WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO MAKE US LISTEN?

The experiences of those leading whole school reform to improve outcomes for indigenous minority students

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success school reform initiative shaped the experiences of groups of educators within mainstream New Zealand secondary schools. These experiences are analysed against a setting of colonisation and historic educational policies of assimilation and integration that have created a situation of education debt. The lack of power for Māori in education is evident. This study highlights the role of the Strategic Change Leadership Team in deconstructing power hierarchies within schools so that educational outcomes can be improved for Māori students. It presents the Strategic Change Leadership Team as the vehicle for conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis within schools. It shows that in schools where power hierarchies were deconstructed, Māori students were able to enjoy educational success as Māori.

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I begin by acknowledging my colleagues and friends. Thank you for the conversations that have challenged my thinking and pushed me to go that bit further.

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Contents

1 Introduction

Having arrived in New Zealand in the late 90s, I was unaware of the position of its indigenous, Māori peoples and their plight within the education system. I will admit that I was fed what I now know to be half-truths and lies about why Māori had the social and education outcomes that they have. At the time, I chose not to question what I was told.

There is extensive research that highlights Māori students' negative experiences of mainstream education and the educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent). These will be outlined and discussed further within the literature review. The Ministry of Education (MOE) has implemented professional development programmes to address these experiences and disparities through changing teacher practice and pedagogy. Te Kotahitanga, He Kākano and Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success have aimed to give life to the Ministry of Education's policy document of *Ka Hikitia* and enact its aspiration of "Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori".

It was through my involvement in the Kia Eke Panuku professional development programme that I began to question what was the norm within our schools and what was the role of the dominant culture in perpetuating this discourse. From my own experience of leading school reform, I was interested to explore what had challenged my thinking and caused me to change my pedagogy and leadership. I wanted to investigate how this thinking had been developed in others. In addition, as a Pākehā involved in leading reform to improve outcomes for Māori students, I was interested to consider how this positioned me with the right to understand the current situation and lead change within this area.

This research looks at how school reform was implemented through participation in the Kia Eke Panuku professional development programme. It will examine what it takes to ensure school leaders reflect on their practice to challenge the dominant discourses and the systems and structures that perpetuate them, to improve outcomes for Māori learners. The implementation of the Kia Eke Panuku school reform will be analysed through the leadership experiences of three women who led this professional development within a number of mainstream secondary schools. Giving voice to those who were involved with leading this

professional development and sharing our collaborative stories will hopefully encourage others to question their positioning and look at school reform through a different lens.

The question "What does it take to make us listen? The experiences of those leading whole school reform to improve outcomes for indigenous minority students" is underpinned by the following research questions:

1. What were some critical experiences of those leading whole school reform?
2. What helped leaders to challenge the dominant discourses within their school and lead changes in teacher pedagogy?
3. In what ways was this influential in improving outcomes for marginalised Māori students?

This study would be of interest to senior leaders and teachers within secondary schools who are leading school reform or who are interested in undertaking school reform. It would also be of relevance to those delivering professional development to improve outcomes for Māori learners in mainstream schools and Communities of Learning.

This thesis is organised into five chapters. In the Introduction, I introduce the study, offer justification for the investigation and pose the research questions. Chapter One provides a review of relevant literature outlining the colonial history of New Zealand, its impact on education and how it is being addressed. Chapter Two outlines the methodology of the research with the theoretical basis. In Chapter Three are the research findings in a collaborative story-telling format and in Chapter Four these findings are discussed in relation to the literature and evidence of our reform praxis. Chapter Five considers implications of the study and makes recommendations for further study.

It should be noted that as in the work *Relational and responsive inclusion: Contexts for becoming and belonging* (Berryman, Nevin et al., 2015), the standard APA convention of writing *foreign* (non-American) words in italics for the first time will not be adhered to. As the authors Berryman, Nevin, SooHoo and Ford state, this allows that all the words are given "the same space" (2015, p. 2). All Māori words will be explained the first time that they are used.

