isn't. I have learned because it is important to meet and greet afterwards and have a cup of tea with people and make sure I have got the time to spend with them whoever they are. For the teachers we're all not used to being told what to do, so now we know what to do. There are rules and we are going to do this, this and this. It's now put them into the position where this is a priority, yep, you mightn't get your swim at 9:30am, or you won't get to the library at 11 o'clock necessarily, you put that aside.
>
> So, it has been a learning curve for all of us. I've got used to it, initially I was thinking "What part do I play here?" At the end of it I do get to welcome everyone, but I'm not first on the list and principals aren't used to that.

The staff have learned their role is to participate and follow. The Māori community recognise and appreciate the opportunities that pōwhiri represents for them to welcome manuhiri and respectfully assert themselves as the people and guardians of the land. While the rumaki teachers and students collaborate with kaumātua and other hapū representatives to lead the process, the pōwhiri is also something that everyone is involved in so students and teachers from English-medium classes are included and are important. Des explains his perspective of the process:

> The whole school is involved so they can see it and experience it. There are different levels. It is led from the rumaki in terms of the protocol and the rumaki and the hapū help with the welcoming and the whaikōrero (formal speech). So, the school still has to practice and it is not just myself who has come in to help with the whaikōrero other people from the hapū and the teachers have also taken up various roles. As far as the whaikōrero and the karanga (female welcome call) it's not just the rumaki but throughout the kura auraki. It's based on the principles of the pōwhiri within the school environment. It's not a marae but all of the logistics are set out. We lead the front end and then we hand it over. Once the protocols are handed over to Sue or Sandra we acknowledge them in our speeches. What they are allowing through their role for the pōwhiri to occur and then once we [have] done all the protocol we just find a safe place for them to come in.

Ngaire also talked about the pōwhiri as an important means of affirming the school's special character in terms of the connection to the local hapū:

> The pōwhiri is like an induction really for whānau that arrive and are new to the school. They get a taste of what the special character of the kura is. Everyone who comes is privy to a special welcome.

She also noted the degree to which the pōwhiri process promoted inclusion of the English-medium students and teachers. In particular she mentioned that the protocols that have been developed, enable the process to affirm the important place of hapū, and provide a supported learning opportunity for students and staff who are learning te reo Māori to develop their

competency in the skills of karanga or whaikōrero. Providing these opportunities enabled capacity building across the school and she noted with pride, that non-Māori staff members were growing in confidence in these roles:

> The format of that pōwhiri is specific to this kura. A space that you can get up and do whaikōrero for the first time with your cue cards and that's ok. It could be the first time for non-Māori to be doing the karanga and that's ok. So, we've got strength in those protocols and how to do that within the rumaki team, but we want to grow that so that everyone does not just rely on us. These days the pōwhiri can include beginner speakers, one of our non-Māori male teachers in the auraki started last year and he would get up there and take his stance just like any male on the marae might do it and its really awesome to see that. So, we've got that growth happening.

In my conversation with Des, I mentioned that sometimes schools want to hold pōwhiri but struggle to access the support from their local hapū to undertake the welcome and whaikōrero. I asked him why Sue and Maungatapu Primary School are so well supported by the Māori community with pōwhiri in particular:

> It's not just ticking the box. It's to do with something important, something that needs to be done. I think it's the kaupapa, the good kaupapa. They have the foresight to engage early, they contact you and they ask. If the schools don't ask they miss out. That's even worse than not even acknowledging and asking.

Des was very clear that the pōwhiri were genuine and that the school leadership team and the hapū ensured that the cultural integrity of these rituals were maintained. In reflecting about why some other schools might struggle to access the support of representatives from their local hapū he thought that in some cases there might not be the capacity to provide fluent speakers for a pōwhiri. However, at Maungatapu he felt that they all had a responsibility to support the school that was grounded in their whakapapa relationship to the marae:

> There's an awareness here at the school about what's happening on the marae. You can't always ring the marae and expect the kaumātua to come here, especially if they have been to a tangi for a week. The younger ones are having to pick it up. The kaupapa must go on if they want to have a pōwhiri, you've got to just do it, you've got to learn. It's about creating that pathway from the marae especially with our te reo and then all the tikanga. The kōhanga reo pathway right through to the school and wharekura.

Maintaining the connection between the two marae (and their respective hapū) and school was also a reoccurring theme in the interviews. Participants discussed the hapū-school connection in relation to both the rumaki and auraki areas of the school.

Rumaki and auraki bicultural inclusion

Sue's commitment to the hapū in ensuring that the connections between the hapū and school are interdependent and strong goes beyond ensuring that there is hapū representation at the board level. She has worked to engender collective responsibility for the rumaki unit and the wider concept of biculturalism across all members of the Board of Trustees. When board members change (every three years) Sue ensures that new board members understand the historical significance of the school to the hapū and the associated responsibilities that this represents for board members, leadership and staff to engage and work in ways that honour the relationship. Sue conceded that at times engendering this understanding and shared responsibility was challenging:

> When my awareness and understanding was clarified, I saw the significance of the connectivity between the people and the land and ensured that this was made known to staff and board members during my leadership years. This wasn't always easy. There were barriers, perceptions and viewpoints – indicative of a dominant cultural view that needed to be worked through.

Kiri noted Sue's determination to resist accepting the status quo of inequity for Māori and ensured board members in particular recognised their governance responsibility regarding the achievement of Māori students. This was very evident one year when there were concerns about the academic achievement of some of the children in the rumaki unit and Sue was particularly explicit in articulating her vision for the unit. Kiri recalled that:

> Sue had a big plan, to be the best rumaki in the country. To be the best school with a rumaki in the country. The whole board got pretty single minded about it actually, unapologetic about it. We decided we were going to stand together on it because the academic results needed to change for our Māori children. So, it wasn't just the school as in the operation, but the board as well, it was mahi tahi throughout.

Kiri continued to describe Sue's commitment to ensuring that the rumaki unit was well resourced and that teachers received quality support despite a national shortage of quality bilingual resources and support:

> There was a lack of resources and training for our rumaki because that was the state across the nation. But Sue was like a pit bull with a bone around that sort of stuff. We collaborated with other schools who were in similar situations saying "Collectively we've got to put pressure on to get it done and to get training and to get resources". We were finding our resources were just getting dumped at school compared to the mainstream who get resources sent in a box, with a relief day for training, with video instructions and all of that sort of stuff.

In the previous chapter Kathryn explained how poorly resourced bilingual education was in the establishment years of late 1980s and in the 2000s Kiri was describing the same situation as still being the state across the nation. The ongoing lack of prioritisation given to Māori-medium education is another example of how the dominant of Pākehā culture marginalises Māori and thus maintains colonisation. However, Sue's recognition of this reality and her determination to push back and ensure that the Māori-medium teachers received the same level of resourcing and access to quality professional learning and development illustrates how she has sought to resist colonisation and lead in decolonising ways.

Careful consideration of Māori models of leadership was another indication of Sue's commitment to explore indigenous and therefore decolonising models of leadership as well as her commitment to the hapū and the kaupapa of the school. She prioritised the time to increase her own leadership knowledge and capacity by focusing her own leadership inquiry on leadership structures in Dual-Medium schools and by becoming intimately familiar with the Tū Rangatira (Ministry of Education, 2010b). Tū Rangatira is a document that proposes a model specifically for Māori-medium educational leadership. Sue talked about the responsibility she felt to really understand and support Māori models of leadership for Māori students in both the rumaki and auraki areas of the school. She explained:

> The Tū Rangatira document is like my bible actually. It's stunning. I would like there to be a forum where principals of schools like mine, come together, and we go through that document together. It landed in the school and I came across it, because it really was designed to go to the rumaki part of the school. You might think that it's just for Māori but it's not. We can all learn from it.
>
> I know having spoken to principals of other Dual-Medium schools, we've got that tension between English-medium leadership and Māori-medium leadership and I know we would get all the professional learning and development for the English-medium model and it's hard to get a handle sometimes on Māori-medium, not because you don't want to. It's hard to have time to wānanga (forum for collective knowledge building), to even have people question us, talk to us about it. Because it's critical. It's not just because we have Māori-medium units, we've got a lot of Māori students right through the school. So, aspects of that leadership model apply so much to them and their families yet leadership support tends to be pigeonholed.

Kiri also noted the focused commitment that Sue had to increase her knowledge and develop a more determined approach to leadership that would strengthen biculturalism:

> Sue had a sabbatical where she looked at that as her focus - How do I get this to be the best bicultural school in the country? To figure out what was happening and

> what she could do better. Throughout the process she learnt about it, she fought for it, she studied it, she sat in classrooms so she got really involved.

The establishment of a Dual-Medium Leader position at the senior leadership level of the school was another example of the priority Sue placed on the importance of grounding the school in te ao Māori and the aspirations of the hapū. Feedback from whānau in the rumaki unit also contributed to the conceptualisation and development of this position. While the position was entitled Dual-Medium Leader the position was established to strengthen a Māori perspective of leadership across the whole school and create greater connection and synergy between the rumaki and auraki.

Kiri explains the rumaki whānau perspective on the establishment of this position:

> They wanted a Dual-Medium Leader because they know their nieces and nephews are in the mainstream as well, so they didn't want to leave them behind. It was their desire for the whole school to be that way too. Not just us as a board. The whānau wanted all of their kids, all the tamariki to experience this and to share with our non-Māori as well. So, they were the ones who were very strong about it, "Can we have someone on the other side who could help them?" They had a desire to make sure that their whānau in the mainstream were also looked after in their identity as well.

Kiri also acknowledged the political stance that Sue took in the wider community with regard to highlighting the strong bicultural basis of the school and for example, the importance of te reo. Kiri explains her observations of Sue's practice during this time:

> She did some really courageous stuff. Having more reo within the assemblies. She would get approached by parents saying you have got too much of this Māori stuff in these assemblies and she would turn around and say "You might want to have a look at another school".

Kiri recalled that this courageous, decolonising approach to school leadership included having high expectations that staff in English-medium would demonstrate a commitment to using and correctly pronouncing te reo Māori:

> Some people were scared of pronouncing words wrong, so it was very much about how to break through that because she just wasn't going to tolerate it. It wasn't on the table as an excuse that she was willing to accept. We were pushing through those old social constructs that are out there and just being affirmed by being who we are.

While Sue had an expectation that teachers would embrace Māori language and culture, the extent to which the teacher's consciousness was raised and the entrenched, deficit social

constructs about Māori were disrupted by this expectation is unclear. Sue did however continue to have this expectation and worked to support the teachers to understand the significance of the school to the hapū. This meant that an important part of her leadership practice focused on supporting teachers and support staff who work in the English-medium area of the school to understand the history of Maungatapu and the wider cultural context of Tauranga. An explicit example of this were planned professional development at the beginning of each year where teachers were provided with an opportunity to experience cultural tours of the area. During these tours the commentary is provided usually by Des or another member of the hapū. These annual experiences included bus tours, chartered harbour cruisers, noho marae and hikoi ngahere (native bush walks), all to places of significance in terms of hapū history. In recent years Sandra has worked with Des to organise these tours and the associated professional learning and development to support teachers following the tours.

Although there are multiple purposes for these tours, in the first instance Sue wanted to provide an opportunity for teachers to become aware of or deepen their knowledge of the histories, the stories and the sites of significance for the hapū from the perspective of the hapū. Her recognition that a hapū representative is best positioned to provide the most accurate historical account, rather than herself, again demonstrates that she is cognisant of her own cultural identity. Despite the fact that she has worked at the school and in the community for a very long time, she understood why it is not her place. This practice also provides her with an opportunity to deliberately position herself as a learner alongside her fellow leaders and teachers. Sue recalled:

> I had never seen Ōtumoetai from the harbour before I had no idea there was so much history there and significant pa sites so seeing it through a totally different lens physically was just amazing. It's putting all the pieces of the environmental puzzle together so we build a picture. Of course, you get that togetherness because the staff just loved it, having fun while you're learning.

Des welcomed the opportunity to support Sue to provide these professional development opportunities for the teachers. Des explained:

> The visits provide an opportunity for people to hear about the history and interpret the values. I talk about heritage and some of the environmental and contemporary issues from the tangata whenua perspective. However, I also talk about all of the other Māori whānau who have come in overtime and have settled in the area and the housing mix of tangata whenua and local whānau in the community. Some of the teachers haven't been down the streets and don't know where these kids are coming from so there is some learning and developing an awareness.

Again, Des described how these learning opportunities provided teachers with an awareness of their Māori community. However, it is not clear if this awareness ran deeper to evoke critical consciousness about the link to the contemporary consequences of colonisation. For example, the situation described previously where the road development at Maungatapu saw Pākehā acquire land on streets with sea views while hapū lost land.

While these tours also provide learning opportunities for staff to understand some of the historical and contemporary cultural context of the school's local and regional environment they also act as an annual catalyst for ongoing consideration and reflection on the development of the school curriculum. Sue and Sandra take these opportunities to pose questions that prompt teachers to think about their curriculum programmes. Sue provided examples of the kinds of critical questions she posed:

> Our children should be able to see themselves in the curriculum. We revisit what we learned from the tours and these experiences and question - are they still evident in the curriculum? What does it look like when you enact that knowledge that was shared? What do the teachers take from that and enact through the curriculum so that it is shared with the children and how do we involve the children?

Prioritising these learning opportunities for teachers enables experienced members of staff to consolidate their knowledge. It also provides a scaffolding experience for new staff so they experience a determined learning interaction that enables them to develop an understanding of the school's Māori community and of the surrounding environment. The tours serve to contextualise the school curriculum and ensure that what the hapū value and why, is reflected and safeguarded within that curriculum framework. Sue explained her thoughts on this:

> We have got a curriculum framework which eludes to the history but we need to be aware we have staff coming and going all the time and overtime it might get a bit watered down. You have to have a cyclic approach just reconnecting through the tours with the local environment so we are up to speed with the history and tikanga, and we know the significance of this part of the environment and that part of the environment, where the white-bait stream is; why that hill is so important.

Sue also noted that as well as being a powerful learning opportunity for teachers to learn and relearn the stories of Maungatapu (people and place), these tours also serve to really bond the staff especially at the beginning of the year when new staff have joined the school. Such learning enables them to understand the cultural context and consider their own place and contribution within the context.

Sandra also talked about the evolution of the school curriculum framework, which specifically reflects consideration of both the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa (Ministry of Education, 2008b). She recalled how crucially important it was to engage with the Māori community to find out what they were passionate about and have them define what was important to include in the school curriculum. Sandra explained how the Māori community supported curriculum development:

> Things that came through were the history of Tauranga Moana, and the significance of place names, places and events. Having hikoi around our local place and area. That was something that we did with Des, learning about the names of our streets…….social action protecting our community and environment, visiting the marae and staying overnight.
>
> The whānau helped us to identify the iwi stories that they wanted the learning for their kids to occur through. So, we have the right version of the stories, the version that is endorsed by our whānau. There are so many versions but this is the right Maungatapu version and are referenced to the marae and the history of our area.

While Ngaire referenced the pōwhiri as a means to promote bicultural inclusion across the school for both rumaki and auraki teachers, students and whānau, Des also emphasised Sue's facilitation of the development of a curriculum that is respectful of and responsive to the hapū and promotes bicultural inclusion across the school. Des explained how he has experienced this promotion of bicultural inclusion:

> It had its roots in the rumaki with our local educators and stalwarts in education. Even though we had our local people, tangata whenua, we also had those who came and were living in the area, our rāwaho (from outside), those who had married in. So, you had that kind of dynamic and it was all good, there to learn local customs. So, the school is developing its own unique way of doing this and involving Māori. Māori is an important part of today's world, te reo is there so how do we prepare our students even our Pākehā and all of the other nationalities that are at the kura to appreciate these values to contribute to a bicultural society.

Des further noted Sue's point that the curriculum is an evolving work in progress that the school is always building on. An important piece of collaboration to develop a student graduate profile, was undertaken through a marae-based hui, an example of a school and community knowledge building and collaboration that most participants referenced.

Marae-based hui

In terms of practices that nurture connections between the school and the Māori community, Sue recalled a successful marae-based hui. In this example, the purpose of the hui was to gather

whānau voice to develop a student graduate profile for children in the rumaki unit. Sue also wanted the Board of Trustees, the senior leadership team and the rumaki teachers to be part of the hui, not to take a leadership role in the hui, but be active participants in the discussion. For this reason, a person from the hapū was asked to facilitate the hui which was held at Hairini marae. In terms of shifting the power-dynamic, this was a determined act of enabling the hapū to lead the hui on their own terms. Sue noticed that this shift in power was an unfamiliar experience for the Board of Trustees:

> We wanted to get whānau voice about what their aspirations were for their children when they leave Maungatapu school. We were only working with the Māori immersion kids at this stage.
>
> I had said to the board you need to be part of this, and myself actually, and the other members of the leadership team. We were totally out of our comfort zone. I am used to being in control, we were going to part of it, but we weren't in control of it and for a board that was challenging. We had to trust that this hui was going to take place and trust the process.
>
> Kiri, bless her, she understood that. She got a facilitator from the Māori community and explained that we wanted to get the parents in the room, with the Board of Trustees and some members of the teaching staff. We wanted everybody together to talk to each other and answer some very, very broad questions about what are some of the key things you want your child to leave school with academically, socially, character – all those sorts of things.

Sue acknowledged that she or the board chair could have asked these questions because they were not difficult or threatening. However, she felt that it was important for the whānau to have the discussions and build ideas and knowledge together, as opposed to answering questions and responding to the school such as in a survey, Sue recalled:

> You actually needed someone to broker that relationship. I thought how on earth is this going to come together? But it's the right place for it to come together, having the right facilitator he was able to stand up, open the hui, talk about the purpose which we had established. He spoke in both languages so he spoke in Māori and then he spoke in English as well. Everybody was quite clear what we were about. We were going to get together and we were going to talk about kids.
>
> That is what happened. We had the tables all set out. Kids were round the back and they were outside playing, but people moved around. I was one of them, the board chair mixed and mingled, we all just joined a group. We did a lot of listening but they were in control of the process.

Kiri also recalled how effective the marae-based hui was in terms of enabling collaborative sense-making between whānau members and the school:

> We know what brings our whānau together. Put them on the marae, take it back to the marae. Our kids performing, our kids showcasing what they are doing, our kids having a feed and we are altogether so it was about that whakanui (celebration), about our whānau, our tamariki, and while you're here, big sheets on the wall, around the tables, can you just put your thoughts down by each of these questions? It was really relaxed and we were able to go through with that.

Sue also shared her reflections on the outcomes and learnings from this marae-based hui process and why she felt that it was successful:

> I learnt that it is an excellent model and an excellent way to work through gathering whānau voice. They came without a doubt. Schools grapple with getting whānau on board, particularly Māori whānau so it probably doesn't matter what it is you really want to talk about, in this case it was right and proper that it be at the marae, and they all came.

> We were out of our comfort zone but hey it was good for us to experience that, and I know afterwards we all felt 10 feet tall. We felt as though we had experienced something, that for Māori was probably not different, this way of doing things. It was different for some of us because it doesn't go to timetables like board meetings usually do. So, for us as a board it still worked, actually it worked and it was really relaxed. We got what people wanted to say, they said and they wrote it down. We weren't standing over them saying "Oh don't put that down it might upset the board" or anything like that. What we got was really authentic feedback and we went back to school with this amazing amount of information which was really authentic.

This initial marae-based hui was just the first step in an ongoing engagement process. The whānau ran a series of wānanga over a longer period to refine and shape the information gathered at the initial graduate profiling hui and to extend those conversations into the development of the curriculum.

Wānanga

Wānanga refers to the process of coming together to collaboratively think, discuss, learn and co-construct knowledge for a particular purpose or a range of purposes. While the marae-based hui provided the platform for initial discussions about the student graduate profile, Sue recognised that significantly more time was required for whānau to listen and talk through the complexities of developing a graduate profile and curriculum that was both grounded in the tribal history of Maungatapu and future-focused for 21st century citizens. She explained how the initial brainstorming was further developed:

> What happened next was tricky and took ages, absolutely ages. That's where we as a board stepped back and the whānau set up a steering committee. I trusted Kiri, and her and I would catch up to synthesise all the findings, because to put it into a graduate profile, as a representative of the school, it has to go backwards and forwards and that process took a very, very long time.

Kiri recalled that while Sue trusted the whānau to continue to wānanga through the process of developing the student graduate profile, she did offer support:

> As far as the graduate profile, marae-based hui, Sue let whānau do what they thought was right and take the lead on that graduate profile. Where she could she supported, she accessed a facilitator to take us through graduate profiling and how we could do it. So, we were able to say, "Yeah that's cool, that's lovely, we know that part". So, it was ours, so it really was the whānau's first.

Des also participated in the wānanga process to develop the graduate profile. He talked about enjoying being part of the process and in particular having the opportunity to specifically contribute his knowledge to learning and curriculum development:

> Well with me as a whānau member she was giving us an opportunity. I never knew too much background of the education and that's why I found it so interesting. That was a bit of ongoing work. It was a good interesting part about school because it wasn't just about doing the barbecues and doing the transport or the kōrero. This was more involved and I quite liked it because it was a new challenge. I could see that they could learn lots of history…..it was all about developing the curriculum.

> I wanted to put a lot of local things in there. So, we came up with the tui - native bellbird, the kowhai - yellow flower, the pa harakeke - a grove of flax and raranga [weaving] like weaving it all together, then we had attributes for each tohu or symbol and a proverb that kind of explains each and they are broken into four.

Des talked at length about the importance of discussing and working through not just the symbolic cultural elements of the graduate profile and curriculum but also the spiritual elements that were critical to consider:

> With a school it needs to be very spiritual too, it needs to be open and clear for children and for the whole learning environment. If you go too far back, it's a balance you've got to keep a balance. It's a community where you can still practice our traditions but there is a different element than when you are at the marae, for some things there is like an element of tapu or sacredness, which there is opportunity to do things wrong I suppose or even transgress. Here at school you want to keep things open and safe so at any level if you make a mistake you learn. Even as adults we learn. We have to be flexible.

> Sue allowed us to meet. I think it went on for quite a long time, if I remember correctly we actually spent a bit more time and she was very patient as it seemed things might have been dragging on.

Despite the implications of time, Sue acknowledged and reflected on how effective the marae-based hui and the series of wānanga that followed were for engaging and gathering authentic whānau voice:

> Wānanga does take time. They had many wānanga and I was thinking in my European frame of mind "How many of these do you need" but it worked, it really worked. But you also have to be prepared for them to give you some feedback. Sometimes it's not feedback you want to hear, but you often don't hear that feedback that you may not want to hear in a survey. It's not always the full picture. Without the voice being there, it is difficult to make sense of the response.
>
> I don't think that you can beat the opportunity to come together and engage in that wānanga process, whatever shape or form it is. There's got to be that reciprocal dialogue going backwards and forwards, but it is often thwarted by time.

While Sue, Kiri and Des referenced how successful the marae-based hui and the wānanga were, the absence of teachers from English-medium in these contexts is interesting to note. The implications of their non-engagement in these learning contexts will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Sue had also considered the idea of engaging in wānanga with her wider Māori community to collaboratively discuss and consider, potential focused processes that will prevent or reduce the risk of the students and their whānau from reaching the discipline and suspension processes. While Sue accepts that there is a mandated process defined by the Ministry of Education that schools are required to follow when responding to discipline issues, these processes bother her hugely and are often heartbreaking. It concerns her that the ability to define the terms of engagement are positioned exclusively with the school (leaders and boards) and there is little opportunity for whānau to be self-determining in these conversations and processes:

> Not all, but most of our suspension meetings in recent times have involved Māori kids. There is a process, because it is a formal process so you can't divert from it. Again, it is the dominant culture that is determining the ways things are discussed and dealt within the school. Can we open up some opportunities for the family to tell us how it is for them and maybe offer some suggestions? How can we better work with our families before it gets to crisis point? And even when the crisis happens are we working in the best way we could? Is there something we could do in a different framework? It could be that we need to wānanga – just come in – or come somewhere – not come in – we will come to you or we will go to a neutral place - wherever. It doesn't matter where it is, it just matters that we can talk and be prepared to meet several times.

Sue specifically recalled an incident when she made a decision to call a restorative hui to address an incident where teachers had responded to a Māori child's behaviour in a way that upset the child's whānau and caused hurt and distrust. While there are no mandated expectations that principals bring families and teachers together to resolve grievances, Sue recognised that there was a need for whānau and teachers to share their perspectives of the incident and to propose some solutions for how relationships might be restored. Although she tried to access information and support from important education organisations including the New Zealand School's Trustees Association and the New Zealand Education Institute (primary school teacher's union), she found that there were no guidelines for managing such a process. Sue also contacted the Ministry of Education to request a person to facilitate the conversation but again found that they were both unable to provide or suggest a suitable person.

Consequently, Sue had to facilitate the discussion herself and suggested that the whānau of the student bring anyone who they felt needed to be part of the hui. Accordingly, a large number of whānau attended the hui. Even though Sue and the teachers felt vulnerable in this situation where as staff they were significantly outnumbered by whānau, she knew that she needed to trust the people and the process so that the hurt could be acknowledged, apologies could be offered, new ideas and solutions could be considered, relationships could be restored and healing for everyone could begin.

Sue recalled that at times the discussion was very intense and that there were tears (from whānau and staff) as well as some laughing. She reflected that essentially, as a school, they needed to 'eat some humble pie' but the process enabled this to happen in a way where everyone's mana was upheld. While the school formally opened the hui, a kaumātua who was part of the whānau decided when the conversation had reached a satisfactory conclusion and stood up to signal that he was drawing the hui to a close and proceeded to say a karakia (blessing). Sue felt that this is a powerful example of the circle being closed (the hui started on the school's terms but finished on hapū terms) and relationships of respect and interdependence being maintained. Berryman and Bateman (2007) describe these restorative hui as hui whakatika which literally means, "a time for making amends" (p. 3)

Sue recognised the potential of hui and wānanga as important opportunities for the Māori community to be self-determining and work in collaborative ways with the school and she sought to explore this further in her leadership practice. She felt that some of the Ministry of Education processes (such as discipline) should more actively seek opportunities for schools

and their Māori community to collectively think and talk so that new knowledge, solutions and ideas can be co-constructed when necessary and harmed relationships can be restored.

In this sense the practices that enact a focus on whakapapa and facilitate engagement such as pōwhiri, marae-based hui and wānanga all serve to strengthen and reaffirm the kaupapa of the school. Sue understands that as the principal, she is a key representative of the kaupapa of the school so her presence in the community is important.

Kanohi kitea

Sue explained that she recognised how important it is for the Māori community to experience face-to-face contact so ensuring kanohi kitea (being present, a seen face) in the community was essential. She realised that in the community's cultural contexts, Māori hold the power to define engagement and how this plays out so she talked about the importance of making the time to be present in these contexts outside of school:

> It is important to have an awareness. I have had a look in my diary this term and I've thought, "Yeah, there are some things that I will attend this year and this term". I'll do that deliberately. It is important and I know it is noticed. It's an unspoken noticing actually, but people notice. You just go as yourself. You don't go as the tumuaki [principal] but they know you are the tumuaki. They see you there, and I often hear back "Oh so and so saw you at the….". When we went to watch our grandson play basketball over in Rotorua, the Māori basketball championships, we went along to watch him and of course all my Māori families were there. They said "Oh Sue it was really good to see you there" and it was good to be there too.

Being highly visible inside the school was also a determined strategy that Sue applied to create opportunities to reconnect or connect with whānau:

> You can't beat the front gate. I've got a front gate. As a leader I do make a point to be out there in the afternoons. I'm always seen and it is an opportunity to just touch base with the community no matter what part of the school they are in.

> One chap he has a little boy in the mainstream part of the school, a little Māori boy and I hadn't really engaged with him. Anyway, I thought I want to get to know that chap so I saw him sitting in his car, so I went up and we just chatted and one thing led to another overtime and we have a great relationship now. Sometime after that he actually made an appointment to come in and see me, so I knew he had something on his mind. It was custody issues between him and his partner and he just chatted. I talked about a few things and most of it I just listened. I learned a lot about that. Not being the driver of the conversation. Just allowing that listening time and not filling up the silences with unnecessary chat.

Des also noted Sue's willingness to be seen and be present in the Māori community. It was common to see her at both marae where she was warmly welcomed and included by hapū. He commented that if he was the boss, he would get someone else to do those things, but "She chooses to do these things to be busy and engage in the community". He agreed with Sue's comments about her visibility in the Māori community, that it was noticed and it was greatly appreciated.

Kiri also commented on how much the Māori community genuinely appreciated how Sue related to and worked with them. She particularly noted that many recognised her approach to leadership as being healing. She said:

> She may not understand what she is doing and how deep it is, but when you look into the history of the school as a native school and some of the treatment of previous generations. What she is doing is healing generations of mistreatment on their own whenua. The Ministry will also about academic outcomes, but she is healing historical trauma, so healing generations. Whakapapa lines are way more for us than the academic logistics.

As well as ensuring that she is physically present in the Māori community and that hapū are physically present within the school, Sue also ensures that the hapū are represented in important school documents including the strategic school documents. For this reason these documents have been included in this analysis of Sue's leadership practices.

Document analysis

School charter and strategic plan

In Aotearoa a school charter is developed by the principal in collaboration with the Board of Trustees. The charter sets the strategic direction and identifies the priorities for the school. The school strategic plan draws from the charter to outline a plan that details the strategic goals and how they connect with the national administration goals. Typically, the strategic plan also outlines the annual plan of actions and strategies to be undertaken to achieve the goals.

The 2018-2021 Maungatapu Primary School Charter and Strategic Plan (Maungatapu Primary School, 2018) were jointly analysed as part of this research to understand the extent to which Māori whānau and the Māori community are prioritised in the strategic documents. The school charter outlines the school's unique character and identifies that parental involvement and interest in the school is a strength. The fact that the Maungatapu peninsula is steeped in Māori history is specified as part of the school's unique character. The point that the school is located

between two local marae is also made. The Dual-Medium dimension of the school is promoted and the school's commitment to acknowledging cultural diversity and embracing the cultural identity of students is articulated.

The focus on cultural identity is carried from the charter into the school's strategic plan so that the first strategic goal is to "provide a culture of learning and achievement which reflects and values identity, language and culture" (Maungatapu Primary School, 2018, p. 2). Associated goals include a focus on implementing a curriculum that links to the local community (local beliefs and values) and being "responsive to the whakapapa, diversity and dynamics of our families and our community – ensure that language, identity, well-being and culture count" (Maungatapu Primary School, 2018, p. 2). As the connections between the school leaders, teachers and the Māori community have become more seamless and interrelated, so to have the strategic school documents. The focus on a curriculum that links to the local community is more specifically outlined in the school's curriculum document.

Maungatapu School Our Curriculum

Sue, Sandra and a number of the participants referenced the ongoing development of Maungatapu school's curriculum. The marae-based hui and wānanga with whānau to develop the graduate profile and annual, hapū led professional learning and development days that focus on local Māori history are examples of how school leaders seek to work in collaboration with the Māori community. The development of the school curriculum document is another means by which Sandra has endeavoured to capture and articulate the philosophical basis of the curriculum and frame the school expectations and implementation plans.

The historical origins of the school through the gifting of land from hapū to the Education Department and the resulting association between local Māori and education at Maungatapu is acknowledged in the school's curriculum document. The philosophical basis of the Maungatapu curriculum draws from the nationally set New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) for English-medium and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa (Ministry of Education, 2008b) for Māori-medium, and states that the curriculum should foster "the development of key competencies, knowledge and awareness, attitudes and values, skills and strategies for life" (Maungatapu School, 2017, p. 4). Importantly, the vision from Ka Hikitia of Māori students achieving education success as Māori is specifically referenced as a goal that has shaped the school's curriculum. The importance of ensuring that Māori students achieve success while maintaining and enhancing their individual identity, language and culture is highlighted and

reinforced by stating that the "school curriculum is designed to reflect the importance of individual identity, language and culture" (Maungatapu School, 2017, p. 4).

The school curriculum was co-constructed with students, the community and staff. The Māori community were particularly instrumental in defining what experiences and knowledge were important for all children to gain during their years at Maungatapu school. Specific priorities that were identified include learning "about the history of Tauranga Moana, including the significance of place names, places and events" (p. 6) and participating "in social action which increases understanding of how to care for our local community and environment and protect it for future generations" (p. 6). Accordingly, hapū have specifically selected which Māori narratives need to be incorporated into the curriculum and at which year level these stories should be engaged with. The school curriculum is regularly reviewed in collaboration with community and again, the Māori community make a critically important contribution to the review cycle.

ERO report

Maungatapu Primary School's most recent education review was undertaken in 2018 (ERO, 2018). The review report included a summary of leadership and teaching practices as well as an analysis of student achievement data from 2017. The report was included in the document analysis to provide an external perspective on Māori student's schooling experiences and outcomes at Maungatapu Primary School.

An analysis of this ERO report indicated that in 2017, while learning partnerships between teachers and students needed to be enhanced, there was a strong sense of community in the school with many opportunities for parents to participate. In terms of student achievement data the report noted that achievement disparities were evident between Māori and non-Māori students with Māori students not achieving as well as their Pākehā peers in the English-medium area of the school. In the rumaki section of the school the ERO report identified that the language, culture and identity of students was being effectively fostered and that the majority of the students were achieving at or above expectations in both literacy and numeracy. The report specified that relationships between the rumaki classes and the Māori community had been strengthened and that these practices were leading to improving levels of achievement for students. The report also noted that there had been an upward trend in achievement data in this area of the school, reinforcing that success that was being experienced by these Māori students.

Summary

This chapter has summarised the key themes that emerged from the interviews and identified priorities that are articulated in selected school strategic documents. A triangulated analysis of Sue's interview data, alongside the other participant's interview data and the school strategic documents confirms that understanding the whakapapa of the land and the hapū is of paramount importance to Sue. This critical consciousness frames how she engages with Māori whānau and community. Sue understands that the hapū are mana whenua - the traditional guardians of the land and that they therefore have custodial rights and responsibilities. She is also critically conscious of her own identity as Pākehā and she endeavours to enact non-dominating relationships and take a decolonising approach to leadership with Māori whānau and community that honours and upholds the mana of all students and whānau. Furthermore, she works to ensure that others have this foundational knowledge and understanding about the significance of the hapū-school relationship. She does this by modelling and instituting determined practices that demonstrate that she values mana whenua and enables them to be self-determining in a range of ways to assert their status as mana whenua. While it is clear this knowledge is being passed on through the various practices described, the extent to which all teachers and staff share the same sense of responsibility to be decolonising and promote transformative change is not as evident in these findings.

Chapter 7: Ancestral aspirations for success

Whāia te pae tawhiti kia tata. Whāia to pae tata kiā maua

Pursue the distant pathways of your dreams so they may become your reality

Introduction

The above whakataukī connects with the essence of this chapter, which describes the historical context of Rotorua Boys' High School beginning with the arrival of the Te Arawa waka at Maketū. The ancestors who navigated Te Arawa across Te Moana nui a Kiwa were seeking to settle the land and purse a new future in Aotearoa. The chapter describes how the descendants of Te Arawa established their tribal territories and subsequently worked to retain ownership and control over that land during the period of European settlement. It also chronicles the establishment of Rotorua Boys' High School and the ways in which school leaders have endeavoured to ensure that Māori students achieve education success. The chapter draws from historical documents selected by the research participants as well as published and unpublished sources from either Māori, or non-Māori authors who were endorsed by Māori.

Ngā Tangata whenua o Rotorua

The early Māori explorers who settled in the Rotorua Lakes district and along parts of the Bay of Plenty coastline travelled from Hawaiki on the earlier mentioned Te Arawa waka around 1350 (Makereti, 1986). The iwi who descend from this waka also take their name from the waka and are known as the Te Arawa confederation of tribes. The name Rotorua originates from Ihenga, an early explorer and grandson of the Te Arawa captain Tamatekapua. When Ihenga arrived in the area, he discovered two lakes, consequently he named the area roto (lake), rua (two or second) (Reed, 2001).

Te waka

With a sizable double hull and three masts, Te Arawa waka was believed to have been the largest waka to voyage to Aotearoa (Cowan, cited in Stafford, 1986). As with other waka during the period of migration, Te Arawa made landfall at a number of sites along the coast of the North Island before landing at the final resting point of Maketū in the Western Bay of Plenty. While some who arrived on Te Arawa explored and settled in Maketū and in the surrounding

areas, others ventured beyond the Bay of Plenty coastline and travelled inland in a southerly direction.

Ngātoroirangi, the tohunga on the waka travelled south as far as the central plateau of the North Island and climbed Mount Tongariro. As a consequence of this exploration Te Arawa adopted the proverb *"Mai i Maketū ki Tongariro, Ko Te Arawa te waka"* to metaphorically indicate that the bow of the Te Arawa waka rests at Maketū and the stern at Tongariro, thus defining two tribal settlement and boundary points (Stafford, 1986).

Ngā iwi

Tamatekapua, the captain of Te Arawa waka, originally settled in Maketū following the landing. He and his descendant, Rangitihi are foundational ancestors for many of the iwi and hapū who reside in the Rotorua district today (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). While Rotorua is a central settlement site for Te Arawa, the tribal lands inhabited by the iwi extend across a large area:

> The extent of their territory today can be gauged approximately by drawing a line from Papamoa on the coast to Atiamuri in the south, and from Atiamuri to Kaingaroa in the east and then north again to Matata where the Tarawera River reaches the sea. The general name, Te Arawa embraces almost all of the people [sic] living within this roughly defined boundary. (Stafford, 1986, p. 1).

Rangitihi is described by O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) as being 'the great progenitor of the Rotorua district' (p. 1) given that those who identify as Te Arawa today can trace their descent back to one or more of his eight children. These eight children are referred to as Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru o Te Arawa, the eight beating hearts of Te Arawa. To this day Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru is a significant collectivising expression that is often used in whaikōrero to reference the confederation of tribes. This expression is also currently the name of an iwi-centred education trust at Rotorua (Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru, 2019). This generation of eight children and their children form the major descent groups in the area and thus "represent the 'genealogical spine' that connects all members of Te Arawa" (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 2).

Rotorua iwi

Once Rangitihi had distributed his children across the different territorial divisions there were a number of descendant groups who settled around Lake Rotorua and by the late 1800s broad territorial boundaries had been established. O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) explain that Ngāti Rangiwewehi settled to the west and north of Lake Rotorua and Ngāti Whakaue established themselves on the western shores. Two iwi, Ngāti Uenukukōpako and Ngāti Rangiteaorere

settled around the eastern shores. Ngāti Pikiao created their villages on land beyond the shores and to the east of the lake while Tūhorurangi settled further south of the lake near Lake Tarawera.

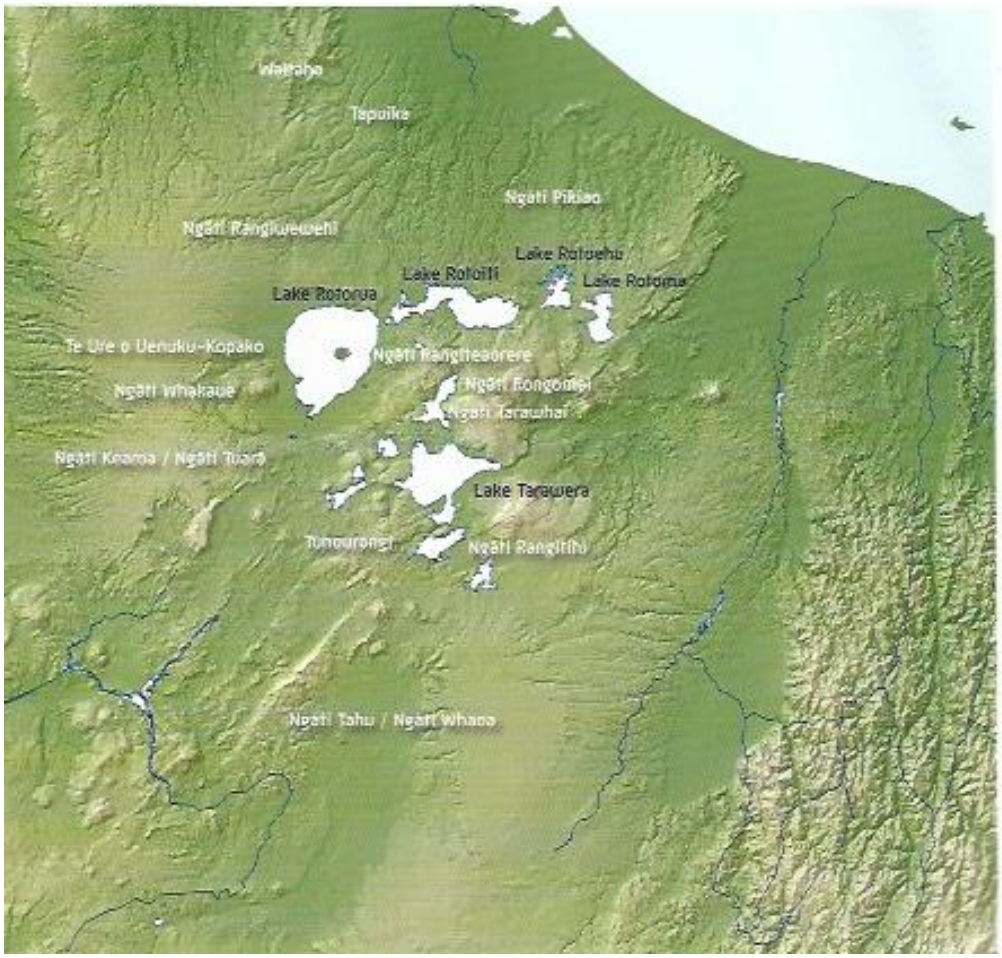

Figure 5: Te Arawa iwi boundaries (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 4)

Given that the collective identity of iwi is linked to land in their associated area of settlement it is important to understand and clarify these connections. However, O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) caution that this should not obscure the fact that iwi intermarriage resulted in new iwi being formed and a blurring of descent lines across the district. They further explain that conflicts between Te Arawa iwi in the latter half of the 1800s, to establish and secure territory, were often settled with strategic marriages, which further contributed to the intersecting and "complex overlays of whakapapa connections" (p. 3).

When they were not engaged in inter-tribal conflict with each other, iwi in the Rotorua area largely operated autonomously to sustain and strengthen settlements. Makereti (1986) explained that it was customary for tribes to keep to themselves and bar all outsiders, with the

exception of guests who were entertained hospitability and ceremoniously. However, there were times when they did unite in response to threats from iwi who were external to Te Arawa. Stafford (1986) details numerous battles between Te Arawa descendant groups and iwi who had established themselves in neighbouring territorial areas such as Taupō to the south and Tauranga to the north-west. However, enemy parties from further afield such as Ngāpuhi from Northland, did enter Te Arawa territory.

The inland, and thus more difficult to access location of the Rotorua district meant that Te Arawa iwi had not come into contact with Europeans in the early 1800s, however, as explained earlier, Europeans had settled and established themselves in Northland for many years. These settlers had provided trading opportunities for Ngāpuhi, which crucially had enabled them to gain access to muskets. The muskets gave Ngāpuhi a significant advantage when they engaged in battle with other iwi who did not have these colonial weapons and this motivated many of the large scale Ngāpuhi raids outside of Northland in the early 1820s (King, 2003).

One pivotal point in Te Arawa history occurred in 1823, at Mokoia Island in the centre of Lake Rotorua, when Ngāpuhi clashed with a war party that represented the entire force of Te Arawa. The large and well-armed Ngāpuhi party had travelled to Rotorua to seek revenge for the earlier killings of Ngāpuhi members by Te Arawa warriors. While Te Arawa had in their possession one musket this was no match against the Ngāpuhi warriors who all had muskets and used them effectively. It is understood that up to 1000 Te Arawa were killed and many were captured and returned to Northland with Ngāpuhi as their slaves (Armstrong & O'Malley, 2008).

Following this significant defeat Te Arawa were determined to regather, reconsolidate and strengthen their ability to defend and assert themselves. They understood that this would require some strategic expansion into activities that would enable them to engage and trade with the European settlers:

> In order to avoid a repetition of the calamity it was necessary for them to control – or at least have access to – a suitable coastal trading entrepot where a Pākehā might be installed, and dressed flax, which they possessed in abundance, could be traded for guns and other goods (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 6).

Initially Te Arawa sought to infiltrate the coastal trading post at Tauranga that was controlled by local iwi, Ngāi Te Rangi. Their endeavours however, to expand their influence in this area were met with hostility from Ngāi Te Rangi as well as iwi from other areas which meant that another coastal trading option needed to be established. The location of Maketū, on the Bay

of Plenty coast, represented a potential trading option that was within the area that Te Arawa defined as their territory. This claim would have been contentious however, given that Maketū was fought over by a range of iwi for generations up to and throughout the 1800s (Ballara, 2003). In 1830 however, Te Arawa chiefs were successful in convincing European trader Phillip Tapsell to establish a trading station at Maketū after he visited Ōhinemutu on the shores of Lake Rotorua. This engagement with Tapsell and the subsequent establishment of the trading station was a significant occurrence in the development of Te Arawa and European relationships in the Rotorua district.

European Settlement

Trade

Given that Te Arawa's main motivation for entering into trade was to accumulate muskets, Tapsell's trading post at Maketū was highly successful. Tapsell also married a high-born Ngāti Whakaue woman which further strengthened his relationship with Te Arawa. This is not to say that all relationships associated with trading at Maketū were harmonious. As well as operating the trading post Tapsell played an important role in negotiating tensions and attempting to maintain peace between Te Arawa and iwi from the Tauranga area:

> Before long Maketū had become the major trading outlet for Te Arawa, but their ambitions at Tauranga, which possessed a better harbour, were not wholly abandoned and tension between them and Ngāi Te Rangi continued.
>
> Tapsell attempted to act as peacemaker when war between Te Arawa and the Tauranga tribes broke out in 1833, and although he was highly unpopular with missionaries as a result of his involvement in the arms trade, he was active in encouraging missionaries who might act as mediators between the warring tribes to settle in the district (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 7).

The arrival of missionaries in the Rotorua district was another significant development that expanded opportunities for Te Arawa to engage with early European settlers and strengthen relationships.

Missionaries

Following the previously mentioned devastating raid on Mokoia Island, many members of Te Arawa who had been captured and taken north by Ngāpuhi, came into to contact with European missionaries and were converted to Christianity. When some of these captives were released they returned home to the Rotorua district and shared their experiences which prompted an

interest in Christianity amongst Te Arawa. Additionally, there was a commercial interest in the new technologies that could be acquired through missionaries, as explained by Stafford (1986):

> The stories of the wonders of the Pākehā and the trade goods available in the north caused many Māoris [sic] from the more remote areas of the North Island to travel to the Bay of Islands to see and obtain these things for themselves (p. 204).

A group of Te Arawa chiefs travelled north to find out more about the work of missionaries and were impressed by their efforts to promote peace amongst the Northland tribes. They also appreciated that there would be benefits associated with learning "the ways of the Pākehā" (Stafford, 1986, p. 205) and requested that a missionary be stationed in the Rotorua district. Stafford (1986) suggested that this was a strategic invitation which was not entirely motivated by the aspiration to introduce Te Arawa to Christianity but rather a desire to gain a worldly advantage through the acquisition of new knowledge.

Although missionaries from Northland did make several trips to the Rotorua district in the early 1830s to explore the possibility of establishing a mission station in the area, they were disturbed by the level of conflict and chronic inter-tribal warfare in the area. Te Arawa persisted with their requests to the Anglican CMS to have missionaries stationed at Rotorua and, in response to the concern that missionaries had about the unsettled state of the area, the iwi suggested that the conflicts were likely to be more readily resolved with the help of missionaries (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

While the unsettled state of the Rotorua area did cause apprehension amongst the missionaries, O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) contend that they also recognised that there was great potential for their missionary work in this part of the country. In 1835 arrangements were made to transfer land located near Ōhinemutu on the shores of Lake Rotorua to the Anglican CMS for the purposes of establishing a mission station. The land was gifted by the iwi under terms that stipulated if English missionary Thomas Chapman did not remain in residence at the station, or, if the relationship between the iwi and the church did not provide mutual benefits, the arrangement would cease and the land would be returned to Te Arawa (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

Chapman and his wife became permanent residents at the mission station at Rotorua and also established a school. The provision of schooling was particularly important because like iwi in other areas, Te Arawa iwi eagerly sought to acquire the literacy that missionary education opportunities provided. Chapman predictably focused on converting local Māori to Christianity

and was moderately successful, however, a significant number resisted full conversion opting instead to retain their own cultural and spiritual beliefs:

> In this sense it can be said that Te Arawa were not so much assimilated through missionary efforts, but rather adapted and incorporated the missionaries and Gospel into their own culture and world view (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 9).

The missionaries did mediate inter-iwi disputes across Te Arawa territory and this was greatly appreciated. As the European population in Aotearoa grew between the 1830s and 1840s the British government officials increased their presence in the country and Te Arawa chiefs recognised that having British government officials located within the district could also be advantageous. According to Lyall (2003), European interest in the Rotorua district at this time could also be attributed to the unique geothermic features of the landscape including the scenic Pink and White Terraces. The potential of the area to attract European tourists and thus generate economic benefits was an opportunity that both Te Arawa chiefs, and the Crown were cognisant of.

Te Arawa and Crown relationships

As has been discussed, the 1840s were an important political period in Aotearoa given that the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed. O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) suggest that the Treaty was presented to Te Arawa chiefs by missionaries at the request of the Crown, but after considering advice from another chief from the Taupō area, Te Arawa chiefs refused to sign. This represented a challenge for the iwi who were keen to expand their relationships with Europeans. They did not want these relationships however, to be at the expense of ownership over their lands, which they feared was an associated implication of signing the Treaty (O' Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

Te Arawa and Crown interactions and relationships following 1840 were carefully managed by both parties, in order to avoid the risk of disturbing peace in the area. The British officials understood that Te Arawa chiefs' refusal to sign the Treaty was an act of resistance, intended to strongly signal that they did not formally accept the Queen's authority. This meant that the government, as representatives of the Crown, could not exercise authority in the Bay of Plenty to address the needs and concerns of European settlers in the area, without potentially inciting war. Similarly, Te Arawa chiefs did not want the government to assert themselves and interfere with all inter-iwi politics, but they did welcome government intervention to help resolve some disputes, particularly between iwi and European settlers. Recognising that government

officials could be very useful for conflict mediation and for encouraging further commercial prospects, iwi leaders offered to transfer land for the establishment of a magistrate's residence at Maketū (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

While the transfer of land in Maketū for a government official was made in late 1842, O'Malley and Armstrong contend that the official in question, Edward Shortland, was largely absent from this post. Like the iwi leaders in Tauranga and across Aotearoa, Te Arawa chiefs were cognisant of the fact that an increasing British population was generating an increasing demand for land at a time when the Māori population had considerably declined, largely due to ongoing inter-tribal warfare and death from diseases that were introduced by Europeans. Even though they had not signed the Treaty of Waitangi, Te Arawa chiefs understood that the British population growth potentially strengthened the position and influence of the British government. This meant that while Te Arawa relationships with government officials at this time were largely amicable, some chiefs were considerably cautious, if not suspicious of the intentions of the British government.

Te Arawa were also aware that beyond their own tribal boundaries, tensions between the British government and some iwi were escalating and thus increasing the likelihood of war. Leaders from the emerging Kingitanga movement travelled to the Rotorua district to encourage Te Arawa chiefs to join this collective and while the invitation was considered, the offer was declined:

> There seemed little need for Te Arawa to give up their authority and independence to a Māori King. They had not been exposed to large scale land purchase, and their relationship with the government, while in many respects remaining fragile and uneasy, provided a range of benefits and the promise of more, and was still largely conducted on their own terms (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 40).

While the majority of Te Arawa rejected both the Treaty of Waitangi and the Kingitanga movement, O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) state that this "was not in itself evidence of a great attachment to the Crown" (p. 40), but rather it is evidence that they wanted to determine "their [Te Arawa] own separate and distinct means of engagement with the Crown" (p. 41). Te Arawa's rejection of the Kingitanga did however, strengthen their political position with the Crown and, after some iwi expressed a desire to adopt the laws of England as long as they were administered through Te Arawa processes, the government moved to encourage such loyalty by providing assistance for the construction of roads in the district. While some of the chiefs remained sceptical about the Crown's motivation, for others this assistance with infrastructure

provided further evidence that "the key to their future prosperity, would be achieved in cooperation and partnership with the Crown" (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 41).

The position of Te Arawa in relation to the Crown and other iwi would be revisited when the land wars of 1860 broke out in Taranaki. The government deduced that the best way to secure the allegiance of tribes who had not joined the Kingitanga movement and engender support for their actions in Taranaki, was to call a meeting. Consequently the Kohimarama conference that was detailed in Chapter 3, signalled the beginning of a formal alliance between the Crown and Te Arawa:

> The importance of this conference for the Crown, and particularly Te Arawa, should therefore not be understated. For the Crown it was a crucial means of strengthening its relationship with Te Arawa (and other iwi). For Te Arawa this novel and high-level engagement signalled that the Crown was, at least ostensibly, at last prepared to assign them a real and ongoing role in government, something which they not only sought, but felt was their right. Essentially, Te Arawa understood that their mana and rangatiratanga were guaranteed, and they would be equal partners in the state apparatus (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 44).

In order to secure the political partnership, Te Arawa chiefs had to agree to adhere to the Treaty of Waitangi and accept the Queen's authority which the vast majority of them did. Reaching this agreement was a significant point in the political history of Te Arawa and would define their participation in the land wars that followed.

Land wars

While the agreement made at the Kohimarama conference underpinned Te Arawa's participation in these land wars, historical animosities between themselves and Tauranga tribes, (specifically Ngāi Te Rangi) encouraged Te Arawa's efforts to fight against other tribes. However, O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) posit that they "fought alongside the Crown, rather than merely for it, and did so based on their own tribal imperatives" (p. 67). These authors further point out that although Te Arawa iwi largely positioned themselves alongside the Crown, there was not an entire consensus across all of the iwi. Some Te Arawa iwi did for example align themselves with the Kingitanga movement and fought against the Crown and alongside Ngāi Te Rangi at Tauranga in the previously mentioned battle of Pukehinahina.

While King (2003) suggests that Te Arawa mostly prospered from the wars, given that much of their land and resources remained intact, the wars did take a great toll with many lives lost on the battlefield and, because food was in short supply, in their home communities. O'Malley

and Armstrong (2008) also suggest that many chiefs were dissatisfied with the extent of confiscated lands that they were awarded and by the level of financial support they received to recover from the economic dislocation caused by the wars. To further complicate matters they had numerous tribal enemies as a result of their allegiance with the Crown and were now effectively surrounded by hostile tribes.

As previously discussed, the government had been proactive through the period of the land wars in developing governance institutions and policies that would enable them to extend the rule of British law. These included the establishment of the Native Land Court and the introduction of Native Schools (Anderson et al., 2015). These important institutions were all in place before the war ended in 1872 and, the Native Land Court in particular, would significantly impact Te Arawa and the development of the Rotorua district and township in the post-war era.

Establishing Rotorua Township

Te Arawa's steadfast determination to retain ownership over their lands had been a motivating factor for accepting the authority of the Queen and following the land wars they fully expected that this would transpire. The introduction of the Native Land Court however, represented implications for this expectation because the court provided a mechanism whereby traditional communal ownership of Māori land could be converted into individual titles which would ultimately enable an easier process for Europeans to purchase Māori land (Gilling, 1994). The Crown also commissioned purchasing officials to negotiate down payments on land with identified individuals or representatives from an iwi, which effectively committed the sale or the lease of the land to the government. Two purchasing agents who had a significant role in securing leases or purchasing land for the government in the Te Arawa region were Charles Davis and Henry Mitchell (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). Henry Mitchell had married Te Whakarato Rangipahere Taiehu who identified as Ngāti Pikiao but also had links to Ngāti Whakaue. The eldest of their two children Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-O-Te Rangi Mitchell would become a prominent Te Arawa leader who will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Despite Henry Mitchell's marital connection with the iwi, Te Arawa chiefs made clear their opposition to the Crown's purchasing strategy and the Native Land Court process as they anticipated that this would make it difficult for them to maintain collective control over their lands. They also recognised that there was potential for individuals to seize the opportunity to

profit from land transactions at the expense of the wider iwi. Consequently, they demonstrated their resistance to these practices through complaints and petitions to the government and through the formation of tribal committees to represent and assert their collective opposition. Some examples are outlined by Binney, O'Malley and Ward (2018)

> In the Rotorua district the Tūhourangi people had established a tribal body called the Pūtāiki, which was responsible for preventing any unauthorised surveys or negotiations involving their lands. A similar authority known as Te Komiti Nui o Rotorua was later established by Ngāti Whakaue and other Te Arawa groups (p. 132)

These tribal committees sought official recognition in order to maintain control over their lands but were unsuccessful in preventing numerous Native Land Court sittings that started in the 1880s (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). At one point, however, it seemed that the Native Land Court did recognise a coalition between Te Arawa chiefs when a negotiation, that became known as the Fenton Agreement, was signed in 1880 (Lyall, 2003). Fundamentally, the Fenton Agreement focused on agreed processes for the development of a township to both address land disputes and facilitate the growth of tourism in the area. The negotiating parties included 47 chiefs from Ngāti Whakaue, Ngati Uenukukōpako and Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Chief Judge Francis Dart Fenton who signed the agreement on behalf of the Crown. Lyall (2003) explains that while "Ngāti Whakaue were described as the 'owners' in possession of the land, all three tribes were equally claimants to the site of the town and were therefore, co-parties to the Fenton Agreement" (p. 5).