2 Literature Review

Ka haere whakamua, me hoki whakamuri,

We must use the experiences of the past to inform the journey forward

The concept of whakapapa (genealogy) is central to tikanga Māori (custom) and mātauranga Māori (knowledge); it provides an epistemological framework within which new understandings can be created. In looking forward to how school reform can reshape the landscape of education within New Zealand, it is important to consider what has gone before. To have a better understanding of the pathway forward, we need to comprehend the historical perspective of education in New Zealand and the impact that policy and society have played. As a Pākehā educator, it is important that I understand how we have got to where we are because as G. Howard (2006) states "If we do not understand dominance, we cannot hope to transcend it" (p. 51).

Within the literature review, the historical context of education in New Zealand and its resulting education debt will be examined. The concept of a sociocultural approach to learning as a means to address the education debt will be considered. As will the nature of learning from a critical pedagogical perspective. The different types of leadership will be discussed with a view to identifying that most suited to dealing with the complex problems evident within the education system. The nature of school reform will be reviewed, focussing on why a technical approach has not led to shifts in teacher behaviours or improved student outcomes. Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success will be introduced. Its history and theoretical basis will be given and the role of leadership and relationships within the initiative considered. The process that schools engaged in will then be outlined. At the end of this chapter, given my position as a Pākehā researching within the Māori domain, I will place myself within the research, explaining my role as both, an insider and an outsider.

2.1 Our historical context

The nation of New Zealand was created through the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) in 1840 (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Orange, 2013). It is a noteworthy perspective

that for many this is the defining date in New Zealand history. However, in starting with this point in time we fail to recognise that there was a 'New Zealand' before this, an Aotearoa inhabited by its indigenous people. The colonisation of New Zealand was part of Europe's ongoing need to secure power through gaining land and resources. This process was legitimised through the Doctrine of Discovery (Mutu, 2019; United Nations, 2012) which has served to perpetuate the still evident ideological belief of 'the innate inferiority of Māori' (Jackson, 2020). Given these beliefs of racial superiority and the ensuing Eurocentric approach to our history, it is not surprising that this discourse is also seen in the formalisation of the New Zealand education system that followed.

Prior to the signing of the Treaty, Māori held the balance of power and had the ability to control decisions (Margaret, 2018). The Treaty was intended to provide a partnership between the indigenous Māori and the British Crown, with both partners benefitting. However, the rationale behind the need for a Treaty differed (Orange, 2013). For Māori, the need was centred in maintaining rangatiratanga (authority), controlling land and its sale and increased trade (Orange, 2013). For the Crown, it provided an opportunity to gain power through ownership of land and resources. The conflict that then followed between settlers and Māori has led to the ongoing dominance of Pākehā and the marginalisation of Māori (Bishop, 2005) with Pākehā profiting enormously whilst Māori have not (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

The initial colonisation of New Zealand was followed by a pattern of policies that were aimed at assimilating Māori into European culture through a discourse of colonisation. Charles (1995) identifies this as more insidious and effective than outright racism as it allows the imagery and iconography of the conqueror to become the new norm (p. 135). This pattern of history being written by the victor and the conquered being portrayed as inferior is not new (Charles, 1995: Freire, 2015). As it is by devaluing the identities of the less powerful that the socially dominant group can justify their actions as being in the best interests of the invaded (Cummins, 2001). This concept of cultural and genetic superiority, as evidenced through the Doctrines of Discovery (Ngata, 2019), underpinned the education policies of assimilation seen in New Zealand (Bishop, 2005; Sullivan, 1994). This resulted in an education system in the late 1860s that saw Māori in the lower of two-tiers, through the assertion that they would not cope with modern schooling (Bishop, 2005). It could be argued that this two-tier approach is still evident through the number of Māori students involved in vocational pathways as opposed to pathways that lead to a university education. It is also seen in the disproportionate number

of Māori students who have been removed from education before reaching their official leaving age (MOE, 2018a).

The 1867 Native Schools Act and the 1887 Education Act saw Māori required to attend formal schooling that further exposed them to assimilationist policies (Berryman & Macfarlane, 2017). Formal colonial schooling saw Māori become the language for home with only English permitted to be spoken at school (King, 2003). Cultural and linguistic differences were a threat to assimilation (Sullivan, 1994) and as such needed to be removed. Berryman and Macfarlane's (2017) interviews with elders who were at school in the 1920s – 1940s show how they were made to leave their language and culture at the school gate, with corporal punishment being used against those who spoke Māori at school. This removal of culture and language again reinforces the concept of working to remove an inferior culture, not just within the school but society as well (Cummins, 2001). This idea that Māori were culturally and racially inadequate to cope with the new society, despite numerous researchers showing that this was not the case (Bishop, 2005) was pushed through the mass media to enforce and reiterate the concept of superiority (Bishop, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2006). This then became the dominant discourse, believed by Māori and Pākehā alike (Bishop, 2005). These discourses of dominance and power will be evident throughout this literature review.