While at the time of signing this agreement there appeared to have been consensus regarding the rationale for establishing a town, O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) contend that there were differing assumptions, expectations and understandings. In particular, these were in relation to the specific location of the township as well as how much land would be leased. This situation led to ongoing conflict between the iwi and the Crown. Contained within the Fenton Agreement however, was a clause that stipulated that sections of land would be reserved in the town plan for community amenities including schools.

Early schooling

It is unsurprising that Te Arawa would support the proposition that land be made available for the purposes of schooling given the enthusiasm with which they embraced the previously mentioned schooling opportunities that the missionaries provided in the 1830s. Like iwi located in Tauranga, when the Native School's Act was introduced in 1867, they too welcomed

the provision of primary schooling and in accordance with the previously mentioned conditions contained in the Act, they provided land for the schools and contributed to expenses for teachers. In 1873 Te Arawa requested a more comprehensive schooling system and by 1880 approximately 25 native schools were operating across the Rotorua district (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

Through the process of surveying land for the town of Rotorua in 1881, reserves were identified especially for schools. Although there might have been agreement between the iwi and the Crown about the prioritisation of land for education, Lyall (2018) concedes that what became known as the Endowment of 1881, had a long and complicated history:

> Although Ngāti Whakaue gave the land under the Fenton Agreement of 1880, the Endowment was created by the Government when the site for the new Town of Rotorua was first surveyed and laid out in May, 1881. It was set aside to provide income for a future "College and Grammar School" in Rotorua …. In the terminology of the 1880s, a 'College' implied education at tertiary-level; a 'Grammar School' at secondary-level (p. 11).

While the intended beneficiaries of the Endowment revenue were a secondary school and tertiary institute, in the absence of these two beneficiaries in 1881 the Endowment payments were made to the Auckland Education Board (Lyall, 2003). It would take a long legal battle to reach a point when the revenue was finally returned to Rotorua in 1926, however, this did not prevent the establishment of the Rotorua District High School in 1914.

Secondary schooling

The foundation cohort of Rotorua District High School included 14 boys and eight girls and these students were taught in a room in the Victoria Institute which was located in the central township (Lyall, 2003). Steady growth of the school roll over a number of years resulted in the school being relocated to a larger temporary building and by 1925 there were enough senior students for the secondary department to qualify to become a full high school. In the following year the government agreed to return revenue from the Endowment to Rotorua and refund the money that had been disbursed to schools in the Auckland district since 1880 (Lyall, 2018).

Following the revenue and refund instalment, construction of Rotorua High School began in April of 1927 and the new building was officially opened at the beginning of the school year in 1928. The growth of the school's roll in the establishment years was indicative of the population increase that corresponded with the founding and the urban expansion of the township. During these foundation years, there were still unresolved grievances between Te Arawa and the

government and while Rotorua had become synonymous with geothermic tourism, O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) contend that the economic benefits from this industry were monopolised by European entrepreneurs and the government. Consequently, the political relationship between Te Arawa and the Crown remained contentious at the beginning of the twentieth century as explained by O'Malley and Armstrong (2008):

> Despite the rebuff of virtually all their efforts to achieve a meaningful political partnership with the Crown and ameliorate the worst effects of the Native Land Court and other measures inimical [oppositional] to their interests, Te Arawa nevertheless continued to try to maintain and strengthen what they saw as their own intensely personal and enduring relationship with the British sovereign, while at the same time continuing to vehemently protest against the worst excesses of the colonial state (p. 239).

Consequently, the emergence of secondary schooling at Rotorua was transpiring within a wider economic, social and political context where Te Arawa endeavoured to maintain and assert their influence as the secondary school became established in the township. The strongest example of this can be seen in the work of previously mentioned, Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-O-Te Rangi Mitchell who was appointed to the first Rotorua High School Board of Governors in 1926 (Lyall, 2003). While Mitchell was the person appointed to this board, he was not commonly referred to by his correct, ancestral name.

The inclusion of ancestral names in the naming of Māori children both historically and currently, explicitly affirms the whakapapa connection between the child and their whānau, tupuna, hapū and iwi. This was the case for Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-O-Te Rangi Mitchell, but a common practice that emerged during the period of British establishment, which persists today, is the abbreviation of Māori names for the convenience of the coloniser. While at a superficial level this practice was and is rationalised by suggesting that the abbreviation means that it is easier to say these names, at a deeper level this can be viewed as a determined act of colonisation because it ignores and invalidates the whakapapa links and thus cultural identity of the person concerned. For Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-O-Te Rangi Mitchell, his name was abbreviated and he became widely known and is still referred to as Tai Mitchell.

Historical iwi self-determination

As previously mentioned, Mitchell was the eldest son of the European land surveyor Henry Mitchell and Te Whakarato Rangipahere Taiehu who had connections to both Ngāti Pikiao and Ngāti Whakaue. Mitchell had attended primary school at Ōhinemutu and like his father he later became a land surveyor (Lyall, 2003).

Mitchell was the only member of Te Arawa and only Māori appointed to the board of six governors and according to Lyall (2003), at the time of his appointment in 1926, he was a proactive leader in Te Arawa with a number of important responsibilities. These included being both the Chairman of Te Arawa Māori Trust Board and an appointed representative of the Governor-General to New Zealand.

Described by Lyall (2003) as a 'staunch' supporter of co-education for Māori and European, Mitchell strongly advocated for and represented the interests of his Ngāti Whakaue people. Mitchell's legacy is memorialised today in two key contributions that he made during his governance period, that explicitly position and affirm the school's identity within the cultural context of Te Arawa.

One of the first significant contributions that Mitchell made to the school was the guidance that he provided for the interior construction of the entrance hall for the main building. The entrance hall has remained unchanged since 1927 and is framed by traditional carvings. The entrance hall resembles the interior of a marae meeting house with tukutuku panels (latticework) on the walls and ceiling rafters that are decorated with kowhaiwhai patterns (symbolic Māori painted patterns). Mitchell commissioned the creation of this powerful imagery and Lyall (2018) explains the logic that underpinned his thinking at this time:

> He had three intentions for the decorations: first, that the Māori pupils of the School should always remember that their tipuna (ancestors) gave the land for the new Town of Rotorua in 1880; second, that they were to serve as a permanent tribute to Ngāti Whakaue for their generosity in 1880; and third, so that the Māori pupils of the School should always be reminded of, proud of, and inspired by their own culture and heritage (p. 23).

Another significant contribution that Mitchell made to the school occurred in 1929, when he named the foundation school magazine *Raukura Rotorua* (Lyall, 2003). The name *Raukura* carries significant meaning for Māori and was selected by Mitchell after careful consultation with Ngāti Whakaue. Lyall (2018) explains that Raukura are the tail feathers of the Huia, a sacred native bird (now extinct), whose feathers were worn on the head by men and women of high status as a symbol of their mana and leadership. When Christian missionaries arrived at Rotorua and bought with them some insight into Western knowledge and education, some local Māori came to regard education as being the mind's adornment. Consequently, Mitchell chose Raukura Rotorua as the name for the school magazine and in doing so he was "literally

referring to the Rotorua High School being the "Raukura of Rotorua" – the "Pride of Rotorua" – "Rotorua's Plume" (Lyall, 2018, p. 10).

The gifting of this name by Mitchell on behalf of Ngāti Whakaue is another representation of the importance of the school to the iwi and the status they placed on the education opportunities that the school represented for their children. This name has become synonymous with the identity of Rotorua Boys' High School to the extent that today, many refer to the school as Raukura (Lyall, 2018).

In the decades following the establishment of Rotorua High and Grammar School, Lyall (2018) explains that Aotearoa experienced the turbulence of the Great Depression and World War II but, in the 1950s post-war optimism, a national increase in the baby population was seen. At Rotorua this created implications for the number of students who could be accommodated on the school site and resulted in the significant reconfiguration of schooling in the town that saw Rotorua High and Grammar School bifurcate into three separate schools.

The transition from Rotorua High School into three separate schools was a significant development in the evolution of schooling in the area. The Year 7 and 8 students (aged 11-12) left to form Rotorua Intermediate in 1957 and at the end of the following year the girls left to form Rotorua Girls High School (Lyall, 2018). Therefore, 1959 marked a new era in secondary school education in the district as Rotorua High School reopened as Rotorua Boys' High School.

Rotorua Boys' High School

Maintaining connections today

While the female cohort of secondary school students began 1959 at a new school, whakapapa connections between whānau, hapū and iwi superseded physical separation and the schools retained (and continue to maintain) close links. An important connection that remained intact between the two schools was the Raukura Māori Club, which was established in 1954 to provide a means for Māori girls and boys to learn and practice traditional Māori arts (Lyall, 2018). The club, that has since been renamed Te Rōpū O Ruakura, remains a great source of pride for the schools and for the iwi of Rotorua having in recent years (2017 and 2018) won the annual national Secondary School's Kapa Haka competition.

Another important historical and current point of connection between the secondary schools at Rotorua and indeed between the schools and the iwi is the historical Endowment of 1881. While as previously mentioned, the revenue from the Endowment had been returned to Rotorua

in 1926, there were conditions associated with the returned funds. In the early 1960s these conditions led Ngāti Whakaue to raise concerns about whether the spirit of the "trust" still retained the intentions of their ancestors who had negotiated the original agreement on the premise that the revenue would support one high school and a grammar (tertiary) school. The conditions stipulated that the revenue would be made available to all secondary schools in the city and this caused discomfort for the iwi who wanted to maintain the vision their tupuna envisaged which was that one high school and a grammar school would be the beneficiaries (Lyall, 2003). However, despite the iwi's apprehension through the 1970s and 1980s, eventually all of the secondary schools at Rotorua became beneficiaries of the Endowment.

The Tomorrow's Schools' reforms of the early 1990s created a change in school governance structures and in 1995 a new agreement was negotiated that saw the Crown transfer the freehold agreement of the Endowment and the income to the Ngāti Whakaue Endowment Trust Board (Lyall, 2003). Now known as the Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board, this governance group consists of five members from Ngāti Whakaue and a representative from each of the five secondary schools at Rotorua. The purpose of the board is to apply the net revenue of the Endowment for the general purpose of education and this application is guided by the Boards' mission statement:

> To enhance the legacy of Ngāti Whakaue Tupuna by - The responsible and effective management of the endowment and The provision of financial support to the beneficiaries of the Trust for Education purposes, that add value and benefit to our community (Ngāti Whakaue, 2019).

Although the purpose of the Endowment has evolved and the beneficiaries have changed since its inception in 1881, the Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment mission statement encapsulates the original intent of the Endowment from an iwi perspective and crucially the iwi now have the ability to determine who benefits from the Endowment and how. An example of how this historical arrangement continues to positively influence educational outcomes for students and in particular Māori boys and their whānau is specifically discussed in the next chapter. The following section describes how connections between Rotorua Boys' High School and Te Arawa were not simply maintained in the 1990s, but how school leadership worked to consolidate and strengthen connections between the school and the iwi.

Strengthening connections

Lyall (2018) details a number of notable additions that occurred in the 1990s that exemplify greater recognition and visibility of Māori throughout Rotorua Boys' High School. It is

important to acknowledge that the current principal, Chris Grinter, began his principalship at the school in 1991.

When the newly built Rotorua High School opened in 1927 a Latin motto *Ad Astra Per Aspera – To the stars through the rough or hardships* (p. 8) was adopted and in 1990, a Māori motto *Whaia te iti kahurangi. Ke te tuohu koe me he maunga teitei – Search for great things and if one has to bow, let it be to a lofty mountain* (Lyall, 2018, p. 8) was also adopted. While the Māori head on top of the school shield was incorporated into the original design as an acknowledgement of the school's relationship with Ngāti Whakaue, this was not officially coloured until 1992.

An important development in evolution of Rotorua Boys' High School in the 1990s included the establishment of the bilingual class. Te Whare O Raukura was opened in 1994 to provide teaching and learning in te reo Māori and the building also became a communal complex for the community to utilise. Four months after the opening of Te Whare O Raukura another monumental milestone was reached when the school opened the boarding hostel - Mitchell House.

The opening of Mitchell House marked the realisation of a dream that Mitchell and his inaugural Board of Governors shared when the school was first established. The physical materialisation of this facility and the naming of the building after Mitchell were an important means of acknowledging and strengthening the school's connection with the Mitchell whānau and by association Ngāti Whakaue and Te Arawa. Mitchell however, had a vision for the boarding hostel that went beyond the construction of a hostel building.

According to Lyall (2003) at the time of his death in 1944 Mitchell had, with the support of his fellow governors been working to establish specific Māori boarding scholarships for Te Arawa students at Rotorua and the wider Bay of Plenty to attend the school. In September of 1994, in recognition of Mitchell's original vision, Chris Grinter proposed that six Tai Mitchell Boarding Scholarships be offered to boys who "displayed excellence in one or more of the areas of academic studies, cultural activities and sport" (Lyall, 2003, p. 516). The scholarships are designed to enable and encourage students from the wider Bay of Plenty region to attend the school and while applicants do not need to specifically whakapapa to Te Arawa, a large proportion of the recipients over the years have.

There are now three hostels that form a strong and unique feature of the school. The success of the many students who have been boarders at the hostels contributed to the school's recent selection as a 2019 finalist in the Prime Minister's Education Excellence Awards in the categories of: Excellence in Leading, Excellence in Teaching and Learning and Excellence in Health and Well-being Education. The school subsequently won the Excellence in Leading category and also received the 2019 Supreme Award.

In 2000 the concept of Tane Raukura was established and the vision that underpinned the conceptualisation of Tane Raukura is explained by Grinter, Dalton, Botha and Fisher (2016):

> Rotorua Boys' High School at that time wanted to capture the essence of the Raukura ethos and personalise it for the students of the school as an aspirational representation of what success for our students might look like. The strategic intent was to give practical effect to Māori enjoying educational success as Māori across the five key dimensions of the school: Academic; Sporting; Cultural Activities; Leadership and Citizenship (p. 3).

The school's parent and teacher association subsequently commissioned the carving of a taonga which provided a visual representation of Tane Raukura that was "central to the drive of improving and enhancing the educational achievements of young Raukura men" (Grinter et al., 2016, p. 3). While Tane Raukura was originally positioned in the foyer of the school's large multipurpose Millennium Centre, this taonga has more recently been repositioned so that it now stands proudly in the centre of the school's entrance hall.

The positioning of Tane Raukura in the entrance hall is another powerful representation of the connection between the past, present and the future, the spiritual and the living contextualised within the relationship between the iwi and the school. Tane Raukura, a concept developed in 2000, carries the name that was gifted to the school by Mitchell in 1929, now stands surrounded by cultural taonga (carvings, tukutuku panels, kowhaiwhai rafters) which were created in 1927 as a tribute to and acknowledgement of the history and aspirations of the iwi. Although the connection between the iwi and the school was and are visible through the multiple examples of cultural imagery, as the school moved further into the new millennium school leaders recognised a need to enact more determined collaborations with their Māori community which specifically focused on improving the success of Māori boys.

While the initial conceptualisation of Tane Raukura in the early 2000 was grounded in understanding and exemplifying what success for students might look like, as the years passed the leadership team became more explicit about their focus on Māori students. The reference

to Māori enjoying educational success as Māori across the five key dimensions of the school is derived from Ka Hikitia, the previously mentioned Māori education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2008a; 2013). The following sections detail how the school leadership team increased their focus on the Māori boys.

Determined collaborations focused on Māori boys

Despite strong connections between Rotorua Boys' High School and the iwi of Rotorua, in the early 2000s school leadership continued to be concerned about achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā boys. While Māori boys excelled in physical pursuits and performing arts, achievement data indicated that these boys were generally less successful in academic measures. Not-with-standing "earnest efforts and a multitude of different strategies" (Grinter et al., 2016, p. 5) the school had been unable to remove these disparities completely and the leadership team were dissatisfied that Māori boys were not experiencing the same levels of academic success as the Pākehā boys. Based on these concerns Chris applied to the Ministry of Education to be part Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 in 2009.

Te Kotahitanga

Te Kotahitanga as previously mentioned was a research and professional development project that was progressively implemented between 2001 and 2013 in 54 secondary schools. The programme aimed to "improve the educational achievement of indigenous Māori students in public mainstream secondary school classrooms" (Bishop, Berryman & Wearmouth, 2014, p. 1) through the provision of professional development for teachers and leaders. Te Kotahitanga focused on supporting teachers to develop caring and learning relationships with Māori students through the enactment of a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations (Bishop et al., 2007). The intervention was refined iteratively through four phases between 2001 and 2008 "by means of a rigorous research and development process" (Alton-Lee, 2015, p. 7). In 2009, the Ministry of Education sought expressions of interest from schools to be part of Phase 5 of the intervention.

Rotorua Boys' High School's application to be part of Phase 5 of Te Kotahitanga, was successful, and in 2010 school leaders and a team of in-school teacher facilitators started working alongside Te Kotahitanga directors and facilitators to begin the implementation of a cycle of professional learning and development. This cycle provided school-wide, supported opportunities for teachers to reject deficit theorising about their Māori learners and develop their own agency to make the difference. In order to improve the engagement and achievement

of Māori students, teachers were supported to develop understandings and skills of a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations and, as a result, they began to critically reflect on evidence of their own and their colleagues teaching practices.

Understanding current practices

While examining, understanding and improving teacher practice was an important dimension of this work, the senior leadership team were also supported to examine, understand and improve their own leadership practices. This involved undertaking co-construction meetings at the middle and senior leadership levels of the school, across both curriculum and pastoral teams, which engaged with evidence of experiences and outcomes of Māori students. As part of this reflection on practice, leaders wanted to better understand and respond to the aspirations of whānau so that they could work together to make these aspirations a reality. The leadership team carefully considered how they were engaging with their Māori community and sought some new systems and practices that were more culturally responsive to and appropriate for the Māori community. Professional development that simultaneously focused on leadership and school-whānau connections were specifically incorporated into Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 that were not as explicit in previous phases.

Developing different theories and new practices

Different ways of thinking about responding to Māori students meant that new practices emerged from this examination of and reflection on leadership and teaching practice. Chris acknowledged that if the school was going to commit to increasing Māori students' success this required a determined focus to change and ensure that relationships between Māori students and teachers were caring and potential focused:

> We have had to break away from that traditional attitude of "I have taught these boys what they need to know to pass this assessment". I've talked to staff about not falling into that defensive attitude that projects "Well you've had the opportunity and you've spurned that opportunity or not", but rather see our boys as being worth that further opportunity, being worth that further piece of encouragement and not letting them opt out with their feet. In this vulnerable teenage period in their lives, these young people need adults who will constantly and consistently and gently encourage them to do what's required to open the next door.

The changes in thinking and practice included working with whānau and the community to increase and normalise Māori cultural practices within the school. The incorporation of mana whenua led school pōwhiri was an example of a new practice that was developed.

Pōwhiri

Chris recalled the careful consideration that went into developing and normalising pōwhiri at the school:

> It is deliberate, it has to be. If things were to improve for young Māori learners, schools and systems have to change. That won't just happen randomly, it has to be constructed.
>
> As our awareness of what makes a difference in terms of young Māori succeeding as Māori has increased, we've been very overt and deliberate about steadily building layer upon layer with tikanga – protocols and ceremonies that endorse and enhance the place and presence of Māori students within the school. Now it feels normal, it feels as if this is just how we are here. We formally welcome new students with a pōwhiri. It's the start of a five year journey for them.

The aspiration of Māori achieving success as Māori has remained a determined focus for the teachers and senior leadership team and connecting in determined ways with whānau was recognised as a way of increasing the potential that this would happen.

Justine Gloyne, a Māori parent of one of the senior perfects recognised and acknowledged the principal's willingness to take onboard the ideas and perspectives of Māori Board of Trustee members as the school worked through the process of strengthening their connections with Māori whānau to improve the experiences and learning outcomes of Māori students. Justine said:

> The Board of Trustees and the people in there, work very hard to get their ideas across to the principal and he's an experienced sort of fella who sees the greatness in people I believe. He is very open to how else can this be done? There's no one right way there's lots of right ways. He really does give the trustees a voice and then that transfers to what happens in the school.

In terms of instituting more Māori cultural practices, to optimise the potential for more Māori students to experience greater success, Justine reflected on the powerful impact the pōwhiri had on her son and herself when he was welcomed on his first day of school. The protocol of the pōwhiri dictates that the senior prefects wear their formal uniform with their respective lapel pins. They also sit on chairs alongside other important males including kaumātua (elders) from the iwi and members of the school leadership team while students who are not senior prefects sit on the ground. While the pōwhiri provided an important initial, te ao Māori means of engagement for her son to connect with fellow students and the adults at the school, crucially it also provided an opportunity for new students to see multiple models of successful Māori

senior prefects. Justine felt that seeing these successful Māori students on the very first day of school was truly inspiring for both her and her son:

> It was a genuine welcome. They also got to listen to some really good whaikōrero of what's happening with other kids and where they come from. The get to see and hear about all of these things, all wrapped up in that pōwhiri.
>
> I just watched my son sit on the tarmac and think wow! When you are Year 9 you get to watch everyone else sit on seats and its hot and they are sweating in their uniforms at that stage. They look up at the senior boys with all of the shiny things on their lapels. That's what I want my son to aspire to and to ask himself – "How do you get there?"

Justine also felt that the respect and responsiveness that teachers and leaders demonstrated for Māori cultural practices translated into the way that they engaged with Māori students:

> The boys see that these senior people that teach me and see me every day, they're very respectful of this thing we call Māori culture. The boys next to me, they're passionate about who they are. This has given it mana and just by doing that they have given themselves mana. It is quite a beautiful thing when you see it working and you see that every boy is supported.

Another new institution that emerged in response to the focus of increasing Māori whānau engagement and Māori students' success included the establishment of annual professional learning days for staff that specifically centred on improving Māori student success. These teacher only days are held within the period of Matariki, which is when a cluster of at least nine stars becomes visible in June, to indicate the beginning of the Māori New Year. Thus, these teacher professional learning days are called Matariki days and represent an opportunity for determined collaboration and learning between iwi and the school.

Matariki professional learning days

The Matariki professional learning days are usually held on one of the local marae so that staff can experience important cultural aspects of different local iwi with the focused learning intention of strengthening iwi-school connections through building teacher's cultural knowledge and capacity to better understand and respond to their Māori students. The rationale for these days is explained by the then Deputy Principal and member of Ngāti Pikiao iwi, Fred Whata. Fred shared his reflections in video clips that were produced as part of the ebook resource detailed in Chapter 4. Fred explained:

> We thought that if we took our staff to the marae, they could learn about where the boys come from. We thought that if we show our teachers, te ao Māori, from the

> boys' perspective and from their whānau perspective, they would get a better insight and understanding into how the boys live and operate in te ao Pākehā as well as operating in te ao Māori. Going to the marae was a natural progression from our senior management point of view and it was in the best interests of the whānau and the (boys) who come to Rotorua Boys' High School.

Fred further explained that some teachers, who are unfamiliar with a marae setting, sometimes experience discomfort in these authentic, non-colonial environments where Māori cultural traditions have always determined the protocols of engagement. The leadership team understood the challenges that this created for some teachers and realised these occasions represented important learning opportunities for their staff to develop critical levels of consciousness and potentially disrupt entrenched ideas and perceptions of Māori – people and culture. This meant that these professional learning and development sessions needed to be carefully managed so that the teachers were provided with the important opportunity to not merely observe the exoticism of Māori culture, but to better understand the authentic traditions of the iwi and the Māori boys as legitimated by them. Fred suggested:

> It is a cultural shock for a number of our non-Māori teachers who come from all walks of life. We have to be mindful to do this in the best manner so that they understand where our boys come from because as male we are not necessarily forthcoming with information about who we are, what we do and where we are from.

The learning opportunities that were available to teachers during the 2013 Matariki professional learning day that Fred referenced included workshops facilitated by iwi representatives (in some cases including students). The kaupapa of the workshops included Matariki, celestial navigation, tā moko (Māori tattoo) and rongoā (medicinal use of plants). Presenters provided participants with opportunities to understand the ancient origins, tikanga and practices associated with each kaupapa and then drew connections between past and present to explain how historical practices are still relevant and enacted today. Following this particular series of workshops Fred described how much staff appreciated the learning opportunity:

> Our staff were very grateful and honoured to receive all four workshops and the tikanga that go with such sensitive kaupapa. We do that for our teachers, so that they can have that connection with their students and get a real insight into our boys and the whānau that they come from.

Former prefects and parents have been amongst guest speakers who have presented during the Matariki professional learning days on other occasions. While each presenter offers their own

perspective the presentations provide insights into how teachers and leaders can better enable Māori students to enjoy and achieve education success as Māori.

The introduction of two academic review days during a school year was another considerable change in the way the school engaged with parents. These days replaced a former practice of parents booking a series of appointments, with multiple teachers, for short periods of time, to hear teachers' perspectives of the students' progress and achievement.

Academic review days

The academic review days require students' House group tutors to comprehensively understand the academic and pastoral progress and achievement of each student so that they can engage in a 15-minute conversation with the student and their parent. While this discussion does focus on progress and achievement, critically the student and the parent collaborate with the House group tutor to consider and set goals. This new approach has seen a significant increase in the number of whānau who attend these discussions and have resulted in greater cohesion between the school and whānau with regard to supporting student learning.

This concerted focus on strengthening relationships between the school and their Māori community included the development of another new practice, which involved harnessing the success of Pause Prompt Praise, a reading tutoring programme that had been operating within the school since 2006. How this intervention was operationalised, my role in supporting this work as a professional development specialist and the resulting outcomes are discussed in detail in the next chapter. However, given the school and community wide professional development opportunities the school is providing for teachers, it is important to reference this intervention as one practice within a series of determined acts of leadership to increase Māori student success through improved engagement with their whānau.

Summary

This chapter has drawn from a range of historical documents, published and unpublished sources and interview data to summarise the historical context of Rotorua Boys' High School up to the early 2000s. It has highlighted the various means by which descendants from Te Arawa waka have sought to maintain the dreams of their ancestors by maintaining their control and influence over their ancestral lands and resources. The chapter has explained how Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-O-Te Rangi Mitchell worked very hard to make explicitly clear, for the people of his time and for the generations to come, that Ngāti Whakaue gifted the land for the

school so that Māori pupils would be proud of their culture and heritage and successful in their education. It has also described some of the ways that Chris Grinter and his leadership team have worked to honour Mitchell's legacy, uphold the vision that iwi have for the school and respond to the aspirations that Māori whānau have for their children.

The next chapter will explain the contemporary context of this case and describe the work and research I undertook with Rotorua Boys' High School between 2011 and 2015.

Chapter 8: Connecting and collaborating

Ma whero ma pango ka oti ai te mahi

With red and black the work will be completed

Introduction

The whakataukī that opens this chapter encompasses the notion of determined collaboration between two entities to complete a task. This chapter explains how I began working with school leadership at Rotorua Boys' High School to share my learnings about literacy interventions to further strengthen their whānau-school collaborations. It describes how I worked with school leadership and Māori whānau to improve literacy experiences and outcomes for Māori students. Interview data that captures the triangulated narratives of experience of the Māori whānau members are then presented as well as some of the quantitative outcomes of the literacy intervention. The chapter also includes a summary of the school's latest ERO report to provide an external perspective of the experiences and achievement outcomes of Māori students.

Recognising the opportunity

2011 was the second year of implementation of Phase 5 of Te Kotahitanga at Rotorua Boys' High School. As part of his own professional development, the principal, Chris Grinter attended a Te Kotahitanga leadership hui to continue to develop his own theoretical understandings of a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations and engage in learning that would support him, in his role as a leader, to spread and embed the pedagogy at multiple levels across the school.

During this leadership hui I co-facilitated a session within which leaders were asked to reflect on the range of practices that existed within their schools to engage Māori whānau. They were also encouraged to consider the extent to which their own practices facilitated educationally powerful connections between their schools and their Māori whānau and communities. During this session I presented research findings from the Poutama Pounamu Research and Development Centre included in the previously mentioned school leadership BES, to highlight how home-school partnerships can potentially, significantly accelerate the achievement of Māori students. The research findings report on two specific literacy interventions that used: Pause Prompt Praise (Glynn, McNaughton, Robinson & Quinn, 1979) and Responsive Written

Feedback (Glynn, Jerram & Tuck, 1986; Jerram, Glynn & Tuck, 1988) were shared during this session.

Following the presentation, school leaders were provided with the opportunity to access my support to implement these literacy interventions as a means of simultaneously developing learning partnerships between their schools and their Māori whānau and enhancing the literacy achievement of their Māori students. The week following the leadership hui, Chris rang me and expressed an interest in accessing my support. He explained that he was very familiar with Pause Prompt Praise as Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board had provided funding for the school to implement this intervention since 2006. This funding had been used to train and employ two reading tutors as in-school reading tutors to work with low-progress readers.