Prior to the integration of Māori into mainstream schools following World War II and the urbanisation of Māori, Māori and Pākehā had generally been able to avoid interacting with any degree of frequency (King, 2003) thus reducing conflict between the two groups. With an increasing Māori population and the continuing removal of their land, Māori were attracted to towns and cities by the availability of work (King, 2003). The jobs that were available for Māori were generally low-income, as the education system that they had been through did not provide them with the qualifications they needed for higher paid work. Downturns in the economy led to Māori entering a vicious cycle of low-income work, poor housing, higher crime rates and lower educational outcomes (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2019). In moving into towns, the new urban Māori encountered removal from their homelands in a mono-cultural setting that was very different to their own. This increased the growing cultural disconnect and increased long term economic, cultural and spiritual impacts (King, 2003) as Māori were no longer able to use their own land to support themselves.

The Hunn Report of 1960 identified the issues that were arising through urbanisation (King, 2003). For the first time, the achievement gap between Māori and Pākehā was statistically

presented, leading to policies of integration (Berryman & Macfarlane, 2017; Sullivan, 1994). It was a "... less crude, less racist version of assimilation" (Irwin, 1989, p. 4, as cited in Sullivan, 1994) but in suggesting that the two cultures should blend, what was really proposed was that Māori should become like Pākehā (King, 2003). The disparities were blamed upon cultural deficits such as living conditions and outdated cultural traditions (Bishop, 2005). Even the language used within the report "Only the fittest elements have survived the onset of civilisation" (Hunn Report, 1960, as cited in Sullivan, 1994, p. 209) epitomises the concept of cultural superiority and is a clear example of how entrenched the dominant discourse had become.

2.2 The education debt in New Zealand

This disparity in educational achievement is seen across the world in other minoritised colonised students (Sleeter, 2011). Many of these students are indigenous peoples who have suffered as a direct result of the Doctrines of Discovery (United Nations, 2012) and the continuing belief of racial superiority (Jackson, 2019). Within New Zealand, these disparities continue to be evident in the achievement of Māori students today. Reading literacy (Sturrock & Comparative Education Research Unit, 2004), reading recovery (MOE, n.d.) and National Certificate of Educational Achievement data (MOE, 2018b) all show that Māori achieve at levels below that of Pākehā. Other indicators show Māori students are three times more likely to be given an early leaving exemption (MOE, 2018c) and nearly three times more likely to be suspended or excluded (MOE, 2018a) than Pākehā students. Māori are identified as being in the bottom quartile of society (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2019) and having negative outcomes across a range of social statistics (G. Smith, 1999). These disparities are ongoing and were recognised by the Auditor-General: "overall, our English-medium schools do not support Māori students to achieve as highly as other students; nor do they retain Māori students for as long as other students" (2012, p. 5). Given that over 90% of Māori students are educated in English-medium schools, it is essential that these disparities are addressed. This is especially the case given that the demographic profile of New Zealand shows that the proportion of Māori children in comparison to Pākehā will continue to increase (Hohepa & Robson, 2008).

In her 2006 inaugural presidential address to the American Educational Research Association, Gloria Ladson-Billings developed further Wolfe and Haveman's (2001) concept of the 'non-

market effect of schooling' to identify the education debt evident in America. She suggested that by continually looking at the achievement gap between minority and White students, the bigger picture of what was, and is happening is overlooked. Ladson-Billings likened this to national deficit and national debt, the former being the gap that is seen in achievement data and the latter being the accrued impact of these ongoing gaps. Economists, Wolfe and Haveman (2001) state that whilst traditionally the impact of schooling on economic growth has looked at outcomes such as the labour market, the social and non-market effects must also be considered when evaluating optimal economic investments in schooling. Their research shows, amongst other factors, that the education level of the next generation was clearly tied to the schooling of the parents and that increased schooling appears to relate to better health and increased life expectancy and may lead to social cohesion. Wolfe and Haveman (2001) finish by stating that "traditional estimates of market returns to schooling fail to capture the full social return to education" (p. 245). This statement reinforces Ladson-Billings (2006) thinking around education debt and the achievement gap. That it is more than just a difference in marks between two groups in society. It is a combination of purposeful actions that have, and are having, a negative impact on educational, economic, health and social outcomes for a minority group. Addressing our education debt is an economic necessity as educational reform and educating all students are far better investments for society than incarceration (Bishop, 2019; Cummins, 2001).

The education debt in New Zealand can be attributed to the impact of colonisation and successive government education policies of assimilation and integration, which have continued to marginalise Māori (Bishop, 2005; G. Smith, 1999). As Māori students were not allowed to bring their culture, language and experiences to their schooling, they were starting from a position of disadvantage and the affirmation that their culture is inferior (Cummins, 2001). This inability for them to then access the 'cultural capital' acquired through education contributed to many Māori not being able to break through the deficit layers inherent in society (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2019). The devaluation of identity meant that some students would rather drop out of school to preserve their sense of self (Cummins, 2001). This idea of cultural deprivation was backed by educational research showing Māori start education from a position of deficit and that in order to achieve they needed to become somehow 'less Māori' (Berryman & Macfarlane, 2017). Later research attributed the deficits to access to books in the home and the level of English language used (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Although this has now been disproved (Hattie, 2003), the accumulated negative stereotyping of Māori students and their

communities is still evident in the attitudes and beliefs of some teachers (Bishop & Berryman, 2006) and in the wider fabric of society (Jackson, 2020). Bishop (2005) refers to this as the "pathologizing" (p. 55) of Māori and it is in addressing these pathologising beliefs that the professional learning of Kia Eke Panuku was situated.

2.3 Addressing the education debt

In examining the removal of Māori culture, language and identity over a period of 150 years, through colonisation, assimilation and integration it is easy to see how an education debt has developed. It is also necessary to recognise the impact of Captain Cook's landing and how every European, because of the Doctrines of Discovery felt that they had a legal right to take power from the Māori (Mutu, 2019). As a society we need to recognise that an education system that is failing its indigenous people has a lasting impact and that tackling this issue is the "equitable and just thing to do" (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 9). Not only is there a moral and ethical obligation, there is also a long-term economic benefit that cannot be ignored (Schulze & Green, 2017). It is vital that the intergenerational inequities that colonisation of this country has created are acknowledged and their impact on current interventions accepted (Berryman & Eley, 2017). This is needed to ensure that our future steps are able to begin clearing our current education debt rather than compounding it. It would however, be foolish to think that this cumulative debt can be fixed through simple actions (Berryman & Eley, 2017). Persistent middle-class advantage (Thrupp, 2007, 2008), Pākehā privilege (Margaret, 2018) and subconscious and unconscious racism (Becroft, 2018; Berryman & Eley, 2017; Jackson, 2020) are still evident within our schools, presenting what could be an insurmountable problem. Our education debt is not going to be solved through simple solutions or a 'quick fix' (Berryman & Eley, 2017) but instead requires a complex and system-wide approach to deal with, what Rittel and Webber (1973) called a 'wicked problem'. In looking at how Kia Eke Panuku was used to address this problem it is important to consider the whakapapa of the programme as it was built on research and learning that had gone before.

2.3.1 Ka Hikitia

The first Māori education strategy was launched in 1999 and republished in 2005, after showing some improvements in educational performance (Berryman & Eley, 2017). In 2008 *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: Māori Education Strategy 2008 – 2012* was launched, with a focus

on educators and the system changing as opposed to blaming student deficiencies. In 2013, *Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013 – 2017* was released. In developing Ka Hikitia, the MOE recognised the need for an extensive change in educational policy requiring school leaders and teachers to understand the principles behind the document and create the vision of "Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori". Again, although there were some improvements, implementation of Ka Hikitia was identified as being slower than expected (Auditor-General, 2013). It was recognised that incremental change was no longer enough (L. Smith, 2006) and that there was a need for acceleration for those whom the system was currently failing (Berryman & Eley, 2017).