The next section within the shaded frame briefly describes the tutoring process to contextualise the programme that was being implemented at the school at the time that this research and professional development was initiated.

Pause Prompt Praise

Pause Prompt Praise is a set of reading tutoring strategies that were developed by a group of researchers from the University of Auckland (Glynn, McNaughton, Robinson & Quinn, 1979). The intervention draws from a theoretical perspective that "views proficient reading as learning to use all the sources of information within and around text to understand the particular message being conveyed" (Glynn & McNaughton, 1985, p. 66). This perspective encourages older struggling readers for example, to go beyond a phonetic focus on letters and letter-sound combinations and consider contextual information as well as their prior knowledge and experience, in order to decode and make sense of what they are reading.

Successful tutoring of Pause Prompt Praise requires tutors to learn and then apply specific tutoring strategies with their tutee. The first strategy a tutor needs to apply if and when their reader makes an error is to *pause* for 5 seconds. The pause provides an opportunity for the reader to self-correct the error; if the error is not self-corrected then the tutor needs to offer the reader a *prompt*. There are generally three types of errors that readers make; therefore, the tutor needs to offer the reader the specific prompt that is relevant to the type of error he/she has made. For example, if the word is not attempted, the tutor needs to prompt the reader to read on or read again. The read on or read again prompt provides the reader with an opportunity to think about what the word might be within the context of meaning, and therefore, to look for more

clues from the sentence, paragraph, pictures or page. If the word read is incorrect, the tutor again needs to offer the reader a meaning prompt and ask, for example if the reader reads horse instead of house, the tutor would ask if what has been read makes sense. The third type of error is used when the word read makes sense, but is not the word in the text. An example of this would be when a reader reads drop instead of fall. In this case the tutor needs to offer a phonetic prompt and ask the reader to think about the way the word looks or sounds. Most importantly, tutors also learn to acknowledge the reader's efforts with specific *praise* in order to reinforce the reader's independent reading strategies.

Drawing on the work of Glynn et al. (1979) a team of researchers developed a Māori immersion version of Pause Prompt Praise which became known as Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars & Harawira, 2000). Within this work the research team extended upon the three foundational strategies to include a *preview* phase prior to reading and a *review* phase at the conclusion of the tutoring session. The preview serves to provide the tutor with an opportunity in the first instance to familiarise themselves with the text and anticipate words and concepts that the reader might find challenging. Engaging in this process enables the tutor to consider how such words could be included in a conversation when they preview the book with the reader, and to make connections with the reader's prior knowledge and experience which can potentially support the reader to gain meaning as they read. The review at the end of the reading sessions allows the reader to verbalise their sense-making about the text in their own words and demonstrate to the tutor the extent to which they have understood what has been read.

While providing tutors with the initial professional development to apply the tutoring strategies is an important first step, in order to consolidate and embed these strategies in their tutoring practice it is vital that tutors receive specific ongoing feedback and feed-forward on their tutoring practice. Tutors are asked to make an audio recording of a tutoring session, which is then analysed by the Pause Prompt Praise coordinator. The coordinator then arranges a time to provide the tutor with specific feedback and feed-forward.

The importance of this feedback and feed-forward is reflected in Hattie's (2009) notion of visible learning. Through the feedback the tutors become conscious of their tutoring practice as they can hear (through the audio recording), the extent to which they are engaging in the preview and review phases and applying the correct prompts for the specific errors. Crucially, through this process tutors can hear some practices that they are applying that they may need

to unlearn such as not pausing for long enough when the reader encounters difficulty or applying a phonetic prompt when it should be a meaning prompt. The feed-forward then provides them with specific guidance as to what they need to do next in order to refine and improve their practice.

In our conversation Chris indicated that the evidence of learning outcomes for the students who were receiving the Pause Prompt Praise reading tutoring showed that the programme had been highly effective in accelerating their reading achievement. As with previous Pause Prompt Praise research, (Berryman, 2001) in many cases the students required only one or two terms (10 or 20 weeks) of tutoring to become competent readers, who could read fluently at their chronological reading age, with comprehension that was good or better.

While Chris was satisfied that the in-school programme was operating successfully, he felt that the school had not optimised their engagement of whānau by creating a connection through Pause Prompt Praise. The parents of students who were included in the programme were made aware that their children were receiving support, as this was routinely communicated in a newsletter home. However, Chris was interested in moving beyond communicating what the school was doing, to explore how they might expand the intervention to include parents and whānau and thus improve whānau-school connections with their school's Māori community. He was also interested in trialling some of the other literacy interventions that were presented at the leadership hui he attended.

Chris shared his intention, to expand Pause Prompt Praise to include whānau and community members, with Noreen Botha who at this time was the specialist literacy teacher responsible for overseeing the in-school Pause Prompt Praise programme. Noreen was also a facilitator in the Te Kotahitanga facilitation team, so she understood how this work had supported the school's endeavours to work in culturally responsive and relational ways across the school and out into the community in order to raise the achievement of their Māori students.

Chris asked Noreen and I to work together to trial the literacy interventions and explore how we might use the interventions as a means to engage with the school's Māori whānau and community members. This meant building a relationship with each other and developing shared understandings of the literacy interventions so that we would be in a position to consider how the interventions might be used with the school's Māori whānau and community.

Connecting with each other and connecting with the interventions

During the third school term (July through to September) of 2011 Noreen and I began planning how we might work together. Our regular face-to-face meetings provided opportunities for us to get to know each other on both a personal and professional level. We found that we had many common experiences in terms of our background in primary and junior secondary school teaching. Additionally, we shared an interest in literacy teaching and learning, we were both concerned about disparities between Māori and non-Māori student achievement and we were committed to activating our agency in order to improve outcomes for Māori students.

We decided that the second half of the year was not an ideal time to introduce whānau members to Pause Prompt Praise, given that many of the students who had been engaged in the in-school tutoring had graduated from the programme (having reached their chronological reading age levels) and were therefore no longer receiving tutoring. Noreen was however, interested in trialling Responsive Written Feedback. Again, this intervention is briefly explained in the shaded section below to provide an overview of the background and process.

Responsive Written Feedback

Responsive Written Feedback is a writing intervention that has been used successfully in Aotearoa to improve the quantity and quality of students' writing (Glynn, Jerram & Tuck, 1986; Vanstone, 2008). The concept originates from the work of Vargas (1978), who proposed that students' poor writing could be attributed to the fact that teachers focus feedback on students' writing on formal writing conventions, such as grammar and structure, rather than responding to the ideas that are being expressed by the writer. Her stance challenges the notion of teachers controlling the writing context and encourages a more participatory approach, where students can determine for themselves what they might write to a responder, and the responder, be they the teacher, an older student or an adult member of the community, are required to "respond as readers, not as correctors" (Vargas, 1978, p. 17).

Responsive Written Feedback provides students with a process that facilitates social interaction, through a writing exchange or writing relationship, between a (less competent) student *writer* and a (more competent) *responder*. Drawing from socio-cultural views of learning (Vygotsky, 1978), this interaction enables students to demonstrate through their writing, their zone of proximal development (what they are capable of doing without support). In turn the responder can engage with the ideas that have been represented in the writing and provide a scaffold to support the student to progress the quality and quantity of their writing. Within the classroom

the intervention happens each week within a defined twenty-minute timeframe. Students spend 5 minutes planning, 10 minutes writing and 5 minutes editing and proof-checking. In many respects a Responsive Written Feedback writing relationship is much like a traditional pen pal relationship. However, the responder has a dual role of reciprocating communication, while at the same time purposefully providing a model of interesting, more accurate and correctly structured writing.

While it is important that the responder is more competent than the writer, the responder needs to focus on responding to the writers' messages, and refrain from providing evaluative or corrective feedback. This supports the development of a non-dominating relationship between the writer and the responder and positions the responder as the reader or audience. However, this does not mean that the intervention does not support the development of accurate spelling, grammar and correct structure. The responder may optimise the opportunity they have through their written response to demonstrate what correct spelling, grammar, punctuation and/or structure looks like, while at the same time they demonstrate to the writer, again through their response, that they understand and value the message the writing is conveying.

Noreen and I planned a small-scale trial within which one of her junior English classes would constitute the writers and three mothers from the community would act as the responders. The trial represented an opportunity for both of us to get a sense of the logistics of managing an intervention that required coordination between the school and home settings. We learnt that this coordination required determined planning, particularly in the fourth term when the school timetable was frequently disrupted by extra-curricula events. This meant the continuity between the student's writing opportunities and receiving the responders' responses was considerably compromised. While the evidence from the trial indicated that the intervention had not necessarily greatly improved the quality and quantity of the students' writing, we found that it was a very worthwhile exercise, as it enabled us to develop our working relationship and to learn from the experience and consider how we could up-scale the intervention in the following year.

In 2012 we intended to build on the learning from Responsive Written Feedback in 2011 and, given we had observed how challenging it was for the three responders to manage the writing associated with responding to eight or nine students, we would expand the intervention to include more responders,. We also wanted to introduce Pause Prompt Praise to Māori whānau

and get a sense of the potential interest that the Māori community might have in working with the school to tutor their children at home.

Noreen used the school newsletter to outline what Responsive Written Feedback was and to invite parents, whānau and community members to volunteer to be responders. Unfortunately, no one from the school community responded to the newsletter invitation to be responders. This reinforced that the school newsletter was not the best way culturally, to extend an invitation to Māori community members or to communicate the potential of a home-school intervention and the work involved. However, Noreen did not let the fact that we received no responses from the community deter her from exploring further and learning more about up-scaling the intervention.

Subsequently, we decided to use another junior English class as the student writers and a group of senior students as the responders. This would mean that we would need to manage multiple (15) responders. While the large number of responders created a slight challenge, we recognised that this arrangement would serve the dual purpose of providing us with another opportunity to understand how Responsive Written Feedback could improve student writing as well as helping us to better understand how we might efficiently operationalise the intervention with Māori whānau and community members. Engaging the senior students also served as a means of spreading the intervention to whānau as the parents were notified that their children were writing responders and many of the senior students regularly discussed what they were doing with their whānau.

Writing outcomes

In terms of helping us to understand the potential of Responsive Written Feedback as an intervention to improve the quality and quantity of students writing, this trial between junior and senior students proved very useful. A comparative analysis between the Term 1 baseline sample and the Term 4 final sample indicated that there was an increase in the typical length of students' writing over the ten-minute period. Students could choose what topics they wrote about from week to week and the analysis revealed that the quantity of words increased from an average of 89 words in the first piece of timed-writing to 148 words in the last piece. Additionally, the accuracy of students' writing also slightly improved from an average accuracy rate of 1.6 correct words per minute in the first piece to 1.9 correct words per minute in the last piece. There was also an increase in the students' use of more challenging and interesting vocabulary, as measured through the use of word lists (Croft & Mapa, 1998).

These modest gains were complemented by some valuable qualitative outcomes that were observed by Noreen. She was particularly impressed by how the intervention provided the student writers with a safe forum to express their ideas, share their feelings with another person, be 'heard' (through their writing) and then receive a non-judgemental response to the message/s they wanted to communicate to an audience. She and the students saw this as purposeful and authentic writing, and many parents of the students who were both writers and responders had also communicated with Noreen indicating that their sons were greatly enjoying the exchange and, from their perspectives, that it was a worthwhile learning exercise to engage in. We were both greatly encouraged by these outcomes and gained a greater insight into how we could broker this intervention with Māori whānau and community members.

While we had been busy undertaking and learning more about Responsive Written Feedback, weeks and months had passed and we found that we were into the third school term and again we had not managed to initiate conversations with the Māori community about Pause Prompt Praise. We did not want to let the opportunity to start the conversation with Māori whānau in 2012, pass us by. Accordingly, Noreen worked with other members of the Te Kotahitanga facilitation team to plan an evening hui for whānau within which Pause Prompt Praise would be introduced and explained to whānau. I was unable to attend this hui, but Noreen reported that the presentation had been well received by the whānau members who attended and that, while whānau members were interested in hearing about the tutoring process, at that time no one had expressed an interest in seeking professional development to undertake tutoring at home with their own children. We were, however, not discouraged that whānau at this stage in the year were not proactively asking for professional development in Pause Prompt Praise. Rather, we contemplated how we might work differently and in more determined ways to engage Māori whānau so that they could begin to become more aware of the potential benefits for their children and themselves in connecting with the school through these literacy interventions in 2013.

Connecting with whānau

Initiating engagement

In 2013 the Rotorua Boys' High School Te Kotahitanga facilitation team had expanded to include a new facilitator, who also worked as a Resource Teacher of Learning and Behaviour (RTLB). In order to disseminate the learning from the literacy interventions and increase whānau engagement, particularly with Māori whānau and communities, Noreen asked the

RTLB if she would like to work alongside us on this particular research. The RTLB agreed to join us, and we began the process of planning a Pause Prompt Praise hui with the school's Māori whānau to introduce the tutoring process and provide whānau with an initial professional development experience.

Noreen and the in-school reading tutors used a Hodder Education (Hodder Education, 2019) diagnostic reading assessment to ascertain students' reading levels in the first school term. The assessment data indicated that there were 60, Year 9 and 10 students reading below their chronological reading level. These 60 students would form the group of students who would receive Pause Prompt Praise reading tutoring in school. In our planning discussions we decided that the whānau of all 60 students would be invited to attend the Pause Prompt Praise hui via a letter home and a follow up phone call by one of the school's reading tutors. We recalled how the school newsletter had not been a particularly successful way of gaining responses from the whānau Māori, so the decisions to write and send a specific letter home to a whānau member and to follow the letter up with phone call were deliberate acts of personal communication. We were also very deliberate about positioning the sessions as hui that would begin with mihi (acknowledgements) and conclude as is culturally appropriate, with shared kai (food) rather than meetings or training sessions because we wanted to signal very clearly that Māori protocols would frame our engagement.

We were aware that across the range of 60 whānau, there were likely to be people who worked either during the day or in the evenings, so it was therefore important to provide more than one opportunity to attend the hui at which we would be introducing Pause Prompt Praise and providing some initial professional development around application of the tutoring strategies. Consequently, to accommodate this awareness, we planned to facilitate one hui in the morning and one in the evening. Subsequently, we found that this planning was important, since we had five whānau members attend the morning session and approximately 28 whānau attended the evening session. This meant that across both hui we had representatives from 19 of the student's immediate whānau attend the sessions and given that only a small number attended the hui in the previous year, this was really satisfying.

Whanaungatanga – Making connections to each other and to the kaupapa

Noreen and I facilitated both hui which began, as is culturally appropriate for many Māori, with a mihi to welcome and thank participants for attending and to outline the kaupapa of the hui. This was followed by whanaungatanga which as described earlier enables people to form and

reaffirm connections. Usually participants are seated in a circle and each person has an opportunity to introduce themselves to people they may be meeting for the first time, and to reconnect to people with whom they have already established relationships. Participants can determine what they are willing to share about themselves with the wider group and they may also choose at this time to offer their thoughts about the kaupapa of the hui.

While whanaungatanga provides participants with an opening to 'speak', essentially this is also an important time to carefully 'listen' and to develop an understanding and awareness of how people are connected to each other, including how people are or intend to be connected to yourself, and how people are connected to the kaupapa of the hui. In this sense, whanaungatanga is a space for conscientisation – a time for people to become consciously aware and voice their awareness of the social context in which they find themselves. Crucially this represents an opportunity for participants to begin to make meaning for themselves of their place, in relation to others, and to the agenda of the hui.

Given the important cultural space that whanaungatanga represents for speaking, listening and connecting, it is not appropriate to take notes of what participants share. However, in my experience, focused listening *does* enable people to recall in detail pertinent thoughts that are contributed within the circle, at this time. At both hui, I was the first person to speak in the whanaungatanga circle and, after introducing myself, I talked about the struggles that I had encountered as a student who found reading difficult. I also talked about the challenges and frustrations I had faced as a parent when my own child started school and initially found reading difficult. I shared that my own experiences of learning how to implement the Pause Prompt Praise tutoring strategies at home with my child and that these strategies had considerably improved her reading. I shared that I was looking forward to talking about the strategies with them during the session. Following on from my introduction, other members introduced themselves and we moved around the whanaungatanga circle. I recalled that a number of parents talked about being aware that their children had experienced reading difficulties since primary school and, while this had certainly been something that they were concerned about, they were not sure what they should do about it and how they could support their children. They indicated that they felt helpless to address these difficulties and that they had never received specific advice and guidance from educators. Consequently, many of them expressed gratitude that they now had the opportunity to attend the hui and learn about how to support their children to develop reading strategies at home. These responses clearly showed that these whānau were indeed interested and deeply valued the support being offered by the school. This response sits

in opposition to a commonly espoused discourse that Māori whānau are not interested in involving themselves in schools to enhance the learning of their children.

While the morning hui was held in the school's multipurpose Millennium Centre, the evening hui was held in the school staffroom as it was a warmer and more intimate space. I specifically recall a Māori father and his son enter the room just before whanaungatanga started. The chairs were already arranged in a circle, and some people were seated in the chairs waiting to start while others were standing around talking. The father walked to the chair that was the furthest from the front of the room (where I was seated), pulled a chair out of the circle, turned it side-on to the circle and sat down so that only the side of his back was visible to those of us who were seated in the circle. He also directed his son to sit in a seat that was behind him and outside of the circle. I interpreted his body language (his partial back facing the circle) along with his unwillingness to make eye contact as an indication that he was not entirely comfortable in this setting. As whanaungatanga began, and people shared their thoughts and experiences and we progressed around the circle towards where this father was seated, he gradually turned himself around and into the circle as each person spoke. By the time it was his turn to speak he stood up and introduced himself and talked about how he really wanted to help his son to be a better reader. He also smiled and said he was looking forward to hearing what we had to say.

Learning together

After whanaungatanga, participants were encouraged to talk to each other about their own experiences of learning to read and any strategies or techniques that had been effective in supporting them to learn to read, as well as strategies that had not been effective. As with any learners, we understood that it was important to provide an opportunity for whānau to share their prior knowledge and experiences. To some extent this demonstrated that, as educators, we really valued what they already knew about reading and about their children, and that their knowledge was important and legitimate.

The Pause Prompt Praise tutoring strategies were then introduced in a plenary that I presented which included the data from the school leadership BES and in particular a case study undertaken by Berryman (2001) where whānau learned to apply the Pause Prompt Praise strategies at home with their children. We believed that it was really important to engage with the research and show the significant difference that whānau could and did make with Pause Prompt Praise. We wanted participants to clearly see the agency and opportunity that they had to accelerate the reading achievement of their children. Video footage depicting Māori whānau

and community members reading with their children was also shared during the plenary to demystify the process and provide practical examples of how the tutoring strategies could be applied.

Following the plenary, people were provided with school journals and were asked to work in pairs to trial the tutoring strategies with each other. One person took on the role of the reader, which meant they had to make deliberate errors. The other person took on the role of reading tutor, which meant they had to utilise the Pause Prompt Praise strategies and in particular match the correct prompt to the relevant error. During this time, Noreen, the RTLB and I sat alongside pairings of participants to observe the process. Allowing for whānau to learn from and with each other in this way decreased dependence on us as facilitators and promoted discussions between pairings within which people could make sense of what they had heard, what they thought and what they were learning. Although whānau were serious and concentrated in this trialling activity, because they had connected to each other through whanaungatanga they were also relaxed in each other's company and found opportunities to laugh, especially when the person who was the reader was attempting to make errors with their reading.

After the trial, people provided feedback on this experience within a whole-group discussion, with many commenting that they felt reasonably comfortable in their ability to apply the strategies. For some this was a relief, because the tutoring was not as complicated as they had thought it might be. A mother talked about how useful it was to learn about the *read on* or *reread* prompt, as well as the *meaning* prompt, since she had not known about these prompts and had previously encouraged her children to sound words out whenever they came to a word that they did not know or when they made an error. She believed that having the knowledge about the need to apply different prompts for different kinds of errors was going to alleviate the frustration and anxiety that both she and her son encountered when she attempted to support him with home reading. Similar comments and sentiments were shared by a number of other whānau members.

Having gained an initial understanding of the tutoring process, whānau members talked about feeling enthusiastic about using the strategies with their children and asked questions about reading materials and how they were going to work together with the school. Noreen explained that the students would be provided with reading texts that they could take home to read with their whānau. This meant that parents would not need to concern themselves with sourcing reading material. The need for participants to receive feedback and feed-forward on their

tutoring practice was also highlighted at this point, and it was explained that whānau members could record a reading session between themselves and their child, and that either the RTLB or me would listen to the recording and provide specific feedback and feed-forward on their tutoring practice.

Contact details were collected from whānau members and the hui concluded with some shared kai. Rounding off the hui in this way provided another valuable cultural opportunity for whānau to engage with each other, the kaupapa, the teachers and me, in informal conversation. It was during this time that the previously mentioned father and son approached me and thanked me for sharing the strategies and the hand-out detailing the strategies and process. The father explained that he intended to go home and share what he had learned with his wife, so that they would both be in a position to provide tutoring to their son. I later learned that at the beginning of the year these parents had taken their son to a private literacy consultant, as they were very concerned about the fact that he was reading below expectations for his age. They understood the implications that this represented for their son's participation and achievement in education. At this late stage, as he was entering secondary school, it was clear that this important skill had not been successfully developed in his previous schooling and they were having to seek outside assistance to improve his reading. After completing an assessment, the literacy consultant provided the parents with a quote detailing how much they would need to pay to receive reading tutoring to improve their son's reading. The whānau had been devastated by the quote, as they were simply unable to afford the amount of money that the consultant was charging. Consequently, the father was extremely grateful to be provided with the opportunity to learn how to tutor their son together with his wife and support him to improve his reading. I have continued to reflect on the experience of this whānau and contemplate how many other children and whānau are in similar situations and what are the intergenerational consequences of illiteracy when schools do not work with whānau in this way?

Maintaining momentum

We were greatly encouraged by the enthusiasm demonstrated by whānau who attended the professional development and we wanted to maintain the momentum that the hui had generated. The in-school reading tutors, with the help of Noreen, developed reading packs for each of the students whose whānau had attended the hui. The packs included a reading log tracking sheet that enabled whānau to detail the text read and also make a note about their thoughts about the text and/or their child's reading. We refrained from specifying how the log should be completed

and positioned the log as a useful way of keeping a record. Whānau could determine for themselves how or even if they completed it each time.

Providing whānau with specific, regular and timely feedback on their tutoring practice and ongoing support proved to be difficult and had significant implications for maintaining momentum. The first challenge involved locating suitable equipment that could be used by whānau to audio-record their reading tutoring sessions with their child. We sought out a durable, uncomplicated and inexpensive device that whānau could easily use for recording at home and that the teachers could easily use for analysing the recording at school. Chris located three cassette recorder dictaphones, that students were able to take home in their reading packs.

Having addressed the issue of suitable recording equipment, it was then necessary to reconnect with whānau and activate the feedback and feed-forward cycle. Our intention was to send a dictaphone home with the students in the reading pack so that whānau tutors could record a reading tutoring session. The student would then return the recording to the school so that we could listen to the session to gather evidence about the tutoring practice. Framed within Hattie's previously mentioned notion of visible learning the purpose of the analysis was to find out what the tutoring practice sounded like and based on the evidence provide some next steps. Specifically, we wanted to ascertain the extent to which whānau were using the Pause Prompt Praise strategies and in particular how accurately they were applying the correct prompts to the relevant errors. After completing the analysis, we could identify points of practice that the whānau member was doing well and feed this back to affirm good practice. Importantly, we would also feed-forward and recommend points of improvement so that they could strengthen their tutoring practice. Our intention was to continue to repeat this process on a three-week cycle or until the evidence (recordings of the sessions) indicated that the strategies were being applied accurately and consistently.

Although the importance of the feedback and feed-forward processes had been highlighted at the hui, when contacted via telephone, some whānau declined the opportunity to receive feedback and feed-forward and indicated that they did not require any further support. Other whānau however, welcomed the opportunity to receive the feedback and feed-forward and did use the dictaphones to record themselves and their son. Parents appreciated the opportunity to become consciously aware of their tutoring practice and what they needed to do next to improve. They also felt reassured when we recognised aspects of good tutoring practice that they were demonstrating.

This Pause Prompt Praise professional development hui was held in the second term and by the time we reached the second half of the third term it had become increasingly difficult to prioritise and continue the feedback and feed-forward cycle and consequently these began to operate more sporadically. Despite this breakdown in the feedback and feed-forward cycle, this initial attempt at engaging whānau in Pause Prompt Praise provided a useful learning opportunity for the whānau and us and there were positive qualitative and quantitative outcomes.

Qualitative findings

Whānau reflecting on their learning together

Throughout the weeks and months that followed the Pause Prompt Praise hui, I shared and discussed what we were doing at Rotorua Boys' High School with the Te Kotahitanga project team. More specifically, I talked about what we were learning from engaging with Māori whānau and maintaining connections that were centred around literacy learning.

As a team of professional learning and development providers, we recognised that working alongside a secondary school that was working with their Māori whānau in this way was unique. We were aware of this, because many schools that we were working with expressed a desire to connect with their Māori whānau and communities. These good intentions to develop closer working relationships had also been articulated in strategic plans and some schools had sought out our support to also utilise these two literacy strategies, as a vehicle to facilitate engagement. In numerous cases, however, the literacy strategies had not moved beyond the school to be introduced to or shared with Māori whānau and community members, and thus these good intentions had failed to translate into meaningful whānau-school actions. Instead, schools were using the strategies with trained in-school facilitators as Rotorua Boys' had been using them initially.

The project team clearly understood, therefore, the important steps that Rotorua Boys' High School had taken by engaging their Māori whānau so that they were simultaneously implementing Pause Prompt Praise in the school and in the home setting. This simultaneous implementation was important for accelerating learning as identified in the school leadership BES (Alton-Lee et al, 2009). We understood that the learning and experiences of all involved (Māori whānau, school leaders, teachers and professional learning and development providers) could potentially benefit other Māori whānau and schools. The understanding of the importance of this work in terms of the potential benefits that the learning could generate for others was something that we as a project team were very conscious of. This led us to approach

Chris and Noreen and some of the whānau who attended the hui and invite them to assist us to produce video clips and develop the interactive eBooks mentioned in Chapter 4 and Chapter 7.

Chris, Noreen and three of the Māori parents who attended the Pause Prompt Praise professional development hui and engaged in the feedback and feed-forward cycle accepted our invitation to assist us with the eBooks by sharing their experiences for a series of video clips. The development of these resources would also provide an opportunity to undertake interviews with these participants so that we could collaboratively make sense of what we were doing, what we were learning and, most importantly, so that we could share this learning with others.

Sharing the learning

As outlined in the methodology chapter, these individual interviews that were undertaken with Te Orohi Paul, Lisa Richards (pseudonym) and Alby Tipiwai were framed as semi-structured interviews as conversations. Both the eBook producer and I shared the role of interviewee and these conversations took place in their homes at a time that was convenient for each whānau. Each parent was asked to comment on how they had found the Pause Prompt Praise process as a means of supporting their children to improve their reading. Although each parent was interviewed individually, there were common themes that emerged across the three conversations. The responses from each of the parents are presented thematically and direct quotes are used to exemplify the parents' theorising and experiences of Pause Prompt Praise.

Alleviating frustration and tension.

The parents talked about how learning about Pause Prompt Praise and learning how to apply the strategies had reduced tension in their whānau. For Te Orohi the anxiety that she felt prior to being introduced to Pause Prompt Praise had been exacerbated by the knowledge that her son was transitioning from a kura kaupapa primary school into an English-medium secondary school. She understood how important it was going to be for him to read in English and she really worried about how he would cope and, more specifically, how she would support him.

> I was really concerned about him going to college this year, going into mainstream college. I was frightened for him actually, because I knew that he needed to have the basics in language, in English. I just knew it was going to be a huge challenge for him. I thought that I'm going to suffer with this child because he has no backbone to help him with his English and he needed that. So, I was fearful for him. Hence my reasons for devoting and committing the time to attend the professional development for myself and my husband because we were both fearful for him. We just didn't want him to fall in the gap and we didn't want him to be someone else's statistic. He knew it was going to be an uphill battle.

Te Orohi conceded that these concerns sometimes manifested themselves in frustration and she recognised that her endeavours to support when she felt frustrated, were not particularly constructive and helpful for her son. She continued:

> Prior to learning the Pause Prompt Praise technique it was hot, frustration. I wanted to kick the cat, the neighbours' cat, anybody's cat; it was just full on intense and difficult. It didn't help him; it didn't make him feel like he wanted to learn anything! It didn't make him feel like it was a great that it was exciting to learn to read English. That was because his Mum was intense and that was because I had no skills to be able to teach him. I know how to speak English, I know how to read English but I don't know how to encourage him to learn and to want to learn that.