2.3.2 Te Kotahitanga

The Te Kotahitanga programme was an initiative that endeavoured to meet the Ministry's aim of raising "the quality of mainstream education for Māori" (MOE, 2018d). Russell Bishop and Mere Berryman (2006) collected the voices of Year 9 and 10 Māori students to show educators what it was like to be Māori within the current New Zealand education system. The in-depth interviews with Māori students, their whānau (family), principal and teachers asked about the causes and solutions to the on-going disparities (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Their findings showed that the students identified that the quality of the relationships they had with their teachers was a major determiner of their academic success. Whereas their teachers saw Māori student deficiencies, namely poor parental support and low educational aspirations as the main reason for the low achievement (Bishop et al., 2014). Te Kotahitanga addressed this deficit theorising through an iterative professional development programme which included the creation of an Effective Teaching Profile and a cycle of classroom observations, individual teacher feedback and co-construction meetings. By 2015, Te Kotahitanga had been in 54 mainstream secondary schools, all in the North Island. The Best Evidence Synthesis of the Phase 5 schools found there to be a clear shift in key data to do with Māori achievement in comparison to other schools (Alton Lee, 2015). Despite this success, the Ministry of Education stopped funding for the Te Kotahitanga programme in 2012.

2.4 Sociocultural view of learning

How learning is thought of affects how we think the disparities within our education system should be addressed. If learning is passive and knowledge accrued, as in Freire's (2015)

'banking' analogy, then these differences can be dealt with by more information being passed on through a transmission model of learning (Cummins, 1986; Elmore, 1996). Here, the student is an empty vessel that needs to be filled (Watkins, 2005, as cited in Lyle, 2008) and the lack of knowledge and poor achievement can be blamed on deficiencies within the student (Bishop, 2005). In this pedagogical approach, the teacher is the centre of knowledge and has power over all the relationships that take place. Alternatively, if learning is viewed through a constructivism model, it is seen as active and occurring through problem-solving (Freire, 2015), and understanding is developed through cultural acts (Bruner, 1999). In a sociocultural view of learning, meaning making is not fixed (Cummins, 1986) and learning is influenced by social, cultural and historical contexts (Vygotsky, 1978). Within this model, the relationships between students and their teachers are central to what happens in schools. This is because new learning is constructed between the student and the teacher, which is fundamental to students making sense of their world (Bruner, 1999).

Examining the role of culture in education is vital given Bruner's perspective tenet that "nothing is 'culture free'" (Bruner, 1999, p. 157). Patterson (1975) defines culture as "an identifiable complex of meanings, symbols, values and norms that are shared consciously or unconsciously by a group of people" (as cited in Fennes & Hapgood, 1997, p. 15). In Brayboy's (2005) metaphor culture is likened to an anchor, at times fixed and stable and simultaneously fluid and dynamic (p. 943). Bruner (1996) states that "It is culture that provides the tools for organizing and understanding our worlds incommunicable ways" (p. 3). In 1978, Edward Hall likened culture to an iceberg, in that what we can actually see is just a small part of the total. In looking at the culture of our schools, as Fennes & Hapgood (1997) identify, the problem with trying to define culture is that "we are trying to reflect upon something that we are a part of" (p. 13) and like fish, it is difficult to see the water they are swimming in. It is imperative that we do understand the culture of our schools, given that in trying to identify culture, we are naming the water that we swim in (Howard, G., 2006). As Pākehā culture has been accepted as the norm for so long, many teachers are unaware of the influence that it has on them or the education system (Mahuika et al., 2011). In Bruner's constructivism tenet (1999), education plays a major role in enabling young people to construct their own sense of reality. If it is obvious to many children that theirs is not the dominant culture and that it is not valued, then this will reinforce the dominant discourse that is evident in society and achievement will suffer (Bishop, 2005; Fennes & Hapgood, 1997; Office of the Children's Commissioner & NZ School Trustees Association, 2018).

2.5 Critical foundation of learning

Schools are a reflection of society and often unwittingly, they play a significant role in perpetuating power imbalances and inequities (Bartolome, 1994; Shields, 2010). Taking a critical approach to learning and pedagogy allows for a better understanding of the role of schools in society and the position of power that they hold (Wink, 2005). The impact of power in education is evident in the historical discourse that has pathologised and marginalised Māori (Bishop, 2005), in the 'underground curriculum' (Bruner, 1999) or 'hidden curriculum' (Apple, 2012, p. 18) that expresses what is valued and rewarded and in how knowledge itself is established (Foucault, 1980, as cited in Bishop, 2005). A critical foundation of learning enables conscientisation to challenge these dominant powers. Conscientisation is "understanding the part we play in perpetuating the status quo of inequality" (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). Weiner (2003) summarises Freire's education philosophy to contend that the role of conscientisation "is a necessary condition of freedom" (p.90). It allows us to understand our current practice and decide what needs to be changed, through resistance informed by praxis (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). Praxis is seen as "the authentic union of action and reflection" (Freire, 1998, p. 515). This model of learning through unlearning and relearning (Wink, 2005), interweaves Bruner's (1999) constraints tenet of 'thinking about thinking' and Freire's (2015) 'problem-solving' approach to learning.

Conscientisation is necessary to challenge the discourse of pathologising minority students (Bishop, 2005). Cummins (1986) identifies that schools blame individuals for their own fate, despite the best efforts of the school and the dominant group, to help them. Deficiencies are blamed upon cultural differences and 'cultural depravation' (Bruner, 1996) and as Banks (1993) points out, the assumption is that "a student must be middle class if they are to have a culture" (p. 30). Deficit theorising was identified as being evident in secondary school teachers in their attitudes towards Māori student underachievement (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Within this space, the lack of success at school was blamed on the experiences of the children as opposed to fault within the education system (Shields, 2004). At times, this was covert and silent and at other times, it was overt. Through the labelling of particular students as deficient in some way, the blame lies with the student rather than the system (Apple, 2012). The need then is for "fixing' deficient people" (Gorski, 2008, p. 518) as opposed to addressing the inequities within the system.

Professional development of teachers to address the education debt has tended to look at the problem as a technical issue and as such, the potential solutions are "dislodged from the sociocultural reality that shapes it" (Bartolome, 1994, p. 174). The role of conscientisation with teachers is essential if underlying assumptions are to be addressed. In order for conscientisation to occur, teachers need to be able to reflect on their thinking and take action (Freire, 1998). This change in thinking can invoke a range of different emotions in people as it disrupts the equilibrium (Waddell et al., 2000). Change is a perceptual phenomenon in that it is defined by people's account of what they see and their previous experiences (Wilson, 1992). Therefore understanding the human side of change is vital (Kanter, 1985), as any aspect of change is going to create some form of resistance. Argyris (1993) discusses the role of defensive routines in education. His study looked at countless examples of researchers where educational change had not occurred because basic assumptions were reinforcing behaviours, which were not enhancing student outcomes. Having a theoretical lens which can be applied to practice – praxis, better positions teachers for resistance. This link between theory and practice is emphasised by Senge et al. (1994) who write, "Without *theory, methods, and tools,* people cannot develop the new skills and capabilities required for deeper learning" (p. 36). This provides teachers with a new way of thinking and a new set of skills rather than a set of practices that they can replicate. The benefit being that teachers are better situated to respond to new demands (Bishop et al., 2012), assumptions are challenged and different discourses can be explored.

2.6 Leadership to enact change

Leadership within the education setting has received increased emphasis as policy makers have identified it as a key aspect in addressing the achievement gap between different groups (Robinson et al., 2008). Astin and Astin (2000) believe that leadership that is "ultimately concerned with fostering change" is "inherently values based" (p. 18) and "should be to enhance equity, social justice, and the quality of life" (p. 21). Bogotch (2002) defines educational leadership as a "deliberate intervention that requires the moral use of power" (p. 140). Shields (2004) then builds upon this definition to emphasise the need for moral dialogue and strong relationships. Shields (2011) also argues that a critical aspect of understanding leadership is to understand the privilege and power that individuals have over others.