She talked about how wonderful it had been to be effectively liberated from the anxiety and reach a point where, herself, her husband and her son, now enjoyed reading. In reflecting on this she said:

> This programme or this technique has been absolutely wonderful. You've got to give some credits because you know he doesn't have to get it right the first time round, that's the marvellous thing about it. He gets some options and he gets some time to learn new words, that's a wonderful thing.
>
> My son and I and his Dad, we've all gone on this journey and it's been really enjoyable. I've gotten over all of the stress and frustrations and now I'm happy to sit beside him and encourage him. And he appreciates that because he reads and when he makes a mistake it's okay.

Similarly, Alby reflected on how his previous approaches to supporting his son to read had at times strained their relationship. He believed that learning about Pause Prompt Praise had been transformational in the sense that the previously tense reading sessions were now an enjoyable bonding time for him and his son. He shared:

> Things have changed you know like when I went and had a look at the programme I realised that a lot of the issues weren't with him, they were with me. I had to make the changes to help him, and so now it's turned from a bun fight just about every night to quite a raucous session. So, we sit down and we have a quite a few laughs, and how we go about that is just really changed. Our sessions have gone from me telling him what he should be doing to us now engaging really, really well, humour comes out of it, we're both humorous people but we challenge. So yeah in regards to bonding it's huge, it's absolutely awesome.

Discovering new strategies

All three parents talked about how beneficial it was to learn about the importance of ensuring that they consistently apply the strategies accurately. Again, this acknowledgement affirms

Hattie's (2009) previously mentioned notion of making learning visible through feedback and feed-forward.

The idea of pausing and then thinking about which prompt to apply meant that the parents now had to carefully consider how they responded to their children when they encountered difficulty while reading or, more specifically, when they either stopped reading or made an error. Previous default responses needed to be unlearned, such as immediately giving their child the word or prompting them to sound out without thinking about the type of error the child had made. The parents explained that, while the unlearning was quite challenging at first, they recognised why it was important to understand and apply these new strategies. In his reflections Alby said:

> Before, when I used to race in and give him the answer, it was just satisfying me and not about himself. So now it is, you stop and you're almost holding your breath, and you're thinking come on man you know this. Then when he gets it, then you breathe. You know it is hard I think just watching them struggle, that's another thing that you don't want any of your kids to do. But you know you're not helping them by jumping in there so yeah, it's one of the hardest stages.

Lisa agreed that the programme had helped her to understand what she could do to help her child with reading:

> It's really helpful for me so that I have a purpose for reading with him. Prior to that it was just like I'll read, but not really knowing how to support him in reading. Yeah, so it's been really helpful to have the Pause Prompt Praise programme to support me in helping him to read. It gives me pointers on what to look for whilst he's reading, and during the reading, and how to help him to self-correct, to gain meaning from the text.

Taking the opportunity to connect with the school

The three parents who were interviewed about their learning through these processes were unanimous in their sincere appreciation of the opportunity that Chris and the school had provided them with by inviting them to participate in Pause Prompt Praise. They understood the commitment the school had made in providing the in-school reading tutors and saw very clearly how they could connect with what the school was doing by contributing to the shared goal of accelerating their children's reading progress by also helping at home. The potential of interventions to accelerate learning when they are simultaneously implemented in both the home and school setting is an important finding that is discussed in the school leadership BES (Alton-Lee et al, 2009).

Te Orohi reflected on her son's progress and the support he had been given:

> Oh, his reading teacher's been absolutely marvellous, she's just done a great job with him. The things that were missing were the strategies but with her support and the strategies that she's introducing to him, it's been great, he's learning.

Similarly, Lisa was very appreciative of the school's ongoing support to her when she was learning of the reading tutoring strategies herself:

> It was helpful to be able to record our reading session and send it back to the school so that it can be analysed and then feedback was provided for myself in how to further support his reading. Any feedback is helpful – yeah, it's all to do with helping him and me. It's a two-way thing, with the school so that they know what's happening at home as well.

This reflection from Lisa about the usefulness of the feedback that we provided was affirming given how concerned we were about regularity of the feedback.

Encouraging other whānau to work with the school around Pause Prompt Praise

All three parents felt that it was important that they shared their experiences of engaging with both the school and Pause Prompt Praise with other whānau and with the wider community. They considered this sharing, in terms of the video clips they contributed to, as a means of endorsement whereby they could describe what they did, how they found the process and, most importantly, they could explain the benefits their children and they themselves had received as a result of their engagement. Lisa encouraged other parents to become involved if they were provided with the opportunity:

> For any other person wanting to improve their children's reading I would encourage them to take up, to do their own research as well but don't be afraid to ask their teachers or the schools for support, to develop their understanding of how they can help their children. And to not be shy, I know that's a hard thing because some people are inherently shy about doing that. But consider the needs of their child first and you know as a parent if you genuinely want to help them, sometimes we have to step out of our comfort zones too. Yeah and do what you have to do for them because we have to.

Lisa connected this experience to the idea of being an advocate for her child:

> We have to act for our children sometimes when they can't act for themselves, or they don't even know how to ask for the support. So, we have to be, we have to take the lead on that.

Alby was also keen to highlight the opportunity that this process provided for men to become involved in their children's learning and strengthen their connections:

> Particularly fathers, brothers whatever, I'd definitely encourage males to get on board with it. It's huge bonding sessions too because, like I said, our sessions have gone from me telling him what he should be doing to us now engaging really, really well. So in regards to bonding it's huge, it's absolutely awesome. We wind it down at the end of the day. Yeah, we do have a minimum of three nights a week that we'll do this and it's really enjoyable.

As a result of her engagement with Pause Prompt Praise, Te Orohi saw potential in expanding the intervention beyond the school and into the wider Māori community. She recommended that Pause Prompt Praise be introduced in community contexts such as marae:

> I would like to see these techniques actually be taken out onto the marae and that communities are given the opportunity to participate. I think that the place particularly for Māori students, if we're honestly looking at Māori achievements and looking at how do we overcome those terrible statistics that we have for Māori failure, then as a community we all have to take responsibility for that it's not just the school. This technique is so easy and it can be enjoyable, and I've been really fortunate that the support from the school has been huge and has helped.

Observed improvements in their children

At the time that the interviews were undertaken these parents had not received analysed results in the form of quantitative achievement data regarding their children's reading progress. In the absence of this evidence, however, the two mothers in particular attributed an increased sense of confidence in their children as a result of the Pause Prompt Praise tutoring that they were receiving. Te Orohi commented that this improvement in confidence engendered self-belief that her son could read successfully:

> He's learning and his confidence has picked up as well. He's a really confident boy he knows now that he can answer questions, I mean when he did his first test he said "it was hopeless Mum, hopeless". He said "I didn't even answer the questions Mum, I didn't even know what they were saying". But now he can answer questions. That is what I consider to be success. I don't care that he doesn't get 100% or 90% or 85% I care that he now knows how to answer the questions because now he can actually read the questions.

With this reflection Te Orohi reinforced how important it is for schools to demystify the reading process by sharing these strategies and thus sharing power with whānau. Te Orohi was so delighted that the intervention had enabled her to support her son, whose first language is te reo Māori, to gain access to, understand and complete assessment requirements that were written in English. This is after all, his right and the right of all, under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Similarly, Lisa highlighted shifts in her sons' confidence and also his ability to work more effectively to process unknown words in his reading:

> He's reading more confidently. Previously he didn't have the confidence to read but as his knowledge of sounding out words and learning to break them down to work out how to pronounce them has developed, his confidence has developed too. So yes, he's more willing to read now, still some reluctance sometimes but that's just because of other distractions.

These conversations provided a valuable opportunity for these three parents and me to reflect on what we had done, make sense of these experiences and then share our learning. While these narratives of experience painted a rich qualitative picture of some of the Pause Prompt Praise outcomes, as mentioned earlier, I was also interested in ascertaining the quantitative impact of the intervention on the reading achievement levels of the students, including the boys who had been tutored by their whānau. The next section reports on the quantitative analysis across the data that were collected in 2013.

Quantitative findings

Undertaking the quantitative analysis

Noreen and the school had overall responsibility for tracking and monitoring the progress of the students who received any literacy interventions outside of the classroom curriculum programmes. These tracking and monitoring processes involved the in-school reading tutors administering the diagnostic reading assessment with each student at three specific points during the year. The first assessment was undertaken at the beginning of 2013 between February and March and constituted the baseline for students entering the programme. The second assessment was administered in the middle of the year between June and July and the third assessment was administered in the fourth school term, at the end of the year between November and December.

At the conclusion of 2013, Noreen emailed me the assessment outcomes for all of the 58 students who received Pause Prompt Praise tutoring at school, for each of the three assessment points during the year. In this group of 58, there were 41 students whose parents did not receive the Pause Prompt Praise professional learning and development so therefore, I understood that these students did receive tutoring at school but were unlikely to be receiving tutoring at home. I wanted to ascertain whether or not there was a difference between their reading achievement outcomes and the outcomes of the 17 students whose whānau did receive Pause Prompt Praise professional development and did undertake tutoring at home. I hoped that this comparative

analysis would provide me with a quantitative perspective of the impact of the whānau tutoring that 17 students had received at home.

The 58 students were consequently divided into two groups. I called the group of 41 students the School-only group and the group of 17 students the Whānau-School group.

Student outcomes

As explained in Chapter 4 the reading ages of every student were converted to an attributed numerical value and then the average attributed numerical values across each group was calculated. Additionally, *p* values were used to ascertain if the intervention had a statistically significant impact. This data is presented in Table 3 below.

Group	N	Ass 1	Ass 2	p	Effect size
School-only	41	10.34	13.90	<0.00	0.98
Whānau-School	17	10.59	15.47	<0.00	1.31

Table 3: Comparative analysis between Assessment 1 and Assessment 2

Prior to the Pause Prompt Praise intervention, the School-only group had an average attributed numerical value of 10.34 and the Whānau-School group had an average attributed numerical value of 10.59. Therefore, both groups entered the intervention with a similar average attributed numerical value. However, after four months the School-only group had increased their average attributed numerical value to 13.90 while the Whānau-School group had increased their average attributed numerical value to 15.47. Given that the *p* value for both groups was 0.00 (less than 0.05), the increase for both groups was statistically significant. In terms of effect sizes, the School-only group had an effect size increase of 0.98 and the Whānau-School group had an effect size increase of 1.31. While both effect size increases were large, the Whānau-School group showed a greater increase.

Assessment three was undertaken between November and December after eight to nine months of intervention. As with the previous assessments the reading age from Assessment three was converted to attributed numerical values and these were averaged across each group respectively. The comparative analysis between Assessment two and Assessment three is presented in Table 4 below.

Group	N	Ass 2	Ass 3	p	Effect size
School-only	41	13.90	16.15	<0.00	0.50
Whānau-School	17	15.47	18.06	<0.00	0.52

Table 4: Comparative analysis between Assessment 2 and Assessment 3

These results indicate that after eight to nine months of intervention the School-only group increased their average attributed numerical value from 13.90 to 16.15, while the Whānau-School group increased their average attributed numerical value from 15.47 to 18.06. In both instances the *p* value was 0.00 so again, both shifts were statistically significant. The effect size increase for the School-only group was 0.50 and with an effect size of 0.52 the Whānau-School group increase was slightly larger.

In order to understand the impact of the intervention for both groups across the three terms it was necessary to do a comparative analysis of Assessment one and Assessment three. These statistics are detailed in Table 5 below.

Group	n	Ass 1	Ass 3	p	Effect size
School-only	41	10.34	16.15	<0.00	1.39
Whānau-School	17	10.59	18.06	<0.00	1.75

Table 5: Comparative analysis between Assessment 1 and Assessment 3

The School-only group increased their average attributed numerical value of 10.34 in Assessment one to 16.15 in Assessment three while the Whānau-School group increased their average attributed numerical value of 10.59 in Assessment one to 18.06 in Assessment three. Again, the *p* value for both groups was 0.00 and therefore statistically significant. The effect size increase for the School-only group was 1.39 and the effect size increase for the Whānau-School group was 1.75.

While the effect size increase of both groups was large and therefore positive, the comparative analyses at both Assessment two (in the third term) and Assessment three (in the fourth term) indicated that the Whānau-School group effect size increase was greater than the School-only group. Given that both groups started with a very similar averaged, attributed numerical value these outcomes could suggest that the professional development and support that the whānau tutors received had an increased positive impact on the reading achievement of their children. While the advantage for the Whānau-School intervention is consistent with the research in the school leadership BES (Alton-Lee et al, 2009), in order to have greater confidence that the Pause Prompt Praise professional development that the Whānau-School group received did cause the higher effect size, the intervention and analysis would benefit from ongoing testing and with greater numbers of participants.

While we were not necessarily surprised by these affirming quantitative outcomes, as they align with previous, similar studies, they do provide an interesting point of reflection. As mentioned

earlier, owing to a range of factors we were unable to maintain the momentum that had started at the initial whānau professional development hui in terms of providing timely and coordinated feedback and feed-forward to all of the whānau tutors. When we consider that the vast majority of whānau did not receive any feedback and feed-forward support and the whānau who did access the support received a fairly minimal amount, we were left pondering what the effect size increases might have been if we had been able to activate the feedback and feed-forward support across greater numbers of whānau in a more coordinated way. Encouraged by the positive outcomes, these reflections informed planning for the intervention could be repeated in the next year.

The next section briefly describes the report that details the school's most recent ERO review that was undertaken at Rotorua Boys' High School's in 2015. As in the previous case, the report provides an external perspective of the school and the changes that have been implemented since 2010.

ERO report

Rotorua Boys' High School's most recent ERO review report was completed in 2015 (ERO, 2015). The review summarised leadership and teaching practice and provided an analysis of student achievement data from 2014.

The ERO report noted the school's rich historical links to local iwi and identified that students had a strong sense of belonging and experienced success. This success was quantified in the report by the high rates of achievement in the junior school and in the senior school, the overall achievement in NCEA was well above national comparisons and averages for similar schools in 2014. The report specified that Te Kotahitanga underpinned quality teaching at the school and that achievement had steadily improved since 2012. Importantly the report identified that Māori students made up 66% of the school demographic and that achievement between Māori and non-Māori was comparable, signalling that disparities were not significant. The use of Te Arawa te reo Māori and tikanga were notable characteristics of effective teaching strategies and the report also made reference to the point that the schoolwide achievement data showed that the vast majority of students made significant progress during their time at the school.

Summary

The narratives of experience of three Māori parents were triangulated and common themes were identified and summarised. All three parents felt their experiences of becoming Pause Prompt Praise reading tutors had been an extremely positive experience and they felt that their sons' confidence and reading were improving as a result of the support that they were receiving. The quantitative analysis confirms that the reading levels of all of boys who received Pause Prompt Praise tutoring at school did indeed significantly improve and that the boys whose whānau had received tutoring professional development had a greater level of improvement than boys whose whānau did not receive the professional development. At each point in this research there was determined collaboration between parties to strengthen whānau-school connections and improve literacy outcomes for Māori students. Initially the collaboration was between the school and me. The learning that we engaged in enabled us to collaborate so that whānau could become Pause Prompt Praise tutors and this facilitated a tutor and tutee collaboration to be enacted between the parents and their children. The ERO report also verified that strong historical and contemporary connections characterised the relationship between the school and Te Arawa, particularly Ngāti Whakaue and that the collaboration between the school and Te Kotahitanga had strengthened teaching practice which corresponded with improved levels of education success for Māori students.

The next chapter discusses the findings that have emerged from all four chapters in these case studies.

Chapter 9: Recognising intergenerational, Māori potential

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini

I come not with my own strengths but bring with me the gifts, talents and strengths of my family, tribe and ancestors.

Introduction

The whakataukī that opens this chapter acknowledges the intergenerational potential of whānau, inherent in individuals. Sue and Chris, explicitly recognised the connections between generations of Māori whānau in each of their communities and greatly valued the associated histories and knowledge associated with the whakapapa of mana whenua. The meaning of this proverb therefore resonates with this chapter which discusses the findings that emerged from both case studies.

The chapter begins by restating the purpose of this doctoral research and reconnecting with each of the research communities. It discusses similarities in Sue and Chris' leadership praxis with regard to their collaboration with mana whenua and then discusses these similarities in relation to critical theory and the other literature that was reviewed. It also discusses the differences that were identified in each of the research settings and summarises these findings.

Reconnecting with the research communities

This doctoral research sought to understand how school leaders can develop more effective connections with Māori whānau and communities in order to facilitate educational success for Māori students. It examines the leadership of two Pākehā principals. Sue Horne was the principal of Maungatapu Primary School, an urban state primary school that offered English-medium and Māori-medium (bilingual) education. Chris Grinter was the principal of Rotorua Boys' High School, a boys' secondary school which offered both English-medium and Māori-medium (bilingual) education. Culturally responsive methodologies guided this research which incorporated case study and mixed methods. Interview data was triangulated with a range of documents (including historical documents). In the case of Rotorua Boys' High School, a quantitative analysis of student achievement data was also included.

Maungatapu Primary School

A range of published and unpublished sources were analysed and interview data was gathered to understand the historical context of Maungatapu Primary School and, in turn, the foundational relationship between the school and the local mana whenua. The interviews with Sue, her leadership team and Māori whānau and community members identified a range of practices that facilitated effective connections between the school and the Māori community. These practices were considered alongside school documents that reflected the school's commitment to ensure that: the authentic Māori history of the area and the status of the local hapū was clearly understood; their ways of knowing and being were valued and that there were opportunities for hapū to determine and contribute to decision making within the school.

Maungatapu Primary School's most recent ERO report was also analysed to provide an external perspective of the experiences and outcomes of Māori students in 2017. This report confirmed that: the culture, language and identity of Māori students in the rumaki unit of the school was being effectively fostered; relationships between the unit and the Māori community had been strengthened; and that this had contributed to improved levels of achievement for these students. In the English-medium area of the school the ERO report identified that learning partnerships between the parents and the school needed to be improved and that achievement disparities indicated that Māori students did not achieve as well as their Pākehā peers.

Rotorua Boys' High School

At Rotorua Boys' High School an analysis of historical documents was triangulated alongside interview data that was gathered from Chris, a fellow senior leader and a Māori parent. The analysis presented practices that had been developed as a result of the school's engagement in the schoolwide reform project - Phase 5 Te Kotahitanga, and the impact of these practices was explained from different perspectives. Interview data was also gathered from three Māori parents who had engaged in the Pause Prompt Praise reading tutoring programme, an intervention that specifically focused on strengthening whānau-school connections and improving reading achievement for a group of learners whose reading achievement needed to be accelerated.

An analysis of Rotorua Boys' High School's most recent ERO review report was also included in the data triangulation. The report detailed that in 2015: there were strong links between the school and the local iwi; boys had a strong sense of belonging; Māori boys experienced high levels of academic success; and, in terms of this academic success, Māori boys' performance

in relation to Pākehā boys was comparable. Additionally, the Māori parents who engaged in Pause Prompt Praise reading tutoring programme shared how much they appreciated the opportunity to be included in a learning intervention that enabled them to support their children by improving their child's confidence and ability to read. A quantitative analysis of the students' reading achievement data did indeed, show statistically significant improvements in their children's reading levels. Furthermore, the comparative analysis also showed that the group of students whose parents had received professional development to tutor their children had greater levels of achievement than students whose parents had not.

Making sense of the findings across both communities

The schools were purposively selected based on my relational connections with both principals and more specifically my awareness that they both worked in determined ways to develop and maintain strong connections with their respective Māori whānau and communities. The analysis of the findings in each school setting revealed that there were some similarities between the theorising of both principals with regard to developing and maintaining connections with their Māori whānau and communities. Additionally, there were some similar practices that were enacted by these leaders in their school and community settings. The analysis also showed that there were some different practices that were implemented, specifically at Rotorua Boys' High School. These differences will be considered later in this discussion. The next section presents the aspects of Sue and Chris' leadership praxis that were similar.

Similarities in leadership praxis

Three themes emerged from the comparative analysis of Sue and Chris' leadership praxis. Both principals recognised the pre-colonial histories of Māori through the understandings that they had developed from their mana whenua. Based on this recognition, they had both reconceptualised leadership in order to prioritise respectful relationships with their respective mana whenua communities. These relationships served to develop new practices to strengthen connections between the school and the mana whenua in order to improve experiences and outcomes for all Māori students. The ongoing development and maintenance of relationships was important for both leaders who prioritised time to engage in regular and meaningful interactions with their wider Māori whānau and community members. These interactions sought to honour and benefit from the contribution that Māori whānau, hapū and iwi made to learning in the school.

While the themes are described here in a linear sequence, it is important to recognise that they are interconnected and interdependent. It is therefore more useful to think of them in a cyclical way, like the circular model of critical theory described by G. Smith (1999) earlier. This model is appropriate given that the three themes identified through discussions with the research participants share synergies with the three components from critical theory of conscientisation, resistance, and transformative praxis. How these themes are representative of the three components will be explained in each section.

Recognising the pre-colonial history of Māori through mana whenua

History has been a central theme throughout this research. The positionality statement in Chapter 2 described my own experience of education in Aotearoa in the 1970s through to the 1990s and specifically detailed how the curriculum that I experienced made the authentic Māori history invisible and promoted historical European themes such as Medieval England and St Patrick's day. The literature that was examined explained how European history has maintained dominance by continually overpowering, re-storying or erasing Māori histories. This was achieved through the utilisation of the principles of the Doctrine of Discovery by Europeans and the subsequent determined colonisation that characterised early European settlement in Aotearoa.

Despite the pervasive influence of the Doctrine of Discovery and the associated colonising ideologies, in their roles as principals, Sue and Chris had prioritised time to learn about the authentic histories and traditions of the mana whenua, from the people themselves, in their respective school communities. Māori participants in both case studies made specific reference to their principal's determined efforts to engage with and learn from mana whenua and this in turn reinforced the communities' willingness to work with these leaders. Their children benefitted directly from the work that ensued and again this strengthened their reciprocal relationships. The documents analysed from both schools also referenced the historical importance of Māori in the regional areas within which the schools were established.

Understanding mana whenua history and worldviews

As a result of positioning themselves as learners in their Māori communities, both Sue and Chris had come to recognise the important historical status that Māori have as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa and critically, the unique position that mana whenua occupy in their local school communities as the traditional guardians of the land. They also came to realise the extent to which the important relationship between mana whenua and the school had been treated

fairly or honourably. In directing their leadership practice, it appears that this moral imperative underpins the responsibility that both leaders demonstrate. Sue had complemented her personal research of historical documents with ongoing conversations with Māori elders and other knowledgeable hapū members in her community. Similarly, Chris had also familiarised himself with a wide variety of historical evidence and had continued to learn about the history of Rotorua iwi from a range of people who whakapapa to Te Arawa, including most notably the students who attended his school, many of whom return to the school as teachers.

Both principals understood from their research, the whakapapa which linked the waka, iwi and hapū with the land upon which their respective schools are located. They also understood that prior to colonisation the mana whenua drew from mātauranga Māori to successfully sustain themselves on the land. Furthermore, these leaders learned from the authentic narratives that capture the unique identity and potential of the mana whenua.

Through the determined learning that Sue and Chris had engaged in with their Māori communities, both principals had become deeply conscientised to Māori and more specifically, mana whenua views of the world. Critically this conscientisation meant that both principals were able to see beyond monocultural, Pākehā conceptualisations of Māori in the colonial world and the pervasive pathologising that has subsequently begun to dominate.

Given that both Sue and Chris are Pākehā and thus members of the dominant cultural group in Aotearoa, their willingness to recognise, prioritise, utilise and thus legitimise Māori views of the world is notable. In adopting a position that actually sees and genuinely values the pre-colonial history of Māori people, both leaders have consciously rejected ideologies inherent in the Doctrine of Discovery and colonisation that continue to underpin the fabric of our contemporary society.

While neither Sue or Chris spoke specifically about rejecting the Doctrine of Discovery and colonisation, they did talk about the determined effort it takes to make changes so that the historical and thus contemporary importance of mana whenua can be recognised. They also discussed the discomfort that is associated with making such changes when much of the population in their own communities and indeed across Aotearoa, are not conscious to the pervasive and ongoing implications of colonisation.

Importantly, both principals understood that as Pākehā they have cultural privilege and as leaders they have positional power to sustain the social reproduction of intergenerational

disparity of Māori students or they can reconstruct a new and different status quo. They consequently recognised that in taking a position that embraces Māori pre-colonial history and the associated traditions, they are taking a position that is different by opening up potential solutions. This repositioning is fundamentally the enactment of critical consciousness because both principals understand the social, cultural and political implications of colonial history and have consequently undertaken actions to push back on the perpetuation of colonial domination. L. Smith (2012), Khalifa et al. (2018) and Murfitt (2019) would also recognise this approach to leadership as being decolonising.

In the endeavour to understand how school leaders can develop connections with Māori whānau and communities that facilitate educational success for Māori students, the point that both of these principals recognise and value the pre-colonial histories of mana whenua in their school communities is an important finding. Understanding the pre-colonial histories of their mana whenua had symbiotically enabled these principals to better understand mana whenua views of the world. This enhanced understanding led to greater respect and utilisation of these views in their schools, which suggests that there is an important interrelationship between these two phenomena.

The literature that was examined for this doctoral research did reference the work of scholars from Aotearoa who over many decades have promoted the importance of educators understanding Māori cultural views and sense-making if the underachievement of Māori students is to be addressed. As examples, Walker (1973) proposed in the 1970s that Pākehā teacher's single cultural frame of reference meant that they ignored Māori culture. In the 1990s, G. Smith (1991) also drew a connection between the Māori cultural principles that underpinned kaupapa Māori education and the success that Māori students experience in these settings. He then suggested wider application of kaupapa Māori principles in other education settings be considered and based on their research Bishop et al. (2003) concurred with this suggestion.

More recently, the six conceptual themes for effective engagement of Māori whānau and communities identified by Tahuri (2007) reflect traditional Māori ways of being and both Anderson (2018) and Murfitt (2019) also found that disparities between Māori and non-Māori students had been reduced when, (amongst other practices) principals respected and privileged Māori epistemologies and ontologies. Additionally, the importance of recognising indigenous epistemologies and ontologies was identified within the five strands of indigenous,

decolonising, school leadership that Khalifa et al. (2018) deduced from their review of international literature.

While the point about the importance of recognising Māori cultural ways of knowing and being, has been made for nearly half a century in Aotearoa, less reference has been made to the importance of understanding the pre-colonial history of Māori, from mana whenua themselves. In her description of mana whenua, Tahuri (2007) did explain that they have important foundational whakapapa links to the land, but specific reference to their lived history prior to the arrival of Europeans is not made. Time is acknowledged by Sullivan (1994) who in his description of biculturalism, posits the need to recognise that Māori were the first inhabitants of Aotearoa and to recognise that they have experienced over a century and a half of cultural domination. Again however, there is little acknowledgement of the importance of respectfully knowing the authentic history of Māori in the period of time prior to their arrival in Aotearoa or of the period of time between their arrival and the onset of Pākehā cultural domination. Rather, we have largely had the interpretations of non-Māori researchers upon which to base our beliefs and understandings, much of which, such as the migration drift theory, reinforced the view that early Māori lacked intelligence. Views such as these however, have ultimately been proven to be false.

While there is still a paucity of authentic kaupapa Māori writers in this field, their numbers are increasing. Therefore, the historical literature examined in this doctorate, attempted to draw from both Māori and non-Māori historians to explain how mātauranga Māori shaped epistemologies and ontologies of ancient Māori civilisations. These philosophies guided generations of Māori and enabled them to masterfully navigate Te Moana nui a Kiwa and establish sophisticated and thriving tribal communities in Aotearoa approximately 800 years before the arrival of the first Europeans. The early European settlers were welcomed by highly diplomatic, diverse and dynamic people who were socially, politically and economically astute. The literature review also described how the Doctrine of Discovery imported ideologies of racism, white supremacy, Christianisation, civilisation and Māori degradation and that this was followed by decades of colonial assimilation. Consistent with colonisation in other lands, these imported philosophies enabled colonisers to spawn and cultivate their own narratives that soon overpowered, invalidated and pathologised Māori history and the people who lived it. The colonisers replaced Māori history with their own stories that reified their knowledge and the inferred superior status of the people they descended from. As Jackson (2019) explained these ‘mythtakes’ continue to uphold a colonised frame of reference that is unchallenged and

maintained if people do not develop the critical consciousness it takes to recognise different, but legitimate indigenous stories of history.

There is merit therefore, in considering the proposition that understanding pre-colonial Māori history is a critical prerequisite to understanding Māori views of the world, for how can you do one honourably without the other? If educators, either consciously or unconsciously draw only from colonised perceptions of history, that is either oblivious to Māori history or views Māori history in deficit terms, it is unlikely that they will see any positive potential in genuinely understanding or engaging with Māori cultural knowledge and people, beyond superficial exoticism or tokenistic responses.