Leadership is seen as something different to management and different types of leadership have been pushed as being needed to bring about change in education. Hallinger and Leithwood (1998) note how the role of the principal has evolved from "manager, to street-level bureaucrat, to change agent to instructional manager, to instructional leader, to transformational leader" (p. 137). Within these notions of leadership, the emphasis has been linked to neoliberal business models (Khalifa et al., 2019) where the need is seen for schools to be run as efficient businesses. This in itself presents a problem, as these forms of leadership are not situated in the realm of social justice, nor do they take into account the importance of relationships (Hohepa & Robson, 2008).

In looking at the leadership needed to tackle complex social issues, such as education debt, Shields (2010) examines the differences between transactional and transformational styles of leadership, using Burns' leadership treatise. Whereas transactional leadership involves a reciprocal transaction, transformational leadership has a focus on "improving organizational qualities, dimensions and effectiveness" (Shields, 2010, p. 564) and whilst this does make a difference to the organisation, it does not enact social change (Shields, 2011). Burns (2010) referred to moral leadership as "the kind of leadership that can produce social change" (p. 4). Whilst not specifically referring to this style of leadership as transformative, he is credited with its origin (Shields, 2011). Transformative leadership is different to transformational leadership in that it is situated in social responsibility and its purpose is to question the role of power and authority (Weiner, 2003). It is this style of leadership that is needed to attack the complex problems of education, as the theories of cultural and social reproduction are challenged and social justice is addressed (Shields, 2011). Shields (2011) also maintains that transformative leadership supports leaders to "understand how to create educational organizations that combine excellence with equity, inclusion, and justice" (p. 4). Weiner (2003) also identifies the need for hope as "a weapon against the fatalism of neoliberal ideologues" (p. 90). However, Weiner (2003) goes further to argue that it is impossible to do the radical work that is needed as transformative leaders, as "part of their power comes from the institution itself" (p. 93). Therefore, leadership is needed that is culturally responsive (Khalifa et al., 2016) and based upon relationships.

Previous ideas on leadership have been centred in a western viewpoint (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1998) and only recently in New Zealand have they begun to be seen in an indigenous context. Prior to colonisation Māori leadership arose chiefly through the concepts

of seniority by descent (Walker, 1993), mana (prestige) and the success of the group (Hohepa & Robson, 2008). Contemporary Māori leadership sees leaders who are 'agents of change' with an emancipatory focus, where mana is derived from institutional power or a "track record of serving the Māori community" (Hohepa & Robson, 2008, p. 24). The Ministry of Education Best Evidence Synthesis on school leadership (Robinson et al., 2009) identified that "pedagogically focussed leadership has a substantial impact on student outcomes" (p. 40). This aspect of leadership is also evident in the analysis of Māori educational leadership undertaken by Hohepa and Robson (2008) where the two main qualities that they identified were an "intensive focus on the teaching-achievement relationship and collective responsibility and accountability for student achievement and well-being" (p. 34). When considering educational leadership within New Zealand schools, the concept of 'rākau (pencil) to ngākau (from the heart)' (Macfarlane & Derby, 2018) is also evident. Here, Māori words and terminology are used to tick a box as opposed to the concept being authentically experienced. In this way, ideas about Māori leadership are shoehorned into current western thinking (Hohepa & Robson, 2008). Hohepa (2013) identifies the tensions that are present "in attempting to fit Māori leadership into generic conceptions of educational leadership that are developed largely from research findings that sit outside of a Māori worldview" (p. 620). Accordingly, Hohepa (2013) states that "indigenous education leaders are not simply leaders who happen to be indigenous. They are leaders who choose not to compromise their indigenous identity simply because they are an educational leader" (p. 622).

The relationship between leading and following and that of being a leader and a teacher also needs to be examined. In education, by using the term leadership and attaching it to teaching, we unwittingly devalue the status of teaching (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000). This also then leads to a western view of the relationship between the leader and the follower (Ahnee-Beaham & Napier, 2002) where leading may be seen as the opposite of following (Monzo, 2013). The words that we associate with the two are quite different and place the importance on leading. This fails to take into account the value of following and that without this role, projects may not come to fruition (Monzo, 2013). The whakataukī, 'It is the feathers that enable the bird to fly' reflects the concept that in order to achieve a goal many different parts are needed. Leadership is not something that it is only visible; it is what is happening that cannot be seen that is an essential part of leading (Barrett, 2013).