The critical consciousness that Sue and Chris had developed about the pre-colonial history of mana whenua and the subsequent colonisation of Aotearoa, had enabled them to accept their moral responsibilities, to lead their schools in relational ways that honour the history and status of their mana whenua. Furthermore, they understand that mana whenua guardianship of the land includes the responsibility to take care of Māori who are not mana whenua as well as non-Māori Treaty partners (Pākehā and Tauiwi). Sue and Chris' relationships with mana whenua therefore, meant that they were supported and guided to uphold their obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi and engage in honourable relationships and reflected mana ōrite (equality) with all, Māori and non-Māori, in their communities.

Through the relationships that both principals developed with Māori communities, they saw with greater clarity how their schools were socially constructed to reflect and reinforce dominant Pākehā epistemologies and ontologies. This in turned helped them to understand how they might deconstruct this social and cultural dominance and work with mana whenua to reconstruct more equitable and thus honourable social and cultural contexts for learning. This conscious decision to reposition themselves outside of this dominant colonial status quo involved the reconceptualisation of how they thought about leadership and subsequently influenced the development of practices that sought to resist the perpetuation of colonisation.

Reconceptualisation and resistance

As noted above, since Sue and Chris began as principals in these schools, the mana whenua and therefore, also the ancestors from whom they descend, have been psychologically present in their consciousness and also physically present in their relationships and interactions. Furthermore, both principals deeply understand the inseparability of the people (past and

present) and the land, by which mana whenua maintain their connections and responsibilities to Papatūānuku, the earth mother and to all of her children and their children.

This conscientisation to the cultural significance of the land on which their school and communities are located from mana whenua, prompted Sue and Chris to lead 'with,' as opposed to leading 'in isolation from' their Māori communities. As they worked to develop their understandings of authentic tribal histories they recognised the importance of this local knowledge-base, often referred to as mana whenuatanga. In essence each principal stopped practices that enabled the Māori community and their knowledge to be ignored and invisible. This determined resistance influenced both principals to consciously create opportunities to have mana whenua more physically present, in leadership roles, in their schools and mana whenua willingly accepted the opportunities that were offered. The principals also sought out determined opportunities for themselves and their staff to be more physically present in mana whenua community settings such as their marae. These acts of going out of their traditional school settings to engage with mana whenua and whānau in traditional Māori cultural settings, and on mana whenua terms, represents a disruption to the status quo of expecting Māori to engage in school defined contexts. Some might even view these practices as acts of resistance given that they disrupt the dominant Pākehā power structures to promote more equitable bicultural relationships within which power can be shared between Treaty partners. There were common examples of how this consciousness played out in practice across both schools.

Mana whenua led professional learning and development

Providing regular opportunities for mana whenua to lead the professional learning and development of staff was an example of leadership that was identified by both principals and by most research participants, as being an important means of strengthening connections between the Māori communities and the schools. Sue and Chris prioritised this professional learning and development for staff by ensuring that there was committed resourcing to meet mana whenua expenses and that there was sufficient time in terms of committing dedicated teacher only days. Their respective Boards of Trustees were aware of and approved budget allocations for these expenses and the purposes of the teacher only days were made clear to their wider communities as families needed to make alterative care arrangements for their children on these days. Both leaders have been very clear and transparent about their commitment to mana whenua led professional learning and development for themselves and staff over many years and their ongoing prioritisation of this learning demonstrated their

personal, professional and public commitment to the epistemologies and ontologies of their local iwi.

These professional learning and development opportunities provided mana whenua with an important platform to demonstrate their cultural status as the traditional guardians of the land and to disseminate their tribal histories, values, beliefs and aspirations on their own terms. Mana whenua in both school settings were not directed by Sue and Chris regarding how they led staff professional development. In both settings however, mana whenua over many years have offered opportunities for staff and students to learn about their tribal histories in order to understand the seamlessness and potential between the past and present. This learning also provided opportunities to consider what could happen in the future, or more specifically how staff in their roles as administrators, teachers, middle and senior leaders might contribute to and more positively influence the future of Māori students, and all students, based on the past and future aspirations of their Māori communities.

Importantly, by examining the past and the potential of the future from the perspective of mana whenua, these professional learning and development days created the conditions for staff to also begin to be conscientised to the pre-colonial history of local Māori. While these learning experiences did provide historical insight, in order to develop more critical levels of consciousness, learners need to be challenged to move beyond reified knowledge in the form of geography and history lessons. The development of critical consciousness requires learners to examine these historical places, people and events, alongside the origins of their own deeply rooted values and beliefs and to unlearn the conscious and unconscious patterns of thinking and practice that were born out of the Doctrine of Discovery and other tools of colonisation. It is clear that the reification and perpetuation of largely, one people's view of history has compromised the potential for widespread and deeply transformative action in our nation. However, there is a risk that a more accurate and balanced view of our history, without the challenge to activate critical consciousness and disrupt the long term pathologising of Māori, will compromise it as well. This contention will be returned to later in the discussion.

It is important to remember that these professional learning and development opportunities are not one-off transactions to tick a compliance box. In contrast, these mana whenua led professional learning and development opportunities are carefully planned and have been incrementally and iteratively implemented over many years in both school settings. As well as not being one-off events, notably this professional learning and development has not happened

in isolation from other determined efforts to strengthen connections with their Māori whānau and communities. Both Sue and Chris have complemented this professional learning and development with other practices that have supported them to weave mana whenuatanga into the very fabric of their schools' strategic direction through planning and policies.

Weaving mana whenuatanga into the fabric of the school.

Pōwhiri are important institutions that are now routinely prioritised in both schools. Māori participants from Maungatapu and Rotorua noted that pōwhiri in particular were not tick box exercises but were genuine, cultural rituals of encounter. Importantly these rituals in both school contexts were grounded in mana whenua determined tikanga and were largely led by the mana whenua themselves.

The point about pōwhiri being a special place to acknowledge the past and consider the future was specifically made by Justine from Rotorua Boys' High School. She explained that during the pōwhiri new students entering the school could hear exemplary examples of whaikōrero about the opportunities that boys could pursue in the future, while looking from the ground, up towards the senior students sitting on the chairs with their prefect medals shining. She described the metaphorical, aspirational pathway that the pōwhiri made visible for all who were present. This demonstrates how important cultural constructs and metaphors that are understood and defined by Māori, are led by mana whenua in these schools and prioritised by the school leaders to welcome all students, whānau and teachers into these schools.

Another important point made by Māori participants from Maungatapu and Sue, was that pōwhiri ensured that mana whenua were, in their rightful roles as the original guardians of the land, the people who welcomed the manuhiri to their land. In this sense rather than standing out as the leaders of the schools, the principals position themselves as part of the collective, with the mana whenua as the welcoming hosts. This indicated that the leaders deeply, rather than superficially, understood that while formal welcome is an important function of pōwhiri, these rituals are critical opportunities for mana whenua to assert and reassert their right to determine the tikanga and themselves to all present.

Mana whenua representation on the Boards of Trustees was also a common finding across both schools. As has been discussed, Tomorrow's Schools introduced community elected Boards of Trustees to work alongside school leaders and provide governance. While the intention was to strengthen community involvement in school, the positionality statement which detailed my own experiences of being on Boards of Trustees and literature referred to from McKinley (2002)

and the Ministry of Education (2019) confirmed that Māori were not well represented on English-medium school boards. There is no mandated expectation that school leaders seek out Māori or mana whenua representation on Boards of Trustees. This means that every three years the possibility of mana whenua perspectives being elected to be represented at the governance level of the school is left largely to chance, unless school leaders prioritise and find ways to ensure that these voices are indeed there.

At Maungatapu the establishment of the hapū position on the Board of Trustees had preceded Sue's principalship but she had worked in determined ways with her Māori community to elevate the status of this position and ensure that mana whenua perspectives were strongly represented at governance level. Likewise, the enduring legacy of Henry Taiporutu Te Mapu-O-Te Rangi Mitchell, as one of the founding members of the Board of Governors of Rotorua Boys' High School, was well understood by Chris. He had endeavoured to maintain a strong mana whenua-board connection on his Board of Trustees by actively encouraging Māori and mana whenua members of the community to stand for election.

In both schools, pōwhiri, marae-based hui and mana whenua representation on the Boards of Trustees provide important, determined opportunities within which kanohi kitea can be experienced between mana whenua and school leadership. There are also other means by which both leaders promote the visibility of mana whenua, to infuse both their histories and their contemporary profile into the consciousness of staff and students who are not mana whenua and in their wider communities.

At Maungatapu Primary School visibility of mana whenua is reflected in the ongoing development of the school's curriculum that is a determined collaboration between the school and the Māori community. Regular school trips to sites of cultural significance, led by mana whenua, reiterate history. An important example of this has been mana whenua support and significant contribution to conservation education so that the responsibility for looking after the local environment and thus the local people, is both led and spread by mana whenua. Mana whenua location, within such acts of proactive social action in the contemporary context of the community, is important as this mitigates the risk that a concentrated focus on history might impede the opportunity for people to recognise the effectiveness, relevance and importance of their contribution today.

Again, this acknowledgement and valuing of Māori, as intelligent scientific contributors to environmental management, sits in opposition to stereotypical representations of Māori

capabilities. Too often the media promote Māori within negative social actions or focus on Māori capability as being almost exclusively located in the fields of sport or cultural performing arts (Matthews, 2018; Taonui, 2010). This in turns perpetuates a mythical and patronising perception of Māori as savage warriors and exotic others. While Sue and Chris certainly promote and embrace the physical and artistic competencies located within these Māori communities, by creating opportunities for the intellectual contributions of mana whenua to be visible and valued, they are also actively dismantling the stereotypical ideology promoted by the media. Consequently this response represents another determined act of resistance to the status quo.

At Rotorua Boys' High School, despite the façade of the main building resembling features of Victorian architecture, it is impossible to enter further into this environment without noticing the multiple ways that mana whenua are represented in monuments and other forms of iconography. At a superficial level an uninformed observer might deduce that they are indeed in Aotearoa given that much of the imagery is recognisable as being Māori. However, a conversation with school leadership, teachers or the boys and whānau themselves would clarify the distinctly Te Arawa nature of the artefacts and images and the associated stories that explain their whakapapa.

These determined practices to weave mana whenua into the fabric of the school through multiple acts resonate with examples of theorising and practice identified in the literature in support of effective engagement between schools and Māori whānau and communities. As mentioned Tahuri (2007) highlighted the importance of recognising the unique and rightful place of mana whenua as an equal partner. She also detailed the importance of validating Māori tikanga, language, culture and knowledge. Pearson's (2015) research also outlined the need to ensure that Māori were represented on the Board of Trustees and that the curriculum integrated Māori language, culture and history.

In terms of the international literature, Sue and Chris' enactment of leadership are consistent with Khalifa et al's. (2018) five strands of indigenous, decolonising school leadership despite the fact that neither Sue nor Chris are indigenous. Specifically, these practices reflect the prioritisation of self-knowledge and self-reflection to re-centre indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. The second strand is concerned with the enactment of self-determination for community empowerment and includes practices such as recognising the relevance of the indigenous community's historical experiences, supporting their struggle for autonomy and

providing determined opportunities for the community to contribute towards developing and achieving common objectives. The third strand reflects a focus on committing to community voices and values which involves leaders being brokers who draw from the resources located in the community to support the achievement and success of children. Servicing through altruism and spirituality sees leaders recognise and include spirituality in education and enact a form of servant-based leadership that focuses on the well-being of students and the community. The final strand, prioritising collectivism in communication, rejects the authority of individualistic, unidirectional processes for information sharing and instead privileges relational, collectivist approaches and prioritises time for groups of people to engage in sharing thinking, dialogue and decision-making.

The importance of effective relationships, between school leaders and indigenous communities as proposed by Khalifa et al. (2018), is both implicit and explicit in these five strands of indigenous, decolonising leadership. This theme is resonant throughout the literature where indigenous communities believe they are being more effectively served. The prioritisation of relationship building with Māori whānau and community members was also a strong theme that characterised Sue and Chris' leadership. The rationale for these relationships however, went beyond congenial acquaintances. They were purposeful relationships in that they sought to positively change the negative experiences of and outcomes for Māori learners. In this sense, both Sue and Chris were seeking relationships with their Māori whānau and communities that would lead to transformative action.

Seeking relationships for transformative action

In discussing their experiences of developing effective connections between schools and Māori whānau and communities, both Sue and Chris and the vast majority of research participants referenced the importance of developing and maintaining relationships. However, the type of relationships that played out between both leaders and their Māori communities were specific, established at multiple levels and characterised as fostering multiple levels of two-way or bidirectional relational engagement.

Specificity of relationships

Transformation of the enduring colonial legacy of disparity for Māori requires people to engage in reciprocal processes of naming and objecting to the injustices then acting collectively to confront the problem. As detailed earlier, both Sue and Chris recognised the implications of Pākehā privilege for Māori and felt a responsibility to act in ways to address this in order to

improve Māori student's experiences and outcomes. This became the shared kaupapa between themselves and their Māori communities and, what needed to be done to effectively address this kaupapa framed the type of relationships that developed.

Sue talked about the implications of Pākehā culture being dominant in schools and the need to trust and create space and opportunity for alternative, more participatory responses. Chris also recognised that if things were going to improve for Māori learners, schools and systems needed to change and he specifically referenced the need for relationships to focus on potential. A participatory and potential focused approach to relationships with Māori were also consistent observations from participants who described the relational dispositions of both principals. Participants also noted that these principals were very intentional about engaging in ways that were respectful, responsive and upheld the mana of others.

Responsive relationships at multiple levels

In the Maungatapu case study, Marama Furlong and Kathryn recalled that from the time that Sue was appointed, she brought a dynamic to school leadership that was different from what they had previously experienced. Sue valued and sought to form a relationship with the Māori community and this transformed the previous hapū-school relationship from one of incongruence and struggle to one of hope and potential. These oppositional positions represent a shift from a top down, impositional approach to leadership, to an approach that focused on respectfully listening and developing shared understandings, in order to activate a collaborative, agentic response.

Des explained that through listening to and speaking with hapū, Sue had developed an appreciation for the long legacy of strong educationalists represented in the whakapapa of the hapū - both those whom had passed and those who were current and potential contributors. The concept of understanding whakapapa was also picked up by Kiri who talked about the multiple generations of Māori whānau who had attended the school and by Sandra who noted that Sue knew both the immediate whānau and the grandparents of many of the local Māori children. This meant that the ongoing dialogic interactions that Sue had engaged in over many years with the Māori whānau and community, had enabled her to understand and envisage the generational trajectory of local Māori children, through to their parents and grandparents and right back to their tupuna. Having deep knowledge about the whakapapa links of local Māori also stimulated Sue's curiosity and interest to understand the whakapapa of Māori and non-Māori children and whānau who were not mana whenua.

At Rotorua Boys' High School Chris inherited existing relationships between the school and iwi (particularly Ngāti Whakaue), which had their origins in the Endowment of 1881 and Mitchell's influence in the establishment of the school. As well as instituting the practices detailed earlier in this chapter, over the past three decades Chris has demonstrated his commitment to maintain iwi-school relationships by collaborating to establish bilingual education; develop the boarding hostels; implement literacy interventions; and create opportunities for mana whenua to lead professional learning and development.

In entering into Te Kotahitanga Phase 5, Chris sought to engage a pedagogical intervention that would transform the experiences and outcomes of Māori students by supporting teachers to develop caring and learning relationships that were culturally responsive. This involved teachers learning about and valuing the prior knowledge and experiences of Māori students and coming to know them as culturally located learners. Chris and his leadership team also complemented the relational focus in classrooms with a leadership goal to transform relationships with the wider community. This goal centred on providing opportunities for relationships focused on learning and involved the establishment of academic review days as well as the professional learning and development support that I provided so that whānau could implement Pause Prompt Praise reading strategies in their homes.

Bidirectional relationships

Māori participants in both case studies verified, that by prioritising ongoing dialogic engagement at multiple levels, Sue and Chris had come to really know who their Māori communities were. Additionally, these participants felt that they had come to know 'who' each principal was and what was important to them. These reflections from the Māori participants confirm that their relationships with these principals were not distant, or objective but rather the knowledge sharing and sense-making that emerged from these close relationships were two-way and reciprocal in nature. The bidirectional essence of these relationships is important to consider. Professional, non-personal relationships that draw from colonised perceptions of engagement are often unidirectional in the sense that they focus on the school leaders telling whānau, and teachers telling students what they believe they need to know. This means the opportunity for the school leaders and teachers to hear what they might need to know and understand from Māori whānau and students is supressed.

While Des was a key, mana whenua cultural advisor who supported Sue and the wider staff in a range of ways to develop their knowledge-base about local Māori history, he also really

appreciated the opportunity to contribute to the development of the graduate profile for students in the rumaki unit of the school. This enabled him to learn more about the education system as a whole which he found really interesting and he was really pleased that his ability to make a valued contribution at this level of strategic planning was acknowledged. He also noted that this opportunity to have an input was quite different from helping out with school barbeques. Sue's decision to facilitate a restorative hui with a Māori whānau and teachers in order to address hurt that a whānau had experienced as a result of a teacher's practice, was also an example of bidirectional relationships. Sue could have imposed a unidirectional response to the situation and determined that a restorative conversation was not necessary. Given that there were no mechanisms in the education system to support her to create this relational and dialogic context, could suggest that a unidirectional process determined by the school is common. Sue however, resisted imposing a response that shut down the opportunity for whānau to be heard, and instead provided a context that more closely resembled Māori ways of resolving conflict through dialogue, careful listening and shared solution seeking.

The Pause Prompt Praise literacy intervention at Rotorua Boys' High School represented an opportunity to strengthen the interplay between iwi, the school and whānau. Ngāti Whakaue provided funding provision for the school's Pause Prompt Praise reading tutors and in turn the school then provided tutoring training and support for whānau (many of whom could whakapapa to Ngāti Whakaue). In her description of the focus on enhancing Māori cultural practices at Rotorua Boys' High School, Justine also noted the bidirectional enhancement of mana. She explained that the high levels of respect that teachers and leaders demonstrated towards Māori culture gave it mana and as an outcome their own mana was enhanced.

In both schools, relationships with Māori are undertaken in culturally appropriate ways (guided by tikanga) and this has supported the leaders to be conscientised to new ways of learning, and understanding. The bidirectional nature of these relationships shifted the dynamics of the power relationship so that Sue and Chris could be more responsive to their Māori communities and in turn the Māori communities were able to be responsive to them.

Again, there are strong connections between this focus on relationships and the literature. The synergies between the determined relationship building and Khalifa's et al. (2018) five strands of indigenous, decolonising leadership have already been stated. The importance of relational trust was also emphasised in other examples of literature from Aotearoa that were examined (Anderson, 2018; Murfitt, 2019; Pearson, 2015). Tahuri (2007) specifically identified Māori

cultural ways of conceptualising relationships that have relevance to Sue and Chris' practice. These include whakawhanaungatanga - nurturing sustainable relationships and mahi tika which refers to the notion of listening to whānau in order to understand what is right for whānau. Additionally, Tahuri highlighted the importance of ma te katoa te mahi which means shared responsibility and ma te mahi tahi ka ea which involves collaboration that leads to realised potential.

Understanding the similarities in leadership praxis

Another useful way to understand what was happening in these communities is to consider how Sue and Chris' leadership praxis were critical in intent (conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis) and resonate with Jemal's (2017) conceptualisation of transformative potential. Jemal draws from Freire's (2000) critical consciousness to posit transformative potential as a theoretical framework which consists of two dimensions: transformative consciousness and transformative action. Each dimension has three hierarchal levels. The three levels for transformative consciousness are denial, blame and critical, while the three levels for transformative action are destructive, avoidant and critical. Critical consciousness and critical action therefore, "are the highest levels of each dimension and produce the most transformative potential" (p. 2).

In terms of transformative consciousness Sue and Chris' recognition of and respect for the important historical and contemporary status of their mana whenua and their rejection of colonialism represents the antithesis of denial. Similarly, their willingness to accept responsibility to address inequities stands in opposition to the notion of blame. With regard to transformative action, Sue and Chris' institutionalisation of practices that focus on Māori potential and deliberately bring Māori epistemologies, ontologies and people in to their schools are examples of constructive rather than destructive practices. Additionally, ensuring that there are multiple opportunities for them to be visible in Māori community settings and for Māori whānau and community members to be visible in their schools, is also at odds with the notion of avoidant practices.

Based on this summation, one can conclude that Sue and Chris's leadership praxis is indicative of the third and highest levels in both dimensions: critical consciousness and critical action, which produce the most transformative potential. While this analysis does confirm that Sue and Chris were critically conscious about their engagement with their Māori whānau and communities and undertook critical actions to strengthen connections, the degree to which

transformative potential has been realised in each school however, requires further consideration, in light of the experiences and outcomes of Māori students outlined in the most recent ERO reports.

At Maungatapu Primary School the ERO report described a situation in the rumaki unit whereby relationships between the school and whānau had been strengthened, Māori students' cultural identity was being effectively nurtured and they were achieving education success as Māori. Importantly, unlike bilingual units some other English-medium schools, the rumaki unit at Maungatapu Primary School reflects contexts for learning that are underpinned by Māori cultural principles and practices and thus, are decolonised and decolonising in nature. However, in the auraki area of the school the report identified that Māori students are less successful than Pākehā students and that learning partnerships between teachers and whānau need to be improved. Additionally, it is not clear from the ERO report if the culture, language and identity of Māori students are being effectively fostered in the auraki area of the school. It is also important to acknowledge however, that Kiri specifically referenced the healing of intergenerational trauma from colonisation and maintenance of whakapapa lines which Sue played a critical role in was more important than academic outcomes so ERO's analysis should not be considered in isolation from how the Māori community define success.

At Rotorua Boys' High School, the ERO report reflected an analysis of the whole school (both the English-medium and bilingual settings) and detailed strong links with iwi, boys who have a strong sense of belonging, high levels of achievement for Māori boys and levels of achievement comparable to non-Māori which indicates that disparities had been addressed. The comment regarding the strong sense of belonging also indicates that Māori students are achieving education success as Māori, secure in their language, culture and identity in both the English-medium and bilingual settings. Although the principals have transformed the nature of the relationships between the schools and their Māori whānau and communities through similar thinking and practices, the differences in achievement outcomes within these school settings, indicate that there is a difference in the spread of transformative potential that has been realised. These discrepancies in achievement outcomes of Māori students therefore, warrant a closer examination of different theories and practices that were enacted by these two leaders.

Understanding the differences in leadership theories and practices

Both Sue and Chris engaged external expertise to support them to strengthen their connections with their Māori whānau and communities. This included engaging the external expertise of

mana whenua. At Rotorua Boys' High School however, Chris complemented the expertise of mana whenua with the external expertise of Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 from 2010 through to 2013. The combination of simultaneous professional learning and development support from mana whenua and Te Kotahitanga school wide reform, had a considerable impact on Chris' leadership praxis. This meant that Chris had the opportunity to implement and spread practices across his school and staff, that Sue did not.

The Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 reform initiative drew from kaupapa Māori principles and the three components of critical theory to disrupt colonial theories and practice and institute culturally responsive and relational approaches to teaching and leading that were participatory, emancipatory and decolonising. Therefore, Chris and his leadership team were supported by both mana whenua and Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 to raise the critical cultural consciousness of teachers. This conscious raising was then complemented by specific Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 professional learning and development to resist (change) patterns of leadership and pedagogical thinking and practice that were perpetuating inequity and thus sustaining colonising tools and practices.

Drawing from the vision that Mitchell (and Te Arawa) had for Māori boys Chris worked with his Māori community, his fellow leaders and the Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 team to develop a strategy for school reform which he led and participated in. Chris expected and supported all teachers to be fully engaged in this intervention and by 2013 all teachers were receiving (amongst other support) specific feedback and feed-forward regarding the degree to which they were relating with and being responsive to the culture, language and identity of Māori students. Leaders and teachers across all levels of the school were also engaged in regular cycles of professional learning conversations. These conversations focused on Māori potential and teacher agency which meant that deficit theorising about Māori (students, whānau, community) was unacceptable. Importantly these conversations interrogated evidence of experiences and outcomes for Māori students and determined goals to improve Māori student's success were identified. The goals that emerged from these conversations were regularly revisited, evidence was used to understand the impact of practices that had been implemented and new goals were developed to further enhance Māori student success.

The spread of ownership across all levels of leading and teaching facilitated a situation whereby the moral responsibility that drove Chris' leadership was adopted by many of his fellow leaders and teachers. This transformation of leading and teaching practices, including Pause Prompt

Praise professional development for whānau, resulted in the transformation of cultural identity and learning outcomes for Māori students. From 2011 Māori student success improved and continued to increase to the point where disparities between Māori and Pākehā students were no longer evident for ERO in 2015.

Sue's leadership practice clearly showed that she had developed critical levels of consciousness and had sought to enact critical actions. The degree to which this criticality had spread to depth beyond her however is unclear. The marae-based hui and the following wānanga, were examples of important whānau-school connections where the English-medium teachers were not determined participants in the co-construction of knowledge. This meant that the responsibility to understand the aspirations of the Māori community at the level of a graduate profile rested with Sue, the leadership team, the Board of Trustees and the teachers in the rumaki unit. Although the English-medium teachers at Maungatapu were conspicuous by their absence in these hui, the Rotorua Boys' High School experience raises questions about the extent to which critical consciousness and critical action can emerge from mana whenua led professional learning and development in isolation from a strategy that includes professional learning and development that draws from kaupapa Māori and critical theories. While mana whenua at Maungatapu have continually provided opportunities to increase teacher knowledge and understandings of local histories, the extent to which this has disrupted their theorising about Māori learners, and promoted more culturally responsive and relational approaches to teaching and learning that will change embedded patterns of Māori underachievement is less clear.

This analysis of Sue and Chris' leadership praxis has shown, and the literature has confirmed, the importance of school leaders developing interdependent relationships with their Māori communities that enable mana whenua to contribute their epistemologies and ontologies so that they are well understood and authentically represented in schools. The analysis has also shown however, that in order to address achievement inequities and ensure that Māori students are achieving education success as Māori, professional learning and development provided by mana whenua needs to be built upon by determined professional learning and development that draws from kaupapa Māori and critical theories. This is another important finding to emerge from this research as this variable was not identified in the literature that was examined.

The important interplay between kaupapa Māori and critical theories is also clearly represented in this finding. While Sue and Chris both recognised the importance of Māori self-determination and revitalisation, inherent in kaupapa Māori theory, they also recognised that

Māori must lead this and as Pākehā Treaty partners they must take responsibility to ensure spaces and opportunities were created so that this could happen in their schools. Both leaders were culturally and critically conscious and have worked towards transformative change. However, Chris' engagement with a pedagogical professional learning and development reform initiative, that drew from both theoretical frameworks, appears to have provided an additional advantage. It was because of this support that the leadership team were able to spread critical consciousness into the praxis of classroom teachers and transform experiences and outcomes for Māori students. Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 was only available to secondary schools so this critical theoretical support was not an option for Sue and the Māori community of Maungatapu Primary School. The power and potential of critical theory therefore to address the aspirations of Māori whānau and communities and disrupt Māori oppression that has transpired from the intergenerational failure of a colonial education system cannot be underestimated.

Summary

This chapter summarised the similarities between the leadership praxis of Sue and Chris and has identified that understanding and valuing the pre-colonial history of Māori, particularly mana whenua is an important prerequisite for understanding and valuing Māori epistemologies and ontologies. The critical consciousness that Sue and Chris have developed through their engagement with their Māori whānau and communities enabled them to work in determined, interdependent and dialogic ways to strengthen and transform relationships between the Māori communities and the school. Differences between Sue and Chris' leadership praxis were also discussed and the positive potential of complementing the kaupapa Māori theoretical perspective that mana whenua can contribute to school leadership, with determined professional learning and development that draws from critical theory also emerges as an important finding.

The next chapter will discuss the implications of these findings for school leaders, governors, policy makers and teachers to consider.

Chapter 10: Honouring ancestors so that children thrive

Tū mai e moko. Te whakaata o ō mātua. Te moko o ō tupuna - Stand strong, grandchild. The reflection of your parents. The blueprint of your ancestors.

Introduction

This whakataukī frames this chapter because it resonates with themes that have emerged from this research regarding intergenerational whānau connections and the intertwined nature of the past, present and future. This chapter presents the four critical understandings and power relations that enabled Māori whānau and community members to contribute to the improvement and success of Māori students in these schools. It discusses each critical understanding and highlights the implications for people involved in education, particularly school leaders who want to work in interdependent ways with Māori communities to enact critical school reform, and strengthen equity. It presents the current colonial model of education and a decolonising model of critical school reform with a framework for implementation and evaluation.

Te ao Māori epistemologies and ontologies

The critical importance of school leaders recognising and respecting te ao Māori, as determined acts of leadership are foundational to this research. This understanding is important because our fundamental beliefs influence how we engage with the world, and this engagement includes how we relate to, interact with and respond to people.

Walker's (1973) concerns in the 1970s that Pākehā teachers' single, cultural frame of reference prevented them from understanding and responding to Māori students effectively has continued through the decades. This was evidenced in 2018, by the previously mentioned Secretary for Education's acknowledgement that a major problem associated with the chronic underachievement of Māori students is that teachers do not respond positively to the identity, language and culture of Māori students. The consequences of educators' intergenerational unconsciousness or resistance to te ao Māori ways of understanding and engaging has important implications for school leaders to consider.

Despite the onslaught of colonisation, ancient ways of knowing and being have been retained by some Māori communities who were able to maintain connections to their land, each other and thus, their collective tribal knowledge. Many iwi like my own however, are engaged in

concerted efforts to reclaim and revitalise this knowledge, the associated practices and our rightful status as the guardians of our ancestral territories. Acknowledging, reclaiming and authentically normalising these pre-colonial Māori traditions in contemporary Aotearoa, are determined acts of decolonisation.

While much of the regeneration of te ao Māori is occurring within communities, school leaders who prioritise relationships with Māori communities can work with mana whenua to jointly create opportunities for these epistemologies and ontologies to be recognised, reclaimed and respectfully represented in their schools. These relationships however, are specific are thus best described as cultural relationships because they are defined on the terms of mana whenua. This approach to leadership resonates with the five strands of indigenous decolonising school leadership described by Khalifa et al. (2018) and are more specifically representative of committing to community voices and values and prioritising collectivism in communication. Critically, this represents how the metaphorical school gate, the point where Māori students have had to leave their culture and identity upon entering the school, can be unlocked.

Related to the wider foundation of te ao Māori is the concept of time which has been another central theme in this thesis. In his explanation of the Māori conceptualisation of time, Walker (1996) highlighted the interconnectedness between the past and the present. Rameka (2017) further explained that individuals carry the past along a continuum of time, into the future. Importantly, through this continuous cosmic process, ancestors exist not only in the spiritual realm, but are also present alongside and within the living. Therefore, from a te ao Māori perspective, the past and the people who lived it, are not left behind but are recognised as being inextricably connected, through their descendants to the present and the future.

The importance of enacting an approach to leadership that recognises and genuinely respects the worldview of the first peoples of this land is an implication that school leaders in Aotearoa must consider. Specific recognition of the centrality of Māori cosmology and spirituality is particularly important and is likely to be challenging given that non-human and non-living phenomena are often considered to be non-existent in dominant European-scientific conceptualisations of reality.

It is important to clarify that recognising and respecting Māori cosmology and spirituality does not imply an expectation that people engage in a process that sees them pathologise and then reject their own religious and spiritual beliefs and subsequently replace these with Māori beliefs. A situation that replicates what colonial missionaries did to Māori, in reverse, must be avoided.

It is equally important to consider the implications of upholding the secular schooling ideology that as previously mentioned, emerged from post-missionary, colonial education. There is a need to clarify the misconception that secularism is non-religious and therefore culturally neutral. This contention, ignores the reality that secularism was imposed through colonisation and was therefore born out of the dominating culture's worldview. Consequently, the practice of rejecting or ignoring the existence of Māori cosmology and spirituality and indeed similar beliefs from any culture is not to take a neutral position, but it is in itself, an imposed act of domination.

Ideologies and practices that pose a potential dichotomy between what is right and what is wrong or perpetuate oppressor and oppressed power relations need to be recognised and resisted. In contrast a more critical and responsive stance would be to recognise and embrace the potential to learn about and from diversity. These responses require principals to position themselves as learners in their communities rather than as experts, which means they need to be prepared to follow the lead of mana whenua, rather than expect to be the leaders. Engaging in this way supports leaders to better recognise and respect the cosmological and spiritual understandings that draw from a culture that might be different from their own, without becoming, or necessarily believing or behaving 'like' Māori. This positioning therefore, involves shifting from deficit perceptions of risks and loss to potential orientated perceptions which recognise what can be gained through a process of unlearning and learning new ways. This relearning therefore, needs to focus on theories and discourses of inclusion that emphasise moral imperatives and the responsibilities that all Treaty partners have to respect each other. Accepting and respecting difference rather than expecting sameness is a decolonising act of leadership.

While establishing and nurturing a foundation that genuinely reflects mana whenua perspectives of te ao Māori, is an important implication for leaders to consider, this foundation needs to be interfaced with complementary theories and actions. Critical consciousness and critical actions therefore drawn from critical, anti-racist and decolonising constructs and discourses can complement theories from te ao Māori.

Anti-racist and decolonising constructs and discourses

To understand the potential inherent in the pre-colonial epistemologies and ontologies of Māori and how they can contribute to improving contemporary education in Aotearoa, it is important to understand the historical and ongoing impacts of European invasion and colonisation. The

idea of developing this knowledge, to better understand and enact alternative decolonising responses might seem logical and even simplistic. However, the persistent underachievement of Māori in English-medium schooling, and the ongoing flow-on to the overrepresentation of Māori in the negative indices of society, confirms that the widespread and deep critical consciousness, that can incur from the acquisition of this knowledge, remains elusive.

The decision to adopt the Māori metaphor Ka Hikitia, as a title for the Māori education strategy in 2008 was and is an explicit example of the Ministry of Education drawing from Māori epistemologies and ontologies, while at the same time, finally articulating the virtuous recognition that the system needs to 'step up' for Māori rather than Māori themselves being the problem. While the achievement disparities are indeed a clear indication of 'why' the system needs to step up, the historical baseline however, of 'what' the system is stepping up 'from,' is not explicitly clear in this policy or in other directives mandated by the government. Again, another important implication that school leaders need to be cognisant of.

Perhaps if more people knew about and understood the racialised-religious hierarchy of humans promoted in doctrines such as the Doctrine of Discovery's (see p. 45) we might better understand the unequal power dynamics that have characterised Māori and Pākehā relationships and the source in which these relationships are deeply embedded. Indigenous people across the colonised world were defined as non-human or, if their human status was recognised, their indigeneity meant they were a lesser form of human than Europeans. The Doctrine laws, that were vigorously endorsed by European monarchs, sanctioned racist beliefs and its ideological companion, white supremacy in countries that Europeans invaded, rather than discovered. School leaders however, are unlikely to find this narrative explained in any of their preparation or standard education texts such as the *Kiwi Leadership for Principals* document (Ministry of Education, 2008c). They would need to exercise their own research to uncover and understand this critical perspective of our history in order to better understand the current and ongoing implications.

These ideologies may not have been acutely evident in the discourses and behaviour of early European arrivals and government officials when Māori were the numerical majority which was incidentally, when the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi were established (see p. 49-50). However, the fact that the Treaty, which sought to recognise the equal constitutional status of Māori and European settlers, was discounted as the settlers began to outnumber Māori, indicates that entrenched European beliefs of entitlement and superiority

started early in this political relationship. The subsequent policies that emerged through colonisation, further perpetuated the supremacy of Pākehā and the inferiority of Māori.

This historical backdrop was the foundation for bicultural relationships between Māori and Pākehā before and at the time of the signing of the Treaty where the Crown defined the relationship. Since the 1970s, there has been a concerted effort through policy initiatives to better recognise, understand and honour the Treaty. However, our nation's inability to reconcile persistent political, social and economic inequities might well be attributed to our inability to remember or indeed discover the historical, racist and white supremacist theories upon which our nation is built. Some would query how historical this relational power dynamic really is. These disparate power relations however, are the platform that education needs to step up from, yet the extent to which this is understood by politicians, education policymakers, administrative stewards of the system, Boards of Trustees, school leaders and teachers is questionable.

Today, there is a propensity to begin endeavours to reconcile the injustices of this unequal power relationship between Māori and Pākehā at the point of the Treaty. When we begin at the Treaty however, we forfeit the opportunity to understand the origins of racist and white supremacist ideologies which have seen Māori, continue to be defined in deficit terms. This pathological defining whether conscious or unconscious impedes the development of respectful, equitable and bidirectional, Treaty honouring relationships at a national level and for many Māori communities, this is severely compromised at a school and mana whenua level as well. This is an important consideration for school leaders of all cultural backgrounds. It is critical to interrogate how power plays out in relationships at every level of the school to understand the extent to which the traditional positional status associated with being: a colonial institution such as a school; a principal; a school trustee; a senior or middle leader; a teacher; a student; a parent; whānau; and mana whenua is replicating or resisting a relational interplay that supports and maintains the dichotomy of superior and inferior positionality.

Additionally, any attempts to promote equity and resolve the constitutional power imbalance between Treaty partners, that exclusively begins with understanding the Treaty, invalidates the pre-colonial histories and ways of knowing and being of the mana whenua that make up school communities. These localised epistemologies and ontologies had successfully sustained Māori communities for centuries and the efficiency at which Māori merged their own cultural knowledge and experience with the knowledge and tools of European settlers was remarkable. When reflecting on current literacy outcomes of Māori students for example, we might take

lessons from the practices that enabled reading and writing to spread and flourish in Māori communities prior to colonisation. While viewing the demographic profile of students who are eligible to enter higher education to pursue careers in engineering, we might question the proportion of Māori represented in these statistics given, as one example, their ancestors' esteemed history of building, innovating on and navigating ocean vessels. These dynamic systems of knowledge and ways of living were so treasured in Māori communities that many died in the pursuit of protecting them, as protecting their knowledge was akin to protecting their land. While neither was theirs to own, they had responsibilities to look after and nurture their land and knowledge for the wellbeing of their people, now and into the future.

It is important that school leaders who seek to lead transformative change, consider how they can develop relationships with Māori whānau and communities that will enabled them to understand and collaboratively normalise pre-colonial histories, theories and discourses in their schools. In considering this response they should not underestimate the challenge inherent in unlearning explicit and implicit racist and colonising theories and discourses, when we exist in communities, a country and indeed in a world that is reluctant to remember or acknowledge a largely undisclosed or some might say protected, perspective of history.

This thesis has shown how the challenge of responding to the legacy of invasion and colonisation can and must be addressed by a determined commitment to learn participatory and emancipatory ways of thinking and being. Courageously confronting the past, to critically understand the present and proactively create a new and more equitable future with mana whenua, is an important task of critically conscious leaders and teachers. While the role and responsibility of adults in this work is imperative, critical reform must also recognise the important role that children have in this transformative change. Children after all, are our future.

Children are our future

The idea that children represent our future is not a distinctively Māori philosophy, but a universal understanding that spans humanity. A Māori conceptualisation of children however, specifically recognises that they represent both the future and the past. The whakapapa of Māori children connects them to generations of tupuna and each child carries the mana of this genealogical legacy with them, through into the future.

Recognising this sacred, intergeneration conceptualisation of children is another decolonising position that represents implications for traditional education responses that promote a secular,

centripetal focus that is localised to an individual child and their immediate whānau. An intergenerational conceptualisation of children requires school leaders and teachers to expand their literal and metaphorical field of vision beyond the present and out to a much wider perspective that includes understanding and respecting the interconnected domains of cosmological, spiritual and physical phenomena. This centrifugal view of the child therefore, involves becoming intimately familiar with and caring about where and from whom Māori children come. This familiarity includes understanding the aspirations that tupuna have for the future of their mokopuna and how this then interfaces with their whānau. It also requires leaders to develop critical levels of consciousness regarding what these aspirations mean in terms of where and how these children and everyone they represent, might travel into the future.

In te ao Māori, the principle of looking beyond the individual child and their immediate whānau to envisage their ancestors and their future descendants is still well understood. It is unclear from the literature examined however, the extent to which this theory and practice is understood and responded to in English-medium schools. This thesis has shown that in order to understand the narratives associated with whakapapa, cultural relationships with whānau and Māori communities are essential. Understanding this generational trajectory (past and future) for children who whakapapa to mana whenua, can provide a model and some insights into how this same conceptualisation applies to Māori children from other areas of Aotearoa and indeed how it might be applied to all Treaty partners including Pākehā and Tauiwi. These relationships can engender new understandings to support school leaders to strategically plan and enact practices that are informed by and therefore responsive to the visions that Māori communities have for the future. Mana whenua visions that link the past with the future of their children are not always explicitly visible in strategic planning and actions as they are often overpowered by the visions of the cultural majority. How school leaders resist perpetuation of this cultural dominance is critical.

The narratives of experience presented in this doctorate clearly articulated that both the ancestors and immediate whānau of Māori children in both case study communities wanted to disrupt generations of colonial assimilation and cultural suppression. They sought a bicultural and bilingual education that would enable their children to experience academic success while being affirmed in their Māori identity, culture and language. Their definition of this bicultural outcome is after all, what the Treaty of Waitangi promised. Responding to this aspiration requires school leaders therefore, to go above and beyond imposing monocultural, monolingual and unidirectional responses. It involves engaging the support of mana whenua to transform

schools into participatory, bicultural contexts through the maintenance of Māori knowledge and ways of being. While this research showed that the determined incorporation of kaupapa Māori benefited many Māori children, the cultural consciousness that can emerge from the development of biculturalism and bilingualism is a constitutional right of all children under the Treaty, and indeed a constitutional necessity if critical, transformative futures are to be realised in Aotearoa.

The commitment from school leaders to develop the bicultural and bilingual capability of non-Māori children and staff is a response that demonstrates resistance to the pervasive domination of the English language and European-based knowledge systems that advantage Pākehā. It is also a response that demonstrates care and consideration for future generations of Pākehā and other minority groups. This is important because they are in some ways different. Pākehā are not disadvantaged by broadening their cultural and linguistic consciousness, but rather they will benefit from understanding the knowledge systems and language of the first peoples of this land, which is critically different to expanding the understandings and linguistic competencies of other Tauiwi cultures. Pākehā students will also receive what they were promised in the Treaty, but which up until now has been ignored. Similarly, children from other minority groups experience the same bicultural and bilingual benefits as Pākehā children. Importantly, while it is better understood that their own culture should not be assimilated out, they too can experience the privileging and legitimation of a language that is not English and a culture that is not derived from Europe. This in turn can create the space and opportunity for all other cultures and languages to be more respectfully acknowledged and legitimated.

Given that the equal constitutional status that the Treaty of Waitangi intended for all peoples of Aotearoa is yet to transpire, the nature of the educational and indeed societal reform that is needed, requires careful contemplation. The point made by Schulze and Green (2017) earlier, regarding the need to improve equity for Māori through removing inequalities in the system needs to be part of this careful contemplation because there are long term benefits for the nation, when educational and societal inequities are resolved.

In this thesis the leaders focused on developing and maintaining close and respectful bidirectional relationships with their mana whenua to improve the educational success of Māori students. They did this through school reform processes that focused on increasing equity and strengthening biculturalism. It is important to clarify however, that biculturalism within the context of these case studies was a way of knowing and being that was sought through power

sharing relationships with mana whenua and a determined commitment from leaders to confront the injustices of inequity for Māori. While biculturalism was a Māori community aspiration for Māori children in both cases, for the principals it was their means of enacting an equitable and morally just leadership response. This response differs from other superficial gestures that are often held up under the mantle of biculturalism. While the term itself infers equal status for two cultures, in reality, Pākehā have traditionally held the power to determine how Māori are defined and therefore can participate. This was not the reality however, in these case study communities where both the principals and the Māori communities were cognisant of where power was positioned, and they worked in dynamic and flexible ways to determined where this power was best positioned in response to the context. Therefore, the bicultural nature of this determined collaboration raises some important fundamental questions about who is this critical reform for, what is it about, who needs to be involved and how might they be involved?

Critical education reform

Who is this critical education reform for?

In engaging in critical education reform, it is essential that school leaders clarify, at all levels of the community, how relationships with mana whenua, foster critical consciousness and critical actions to strengthen equity and thus benefit both the tangata whenua and tangata tiriti (all non-Māori Treaty partners) of Aotearoa. There is a tendency for people to assume that when school leaders focus on developing respectful, bidirectional relationships with Māori, such endeavours are undertaken to exclusively assist Māori. It is important therefore, that all groups within the community are supported to understand the concept of equity and also understand that non-Māori will not be disadvantaged, but can in fact be advantaged by these determined acts of education reform.

What is this critical education reform about?

Given our history of dichotomous power and privilege in Aotearoa, understanding the premise that non-Māori will not be disadvantaged by reform, will require a concerted effort by school leaders if they are to resist the oppressed and oppressor societal dynamic that prevents the promises inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi, from being our reality. This involves making visible the implications of this unequal power dynamic for both groups represented in this dichotomic relationship. As Love (2000) explained, the socialisation process conditions citizens to learn the attitudes and behaviours necessary to effectively function in society and this includes learning to play either dominant or subservient roles. It cannot be assumed

therefore, that people understand the roles that they play in upholding inequity, regardless of whether they are the beneficiaries or the disadvantaged. This means that both adults and children need to be conscientised to the systems within education and across society, that maintain constitutional inequity, so that they can understand both the moral imperative and the agency they have to deconstruct these systems and reconstruct a more equitable, bicultural and thus a more socially-just Aotearoa for Māori, Pākehā and Tauiwi.

The task of growing understandings of what it means to be bicultural, particularly for non-Māori is another challenge that school leaders must take heed of. While for example the national population of Māori is growing (Schulze & Green, 2017), Māori are still a minority group in the majority of English-medium schools. In my experience, when there are low proportions of Māori students represented in school demographics, in comparison to Pākehā or students from other cultural groups, this is often a statistical argument proposed to rationalise minimising or moderating recognition of te ao Māori. This argument promotes and maintains a pervasive perception that only Māori are interested in and/or can benefit from te ao Māori. This positioning further compromises the extent to which te ao Māori is authentically visible and accessible to Māori. Non-Māori are also disadvantaged by these missed opportunities because they are prevented from understanding how they might actively participate in, contribute to and benefit from the Māori world.

Another important opportunity that is missed when school leaders base their level of commitment to recognise te ao Māori, on the numbers of Māori students, is that the emancipatory and liberatory potential of critical theory is considerably compromised by this response. Freire (1996) explained that the solutions to liberate both the oppressed and the oppressor from an unequal constitutional reality, reside within the sense making of the oppressed group. If the degree to which that solution can be found, and subsequently realised for all citizens of Aotearoa, is dependent on the proportion of Māori students in the school, it is difficult to imagine how any form of critical transformation can ever be achieved. Therefore, rather than seeing Māori as useful only for ceremony or ticking a box, school leaders need to consider how the argument about the proportions of Māori students being relative to the degree to which te ao Māori underpins leadership and pedagogy, can be challenged and unlearned.

Similarly, it is important to consider how te ao Māori as a theoretical foundation informs leadership in schools where there is a high proportion of Māori students. In the evidence of achievement outcomes discussed earlier (see p. 62-63), Māori students across the system are

not experiencing the same levels of success as Pākehā students and few schools with high percentages of Māori students are defying the trend of underachievement. School leaders in these settings therefore might also challenge themselves to analyse the degree to which they are complicit in perpetuating intergenerational cycles of social and economic disadvantage. Accordingly, an internal analysis would carefully critique the nature of their relationships with mana whenua and how they work in respectful and interdependent ways to develop their critical consciousness and enact critical actions that address inequities.

Who needs to be involved in this critical education reform and how?

While the solutions for oppression can be found within the worldview of the oppressed, this thesis showed that understanding and enacting these solutions is the work of both Māori and Pākehā. Both principals in the case studies recognised their Pākehā privilege and accepted the moral imperative to work with their mana whenua Treaty partners, and reform their respective school contexts, so that Māori students could be more successful.

Although societal statistics confirm that Māori do represent a severely disadvantaged group within Aotearoa, it is important to clarify that the principals in this study never perceived or responded to the mana whenua as disadvantaged people. Contrary to this positioning the principals learned about and recognised the historical and contemporary, scared status that mana whenua hold and they responded accordingly with genuine respect. This is a critically important point that school leaders must be aware of. While the oppressed and oppressor power relationship is essential to understand, there is a risk that this understanding might consciously or unconsciously result in patronising responses that do not recognise the mana of Māori and thus position them, like the missionaries did, as people who need saving. Pākehā school leaders therefore, must be constantly and critically conscious of their perceptions of Māori and the extent to which this is playing out in ways that either reinforce differential power dynamics, or foster and enhance interdependence and respect.

The role of Tauiwi principals in this work must not be forgotten. They too must be critically conscious of their own positioning within the oppressed and oppressor dichotomy and recognise how their praxis is experienced by Māori communities in ways that are either anti-racist and decolonising, or not.

As well as considering who needs to be involved in critical school reform, school leaders must also contemplate who gets to define how this reform will be undertaken. To date solutions for addressing the challenge of Māori underachievement in English-medium education have been

defined by the Ministry of Education and are often articulated in the policy directives that have consistently failed to address education inequities for Māori. Although the more recent policies have emphasised biculturalism and Māori potential, these responses have not been widely socialised or understood by schools or wider society. The inability of these policy directives therefore, to in of themselves, generate transformative change in the experiences and outcomes of Māori students, indicates that it would be unwise to solely depend on the Ministry of Education to define how critical school reform could or should be undertaken.

It should also be remembered that the Ministry of Education ultimately represents the Crown so while this institution represents a Treaty partner, and therefore has an important role in critical school reform, the principals in this study showed that the solutions must be defined by and the reform jointly enacted with - Māori. This requires leaders to critically scrutinise how education policies and associated directives serve or impede the reform and when necessary resist and push back on policies and practices that might negatively impact their relationships with mana whenua. These kinds of responses are important considerations for school leaders, especially for those who depend heavily on the Ministry of Education's funding, strategies and directives to inform their leadership actions. Leadership that focuses on critical school reform, necessitates a high level of self-motivation that is driven by a moral imperative, and requires courage, trust and an unrelenting commitment to cultural relationships with mana whenua and the wellbeing of their children.

Chris was able to capitalise on the external professional learning and development of Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 which specifically focused on pedagogical and leadership reform. This intervention provided opportunities for teachers and leaders to engage in specialised support to understand how they could teach and lead in ways that were potential focused, relationship based and thus more culturally responsive to Māori students, whānau and the community. We can take from the experiences at Rotorua Boys' High School therefore, an example of how the external expertise that mana whenua contribute to the school can be further upheld and respected by external expertise that shares a kaupapa Māori theoretical foundation and also brings critical consciousness and critical action to the reform.

Ensuring that different groups of external expertise are theoretically complementary, rather than in competition with each other is an important consideration for school leaders, if they are to ensure that mana whenua ways of knowing and being are not overpowered and invalidated. While schools can define whether or not Māori students have improved and achieved education

success, it is ultimately their whānau and communities who will determine if this success has been achieved as Māori, or not.

Māori students improving and succeeding as Māori

The tupuna and whānau in the case study communities wanted their children to succeed in education, strong in their culture, language and identity, many decades before the vision of "Māori students enjoying and achieving education success as Māori" was published in Ka Hikitia in 2008. Both principals clearly understood that the expectations of mana whenua in each community was coherent with the national policy and therefore success as Māori was the aim of the critical education reform that they were collectively working towards. Although the narratives as well as the ERO reports confirmed that this aim had been achieved to some extent while this research was being undertaken, interdependent collaboration to strengthen the pathway to this aspiration is ongoing in both communities.

While these critical understandings are presented in a linear sequence, given the interconnectedness and interdependence of each level it is more appropriate to conceptualise the findings within a layered model that leads towards Māori students improving and succeeding as Māori. Before this model is presented however, it is important to consider the current colonial model of education.

The current colonial model of education

A view of the current power relations within a colonial model of education is represented in Figure 7 below. In the main, this model draws from a Pākehā view of the world. The foundational level, positioned as the outer layer represents te ao Pākehā ways of knowing and being. This is the top level of a hierarchical structure from which power direction and knowledge flow. The structure privileges the English language as well as values, beliefs and knowledge that originated with the coloniser in Europe.

The next layer of power in this model involves the government and Crown agencies, in this case the Ministry of Education. While the Ministry of Education employs Māori people and does access advice from tangata whenua to develop policies such as Ka Hikitia, this institution is in the main, dominated by, and therefore driven by, te ao Pākehā values and priorities. It is from these values and priorities that national policies are developed and in a unidirectional relationship the Ministry of Education's expectations are imposed on principals and Boards of

Trustees who are then required to respond by incorporating and implementing these polices in their schools.

The third layer of this model therefore, represents the principals and Boards of Trustees. At this local level school policies and strategic plans are developed by school leaders and Boards of Trustees to reflect and meet the national expectations. These school policies and strategic plans set the direction for the school and through these documents, leaders and boards consequently direct teachers to follow both national and school policies.

Teachers are represented in the fourth layer of this model. At this level, both national and school expectations are further localised and narrowed to classroom expectations. Teachers in turn work to meet these expectations, frequently through the transmission of knowledge on to children and their immediate whānau. Again, the knowledge that is transmitted is often influenced by and drawn from te ao Pākehā.

The child and their immediate whānau are positioned at the centre of this model. An optimistic view of this positioning might suggest that placing the child and their whānau at the centre, positions them as the priority. However, given that the child and their whānau are the fourth level recipients of ideologies and practices that emerge out te ao Pākehā that are then imposed through multiple levels of power, it is perhaps more accurate to describe them as being the targets of assimilatory, education enforcement.

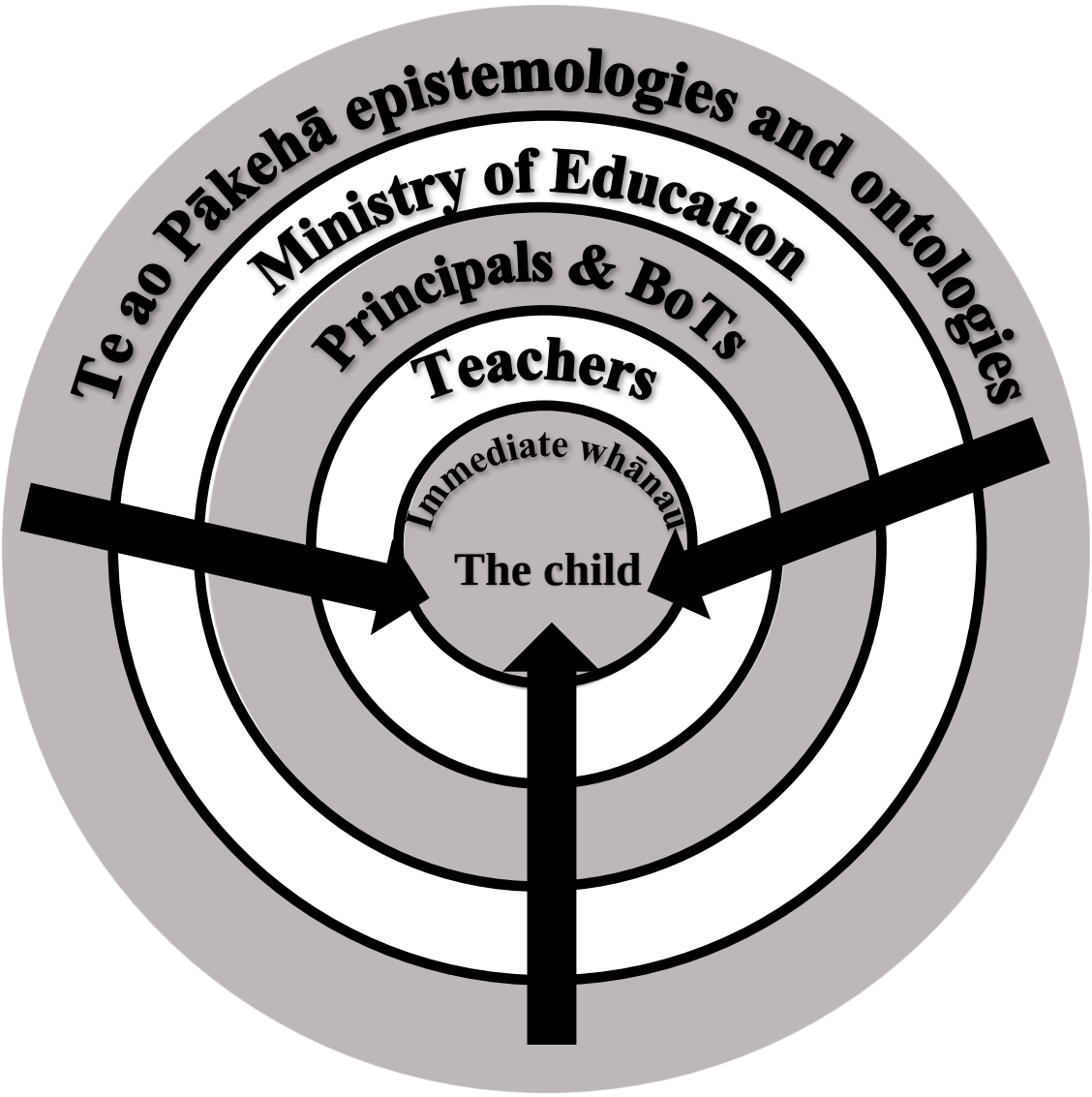

Figure 6: The current colonial model of education.

This conceptualisation of the education system as a unidirectional transmission model, represents the educational experiences of too many generations of Māori learners. This has been the reality for Māori since the colonial education system was introduced.

One of the implications of such a unidirectional model, is the loss of clarity and understanding as messages are imposed from the top and down through the different levels of power. This means that while coherency can happen at the top level, by the time it gets to whānau and students it has been interpreted by many different people and therefore, theoretically sound policy intentions might be lost and the message becomes one of 'you must do' and the 'why' and 'how' are much less clear.

The four critical understandings that have emerged from the new power relations in this doctoral research are also presented in a layered model. This model however, offers an alternative to the current colonial model presented in Figure 6 and represents a decolonising model of critical school reform.

A decolonising model of critical school reform

Rather than being top down and unidirectional as shown in the previous model the layers of the model presented in Figure 7, represent different levels of critical understandings and power relations that are inter-related and interdependent. The bidirectional connections across these layers resemble Bronfenbrenner's (1986, 2005) ecological systems model to the extent that a series of systems interact with and influence each other and thus impact the experiences of children.

The outer layer of the model represents the foundational importance under the Treaty of Waitangi to recognise, learn from and respect te ao Māori. At this level leaders prioritise relationships with mana whenua and recognise their important cultural status. This can then open up opportunities for local, pre-colonial Maōri epistemologies and ontologies to be understood from the knowledge base and expertise of mana whenua. It involves power relations that see principals lead, alongside mana whenua, the authentic normalisation of this knowledge and the associated cultural practices within their school settings. The metaphorical school gate is unlocked so that boundaries between school and Māori communities became permeable and the active two-way flow of knowledge, practices and beliefs can play out. Supported by ongoing, respectful bidirectional relationships, the potential for cultural continuity and learning, between home and school can be created so that Māori students' experiences are authentically valued at school and they are able to experience education success and do this as Māori. At the same time this can strengthen bicultural understandings for non-Māori.

The second level of critical understanding reflects power relations that focus on anti-racist and decolonising responses. At this level, te ao Māori interfaces with theories and discourses that prioritise the potential of the language and practices of the Māori local community. A more respectful understanding of these decolonising constructs, affirms and learns from Māori knowledge, and thus can begin to promote anti-racist ways of thinking and being. Rather than a focus on needs, this layer of theory and action focuses on the potential of Māori learners, whānau and the wider community which can lead to a more participatory and emancipatory approach to leadership.

The third layer represented in this model is the concept of understanding that children are the future. This notion is influenced by and draws from the foundational level of te ao Māori that views children as representing both the past and the future. Acknowledging, understanding and responding to this genealogical trajectory is a decolonising construct that requires leaders and teachers to recognise the mana that Māori children inherit from their tupuna, the aspirations associated with this whakapapa and the implications that this represents for how leaders might influence future generations. This consideration by leaders and teachers of their influence over the future extends to non-Māori students as they contemplate the degree to which their practice supports and enables all students to understand their roles and responsibilities in relation to the Treaty and how these students might contribute as critically conscious, bicultural citizens.

The fourth layer of critical school reform includes specific actions that need to be undertaken by principals, in collaboration with mana whenua, to support fellow leaders, teachers, students and the wider community to understand the importance of recognising and responding to constitutional inequity. This response is again, fundamentally about understanding how power has played out and continues to play out between Māori and Pākehā to perpetuate an oppressed and oppressor relational dynamic. Dismantling the constructs and discourses that uphold this relational dynamic requires school leaders to consciously and continuously interrogate where power is located, understand who is benefiting and who is not and enact moral responses that honour the Treaty of Waitangi.

The core of this model is the aspiration of Māori for their children to achieve and enjoy education and succeed as Māori. This is the targeted aspiration in the case study communities that the principals worked towards with mana whenua and to varying degrees achieved. These collaborations are ongoing as they must be. This is not a situation of somehow reaching a destination, and, as with any relationship, the dialogue must be ongoing if transformative, responsive actions are to continue to truly evolve in response to the community.

Both of the schools in the case studies exist within the English-medium, colonial state schooling system, consequently, the wedge in Figure 7, represents Figure 6, positioned within the wider community context.

Figure 7: A decolonising model of critical school reform

When considering the models in relation to each other there are clear differences. The layers in Figure 6 represent hierarchical, impositional levels of power relations with clearly defined, seemingly impenetrable boundaries. In contrast, the layers of Figure 7, like Bronfenbrenner's (1986, 2005) ecological system, represent interdependent power relations and critical levels of understanding with boundaries that are permeable.

Another significant difference between the models can be seen in the nature of the arrows. In the current colonial model, the unidirectional arrows illustrate how power relations follow in one, impositional direction from the top of the hierarchy, down through to the child and their immediate whānau. The ideology of biculturalism (equal status of two cultures) framed within

this model is inevitably compromised because epistemologies and ontologies draw exclusively from te ao Pākehā and therefore, power is maintained by Pākehā. However, when biculturalism is conceptualised in this decolonising model of critical school reform, Māori self-determination and revitalisation are fundamental tenets that must frame a power sharing relationship between Pākehā and Māori so that equality between Treaty partners is not just promised, but actually can begin to be achieved.

The arrows of the decolonising model of education must be bidirectional if they are to achieve the two-way interplay between the levels of critical understandings. Again, this disrupts the power relations inherent in the colonial levels of power. In creating opportunities for te ao Māori to be represented, te ao Pākehā epistemologies and ontologies are not necessarily discarded but rather they were complemented by this determined bicultural approach to widen and incorporate this learning into the school. Policies and other systemic expectations mandated by the Ministry of Education, are not necessarily compromised by more critical approaches to leadership. Additionally, drawing from a te ao Māori foundation means that the intergenerational trajectory of children, whānau and tupuna are represented at every level of the decolonising model as opposed to children being a target at the end of a pipeline of Pākehā power.

The wedge in Figure 7, depicting the colonial model of education, is also represented slightly differently than how the colonial model is presented in Figure 6. The colonial model of education is a reality that school leaders have to manage however, they can work to negotiate within this model so that the boundaries between the levels of power are less fixed and thus less hierarchical. They can also work to ensure that the boundaries between the school and the Māori community (either side of the wedge) are permeable so that there are opportunities for power relations at each of the critical levels of understanding to permeate, influence and decolonise at every level of the colonial schooling system.

The red dotted line and text illustrate the important interrelationship between the principals and critical school reform in penetrating hitherto impenetrable boundaries. While mana whenua, Māori whānau and even non-Māori Treaty partners might want transformative change, this will not happen without critically conscious, highly committed and actively involved school leaders. Boards of Trustees are extremely important in critical school reform in terms of their governance obligations, however, given the triannual election of boards, the responsibility to support this governance group to understand their place in critical school reform, is ultimately

positioned with the principal. In light of the key role that principals play, to unlock the power and potential of critical school reform, it is highly fitting that the penetrable boundary line resembles the shape of a keyhole.

Although this multiple levelled, bidirectional model of education works well for Māori students, their whānau and the wider Māori communities in the case studies, Māori were not the sole beneficiaries of this response. The model therefore, also has the potential to benefit all learners because it prioritises the opportunity for all students, teachers, board members, whānau and the wider school community to be invited into a relationship with mana whenua. Just as the mana whenua are responsible for the guardianship of the land, this includes caring for all people who live on that land. Through this relationship, bicultural consciousness and bilingual competency can be developed and strengthened so that all members of the community can understand how they might participate in, contribute to and benefit from a genuinely bicultural society. These Māori cultural gifts can consolidate what it means to be an honourable citizen of Aotearoa and they are also valuable tools and assets for participation in the wider global community.

The nature of critical understandings and power relations at every level of this model also requires leaders to be cognisant of who is benefiting and who is not from leadership and teaching practices. This means that groups of students and whānau who have traditionally been less well served by education are visible, their potential is recognised and they are agentically responded to.

The next section presents recommendations for how leaders might implement and evaluate this decolonising model of critical school reform.

Recommendations

In the positionality statement in Chapter 2, I proposed that in the era of Ka Hikitia, Māori whānau like me, might be more *physically present* in schools than my great-grandparents were during the policy era of assimilation, 80 years ago. However, I questioned the extent to which whānau and the generations of tupuna that we descend from are *psychologically present* in the consciousness of today's teachers and school leaders. I further suggested that if whānau of Māori children are to be more psychologically present in schools, this would require the reconceptualisation of whānau-school connections to reflect a centrifugal view that extends beyond the child themselves and their immediate whānau. This centrifugal view therefore would involve five levels of relationships to be understood and engaged with.

The first level is the relationship between school leaders and the land upon which their school stands. The second relationship is between the schools' leaders and mana whenua, while the third relationship is located at the level of the school leaders with whānau and learners. The fourth relationship is between school leaders and Pākehā and Tauiwi Treaty partners. This fourth level pertains to the opportunities that are created for teachers, Boards of Trustees, students and the wider community so that they can also understand and develop relationships with mana whenua. The fifth relationship is between the school and wider society. At this fifth level the relationship is about understanding the national political picture for Māori and the opportunities and implications that this has at a local school level. Each relationship has associated critical questions for leaders to consider, that can support implementation and evaluation. These questions are detailed below in Table 6.

Relationships with:	Critical questions for school leaders to consider
1. the whenua	• What do you know about the land upon which the school stands? • How far back in time does this knowledge extend to? • Where is this knowledge drawn from – whose perspectives are represented in the narrative?
2. mana whenua	• Who are the traditional guardians of the land upon which the school stands? • What are the connections between mana whenua and other iwi in the area? • What are the histories, epistemologies, ontologies and aspirations of mana whenua? • How are the histories, epistemologies, ontologies and aspirations of mana whenua represented in the school? • What opportunities exist or need to be created to develop respectful, bidirectional relationships with mana whenua? • How often do you prioritise being present and engaged with mana whenua in their cultural contexts? • In what ways does the school support mana whenua to enact kaitiakitanga and conserve the environment?
3. whānau and learners	• What is the whakapapa of the children who attend our school: - which waka and whenua do they come from? - from whom do they descend: iwi, hapū, rangatira? - what are the connections between the whakapapa of children and mana whenua? - what are whakapapa connections between children? - what do we know about the whānau and iwi aspirations of Māori children who are not mana whenua and how are these responded to? - what do we know about the whānau and ancestral aspirations of children who are not Māori and how are these responded to? • What opportunities do you provide for whānau to participate on their terms and contribute their knowledge and expertise for learners in the school?
4. Pākehā and Tauiwi	• What do teachers, the Board of Trustees, students and the wider community understand about the histories, epistemologies, ontologies and aspirations of mana whenua? • What opportunities have been created across the school and the community to develop shared understandings of te ao Māori, specifically mana whenua ways of knowing and being? • What opportunities have been created to develop critical consciousness at all levels of the school to support the enactment of anti-racist and decolonising responses to inequity? • How is the concept of biculturalism understood to ensure thinking and practice genuinely reflect the equal status of two cultures?

	• How are school practices strengthening biculturalism and bilingualism for all members of the community? • How do school leaders and teachers respond to racism and discourses that pathologise Māori and other minority groups?
5. *wider society*	• What process do we engage to critique national policies and the extent to which they uphold the Treaty of Waitangi? • How will national policies play out in bidirectional leadership and teaching practice so that they are experienced by learners and their whānau in ways that uphold mana? • What opportunities can be created to ensure the perspectives of mana whenua are represented and communicated to Crown agencies such as the Ministry of Education at both regional and national levels? • How do school leaders and teachers respond when deficit theories about Māori and other minority groups are promoted through the media at regional and national levels?

Table 6: Levels of relationships and critical questions for school leaders to consider

While the models presented in Figure 6 and Figure 7 and the framework provided in Table 6 have been developed to reflect the context of Aoteaora, there is merit in considering how the models and might apply in other countries. These might be particularly relevant to consider in other countries that share similar, colonising histories such as Australia, Canada and the United States of America.

Limitations of the study

This doctoral research focused on how two principals developed connections with their Māori whānau and communities that facilitated educational success for Māori students. While this in-depth analysis in two communities has provided a model of decolonising, critical school reform (Figure 7), from which five levels of relationships have emerged as recommendations (Table 8), it could be suggested that the small sample size of two communities and the single sample in the Pause Prompt Praise reading analysis in Chapter 8 compromises the degree to which generalisations can be made. I accept this contention as generalisations were not a prioritised outcome of this study, but rather I sought to undertake culturally responsive, qualitative research that would enable me to tell my participant's and my own story for others to reflect on from their own perspective.

Further study in this area therefore could examine the leadership practice of a larger number of principals and their communities. Given that this study focused on the practice of two Pākehā principals, an examination of how Māori and Tauiwi principals develop connections with their Māori whānau and communities that facilitates educational success for Māori students would also add an important perspective to the leadership research and literature.

Towards the future

I am cognisant that while this research provides some insight into some education responses, that can strengthen biculturalism and equity, there is still much to consider, especially at the wider constitutional level of society. I acknowledge O'Sullivan's (2007) contention, that in Aotearoa we must move beyond biculturalism because it positions Māori as the junior political partner and obstructs Māori aspirations for self-determination. I would agree that this is an implication that needs to be challenged and addressed at the national political level, where in recent decades it has been difficult to see evidence that the pre-colonial histories of Māori have been acknowledged or understood. However, within the more localised contexts of school communities, these case studies have shown that traditional power differentials between Treaty partners can be disrupted and reconstructed when school leaders and leaders from the Māori

community share power and model mutually respectful ways of knowing and being for all members of the community, but especially the children, who represent our future leaders. If these children experience the benefits of authentic bicultural relationships that are characterised by mana ōrite, they may be less likely to adopt a partnership model that is characterised by senior and junior positionalities. The current government's decision to make the teaching of history of Aotearoa compulsory by 2022 provides some hope that a better and more critical understanding of our nation's history, might foster decolonising notions of partnership, amongst other important learnings.

In the years that I have undertaken this research, I have often thought about both my Māori and Pākehā tupuna and wondered about what hopes and visions they had for me and my descendants. When my ancestor Awarau signed the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi, I am confident that he believed that he was entering into an equal partnership with Pākehā and that he, and his fellow chiefs, would be supported to protect ancestral taonga, such as our language, mana and land so that the essence of being Māori would be maintained. I feel sure that he never anticipated the cultural suppression and social disadvantage that many, across generations of his mokopuna have experienced for over 160 years.

I know that my Pākehā tupuna were prepared to leave the land of their ancestors following the British colonisation of Ireland. Therefore, I can safely speculate that they took these desperate measures in the hope that they could settle in a land where they were welcomed, accepted for who they were and provided with opportunities to advance themselves politically, socially and economically. They might not have anticipated that their descendants would become subsumed into the dominant culture that ultimately caused them to leave Ireland, and I do not know if they realised that the opportunities for advancement that they received, were created from the dispossession and oppression of Māori.

I carry with me the vision that I believe Awarau and all Māori tupuna had for their future generations which I acknowledge is captured within the vision of Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori. I also want my grandchildren to experience what my Pākehā tupuna envisaged for their descendants, but not as a result of disadvantaging any Treaty partners. The participants in this doctoral research have verified that it is possible and indeed necessary for Māori and Pākehā to connect in powerful ways, to begin to heal the harm of our colonial past, and create a new future where the mana of all Treaty partners is upheld and enabled to flourish.

This final whakatauākī, attributed to Sir Āpirana Ngata of Ngāti Porou, describes the important interplay between the past and the future. It also captures the notion of bicultural potential when Māori and Pākehā ways of know and being are mutually supportive and enhancing. Accordingly, it reflects advice that I intend to give my mokopuna.

E tipu, e rea, Mō ngā ra o tōu ao;
Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pāhekā
Hei ara mō tō tinana
Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori
Hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna
Ā, ko tō wairua ki tō Atua
Nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Grow up and thrive for the days destined for you.
Your hands to the tools of the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance
Your heart to the treasures of your Māori ancestors as a diadem for your brow
Your soul to your God, to whom all things belong.

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Term in Full
BES	Best Evidence Synthesis
BoT	Board of Trustees
CMS	Church Missionary Society
ERO	Education Review Office
NCEA	National Certificate of Educational Achievement
NZSTA	New Zealand School Trustees Association
OCC	Office of the Children's Commissioner
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
RTLB	Resource Teacher of Learning and Behaviour
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

Glossary of Māori terms

A

Aotearoa	Land of the long white cloud and pre-colonial Māori term for New Zealand.
Auraki	Mainstream or English-medium schooling
Awa	River

H

Hangi	Food cooked in an earth oven
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Haumiatiketike	God of fernroots and uncultivated food
Hawaiki	Ancient homeland of Māori
Hikoi	Walk
Hui	Meeting guided by Māori cultural protocols
Hui whakatika	A time for making amends

I

Io	Supreme God
Iwi	Tribe

K

Ka Hikitia	Lift up and step up
Kai	Food

Kaiako	Teacher
Kaiārahi i te reo	Expert Māori language mentor
Kakarauri	Twilight
Kanohi kitea	Being present, a seen face
Kapa haka	Māori cultural performing arts
Karakia	Prayer
Karanga	First, formal ceremonial call
Kaumātua	Elder (either female or male)
Kaupapa	Common agenda or purpose
Kawa	Cultural protocols and customs
Kawanatanga	Governance
Kingitanga	Māori King movement
Kōhanga reo	Māori-medium pre-school (early childhood), language nests
Kōwhai	The colour yellow and also a native tree with yellow flowers
Kuia	A respected, female elder
Kūpapa	Traitor or loyal support of the Crown
Kura	School
Kura kaupapa Māori	Māori-medium primary school

M

Mahi tahi	Collaboration
Mana	Ascribed prestige, power and authority
Mana ōrite	Equality

Mana whenua	Customary guardianship exercised by iwi or hapū over a defined area
Mana whenuatanga	Local knowledge-base
Manuhiri	Visitors
Māori	Normal, usual, ordinary. Collectivising term for the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa
Marae	Tribal meeting complex
Matariki	When a cluster of at least nine stars becomes visible in June, to indicate the beginning of the Māori New Year.
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Maunga	Mountain
Mihi	Acknowledgements
Moana	Ocean
Moko	Facial tatoo
Mokopuna	Grandchild[ren]
Mua	The past, ahead
Muri	The future, behind

N

Ngā	The (plural form)
Ngahere	Bush/forest
Ngāi	Prefix for tribal group names
Ngāti	Prefix for tribal group names
Noa	Without spiritual restriction

P

Pa harakeke	Grove of flax
Pākehā	Collectivising term for people of European descent
Pakepakeha or Pakehakeha	Imaginary manlike beings with fair skin
Papakāinga	Original home-base
Papatūānuku	The earth mother.
Patu wairua	Spiritual humiliation
Pepeha	Tribal introduction
Pioke	Small dog shark
Pounamu	Greenstone
Pōwhiri	Formal ritual of encounter

R

Rangiātea	A place located in Hawaiki, the homeland of the Gods
Ranginui	The sky father
Rangitira	Tribal leaders
Raranga	Weaving
Rāwaho	From outside
Rongoā	Medicinal use of plants
Rongomatane	God of cultivated food
Rumaki	Immersion and bilingual education settubg

T

Tā moko	Māori tatoo
Tanemahuta	God of the forest
Tangaroa	God of the oceans
Taonga	Treasure
Tapu	Scared, spiritual status
Tangata tiriti	Collectivising term for non-Māori Treaty partners in Aoteaora
Tangata whenua	First peoples of the land; pre-colonial term for Māori; iwi or hapū that hold mana whenua over a defined area; collectivizing term for Māori Treaty partners
Tangihanga	A ritual held on a marae to mourn and then bury the dead
Taurekareka	Slaves
Tauiwi	Non-Māori
Tawhirimatea	God of meteorology
Te ao Māori	The Māori view of the world
Te ao Mārama	The world of light
Te ao Pākehā	The European (non-Māori) view of the world
Te Kore	The void
Te Kotahitanga	Unity of purpose, also a professional development and research, educational reform project.
Te Moana nui a Kiwa	The Pacific Ocean
Te Pō	The dark
Te Pō-nui	The great night
Te Pō-tahuri-atu	The night that borders day

Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te Waipounamu	The South Island of Aotearoa
Tika	Correct, right
Tikanga	Cultural beliefs and practices
Tino rangatiratanga	Self determination
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi
Tipuna	Ancestor
Tohu	Symbol
Tohunga	Priest and keepers of knowledge
Tui	Native bellbird
Tumatauenga	God of war
Tupuna	Ancestors
Tutua	Commoners

W

Wairua	Spiritual
Waka	Canoe
Wānanga	Forum for collective knowledge building
Whaikōrero	Formal speeches
Whakamana	Supportive and uplifting
Whakanui	Celebration
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb derived from Māori views of the world

Whakatauākī	Proverb derived from Māori views of the world that can be attributed back to the original source
Whakawhanaungatanga	Establishing and nurturing sustainable relationships
Whānau	Immediate and or extended family
Whanaunga	Relatives
Whanaungatanga	The process of establishing and affirming personal connections
Wharekura	Māori-medium secondary school
Wheiao	Dawn light
Whenua	Land

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Appendix 1 – Interview Information Sheet

Connecting Māori whānau and communities with school.

Researcher: Therese Ford

1. This project is part of a Doctoral thesis being undertaken in the Faculty of Education at the University of Waikato. This research project has also been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education.

2. In light of the concerns about Māori student achievement and the interest surrounding home-school partnerships with Māori whānau and communities as a means of addressing these concerns, I am interested in pursuing research that investigates how teachers and school leaders in English-medium school settings connect with Māori whānau and communities and the impact of these connections. I am also interested in the experiences and perspectives that Māori whānau and community members have pertaining to home-school partnerships. I would like to conduct my research in your school. This could involve carrying out interviews with Māori whānau and community members, school leaders (the principal and Board of Trustee representatives) and teachers. I would also like to view and analyse school documents that relate to connecting with Māori whānau and communities and if appropriate student achievement data.

3. I would like to record the interviews so that I have an accurate record of what you share. You will have control over how long or short you want the interview to be, and can choose to end the interview whenever you think appropriate. Interviews can vary in length, and usually take at least an hour. Usually there is no set time limit, but this may be something that you might wish to consider before the interview takes place.

4. When I am not using them, the recordings and any written excerpts or quotes taken from it will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at my home. No-one apart from myself and my supervisors will have access to them. They will be stored for the duration of the research after which they will either be archived in a location of your choosing, or destroyed if you so choose.

5. You can determine whether or not you would like the name and location of the school to be disclosed and you may also remain anonymous in this research project if you wish.

6. An electronic copy of the thesis will become widely available, as Masters and PhD theses are required to be lodged in the Australasian Digital Thesis (ADT) database.

7. I would like to use the data collected in this research in presentations at academic conferences, as the central data for my Doctoral thesis. I also hope to publish from this thesis in the future.

8. The interviews can be either individual or focus group, depending on what you choose and will be performed in the environment of your choice - in your home, at your school, or I could arrange a location if you wish. The quality of sound is always an important issue in this respect, and also the need to be free from distractions.

9. It is hoped that the interview will give you the opportunity to share your experiences and understandings of connecting Māori whānau and communities with schools. This means that I will try to keep my questions as open as possible to allow you to direct the interview in a way that feels comfortable for you.

10. A copy of the recording will be made, and the master copy will be kept in my office during the project, and on completion at a location also of your choosing.

11. You will also be given the choice as to what access you will allow to the recordings by other people after this research project has been completed. These options will be outlined in more detail in the consent form that you will need to sign before the recordings can be placed in an archive.

12. If there is anyone else that you think I should be consulting with I would welcome your suggestions.

13. If you agree to take part in this interview, you have the following rights:

a) To withdraw from the research at any stage
b) To refuse to answer any particular question, and to terminate the interview at any time
c) To ask any further questions about the interview or research project that occurs to you, either during the interview or at any other time
d) To remain anonymous should you so choose – anything that might identify you will not be included in conference papers, academic articles or any other report about the findings of the research
e) To take any complaints that you have about the interview of the research project, in the first instance to my supervisors: Russell Bishop or Mere Berryman (details below) or the University's School of Education Human Research Ethics Committee (University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3204, foe-ethics@waikato.ac.nz)

I will contact you in the next week (to two weeks) to see if you might be willing to take part in this project. If you are, then we can discuss how his will be done. If you have any queries please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisor via the contact details listed below.

Therese Ford: tford@waikato.ac.nz
Work Ph: 0274488949 Home Ph: (07) 572 4082
Chief Supervisor: Ass Professor Mere Berryman: mere@waikato.ac.nz
Second Supervisor: Dr Paul Woller: paul.woller@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 2 – Letter to potential participants

126 Gloucester Rd
Mount Maunganui

My name is Therese Ford and I am currently undertaking research to complete my Doctoral thesis at the University of Waikato. As part of this project I would like to carry out a case study that will focus on Sue Horne/Chris Grinter and her/his leadership of Maungatapu Primary School/ Rotorua Boys' High School. This will involve conducting interviews with a range of people from the school community including the principal and yourself. The questions relate to experiences that these participants have had with regard to connecting schools with Māori whānau and communities and what sense the participants make of home-school partnerships. I also intend to analyse school documents that relate to connecting with Māori whānau and communities and possibly student achievement data. Accompanying this introductory letter is an 'Information Sheet' which will give you some basic information about the project and what would be involved if you decided to participate. Please take time to read it so that you will be comfortable with and aware of the process and the details of the research. I am happy to answer any questions you may have to help clarify the process or any issues you are unsure of.

The overall aim of this research is to collect and record the experiences and understandings of school leaders, and Māori whānau and community members relating to connecting schools with Māori whānau and communities. You will have control over how long or short you want the interview to be, and can choose to end the interview whenever you think appropriate. Such interviews can vary in length, and usually take up to at least an hour. Usually there is no set time limit, but this may be something that you might wish to consider before the interview takes place.

I hope that the participation in the research will prove to be a useful experience for you as it is my intention to provide research that will support schools in their endeavours to connect with Māori whānau and communities, to improve the educational achievement of Māori students. I really appreciate that you might be willing to give your time and energy to assist with this research. I will contact you to arrange a suitable time and date for the interviews, and also to discuss any other questions or concerns you may have.

In the meantime, if you have any pressing concerns, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor.
Sincerely,

Therese Ford
Therese Ford: tford@waikato.ac.nz
Work Ph: 027 448 8949 Home Ph: (07) 572 4082
Chief Supervisor: Ass Professor Mere Berryman: mere@waikato.ac.nz
Second Supervisor: Dr Paul Woller: paul.woller@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 3 – Consent Form

Please sign this form to protect your privacy and interests

NAME OF PROJECT: *Connecting Māori whānau and communities with schools*

FULL NAME OF INTERVIEWEE…….....

ADDRESS OF INTERVIEWEE…….....

DATE OF INTERVIEW…….....

INTERVIEWER: Therese Ford

1. **PLACEMENT**

..……..... of …… born on ……. agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material will be held in a locked filing cabinet in the home of the interviewer, Therese Ford during the course of the project. On completion of the project I require that the recording be archived, or destroyed, subject to the conditions I have indicated in section 4 of this consent form.

2. **ACCESS**

I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be made available to researchers at University of Waikato, subject to the conditions I have indicated in section 4 of this consent form.

3. **PUBLICATION**

I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be quoted or shown in full or in part in published work and/or broadcasts, subject to the conditions I have indicated in section 4 of this form.

4. RESTRICTIONS

a) No access is allowed to the recording/s of my interview and the recording/s are not to be quoted in full or in part, without my prior written permission.

YES **NO** (Please circle your choice)

b) I wish to remain anonymous and any information that may identify me be excluded from any published work and/or broadcast resulting from the interview.

YES **NO** (Please circle your choice)

If the answer to 4 b) was **YES**: It has been explained to me that it may not be possible to guarantee my anonymity and I am satisfied with the interviewers explanation of what she will do to try and secure my confidentiality.

YES **NO** (Please circle your choice)

I require that the interview recording be archived at the archive of my choosing (identified in section 2) on completion of the project.

YES **NO** (Please circle your choice)

I require that the interview recording and copies be destroyed on completion of the project.

YES **NO** (Please circle your choice)

5. PRIVACY ACT

I understand that under the terms of the Privacy Act 1993 I may have access to this interview and request amendment of any information about me contained within it.

6. COPYRIGHT

Copyright in recordings and accompanying material generated by this project is held by…….....

7. COMMENTS

…….....

.....

.....

.....

Interviewee: **Interviewer:**

Date: **Date:**

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Committee, postal address: Human Research Ethics Committee, School of Education, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, 3240.