2.7 School reform

In addressing the impacts of colonisation in education, school reform is required that does more than just improve what is happening within schools (Shields, 2011). It needs to understand why historical policies and interventions have not worked (Banks, 1993) and be more than just "technical change" (Shields, 2011, p. 9). Bartolome (1994) defines technical as "the positivist tradition in education that presents teaching as a precise and scientific undertaking" (p. 173). Sleeter (2011) proposes that historically the means by which mainstream educators have endeavoured to address educational disparities between students from the dominant group and culturally diverse students can be classified into three distinct categories. She refers to these responses as being deficit-orientated approaches, structural approaches and emancipatory approaches. If the education debt is considered as a technical issue requiring structural approaches, then potential solutions are based upon 'fixing' students through the application of different strategies. Bartolome (1994) discusses this concept of examining our education debt as a 'technical' issue:

> … teaching strategies are neither designed nor implemented in a vacuum. Design, selection, and use of particular teaching approaches and strategies arise from perceptions about learning and learners. I contend that the most pedagogically advanced strategies are sure to be ineffective in the hands of educators who implicitly or explicitly subscribe to a belief system that renders ethnic, racial, and linguistic minority students at best culturally disadvantaged and in need of fixing (if we could only identify the right recipe!), or, at worst, culturally or genetically deficient and beyond fixing.
>
> (p. 180)

These strategy-based approaches to school reform do not take into account the roles, norms and ethos of the school (Banks, 1993). Therefore, school innovation fails to create change, as the paradigms that individual hold are not addressed (Marzano et al., 1995). The assumption is that new ideas will be assimilated into existing beliefs. Previous programmes have taken this strategy-based approach and unsurprisingly there has been no improvement in student outcomes (Howard, T. C., 2019).

Many school reforms, whilst appearing to overhaul systems and structures, have had very little bearing on what happened in the classroom (Elmore, 1996). Cuban (1984) likens it to "storm tossed waves on the ocean surface, turbulent water a fathom down, and calm on the ocean floor" (as cited in Elmore, 1996, p. 11). School reform must address teacher perceptions and attitudes and develop a collective responsibility for the education of all students (Glynn, 2015). As such, school reforms needs to be located in a sociocultural context and teachers need to understand the political nature of education (Bartolome, 1994). In enacting school reform, Schein (1992) identified for leaders, the importance of identifying the culture of their organisation. This allows for the examination of hard to change assumptions. Questioning these basic assumptions can lead to anxiety and defensiveness (Bishop et al., 2012) but without addressing them, there will be little change (Argyris, 1993). As mentioned previously, within education and educators, a significant assumption was that failure at school was blamed on children or their parents (Bishop, 2005), a deficit-orientated approach (Sleeter, 2011). As Eley and Berryman (2019) identify, as an education system we have become adept at measuring achievement gaps and identifying students as "achievement gap problems" (p. 135). As a result, the reforms that were put in place focussed on remedial or catch-up programmes more than people and relationships (Cuban, 1989; Eley & Berryman, 2019; Shields, 2004).

Culturally responsive schooling has been discussed for over 60 years (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008); however, it has had little impact on what teachers do because of 'essentialism'. Berryman et al., (2018) observed this essentialism approach in teachers. In an effort to respond to students' culture, teachers would recognise aspects of the culture that they could see as easily identifiable; the parts of the iceberg that are above the water. In this way, culture continues to be defined by the dominant group, who pick 'bits' of indigenous culture that match their perceptions of how the dominant group view the world. As a result, the dominant Pākehā cultural perspective continues to be adopted (G. Smith, 1991), as merely giving something a Māori name does not make it responsive or relevant (Milne, 2018). Macfarlane and Derby's (2018) concept of rākau and ngākau can again be seen leading to the danger that culture is still be seen as an external commodity (Bishop, 2012), able to be appropriated, as rhetoric as opposed to reality. These actions do not result in systemic, institutional or lasting changes (Bartolome, 1994).

School reform requires a "multi-dimensional strategy" (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2000, p. 429) that focuses on leadership, pedagogy and school systems and structures. It is heavily reliant on the

support of the principal, as they are the person with the power to promote and support school level reform (Leithwood et al., 2010). In launching the Māori Education Strategy 1999, the Ministry "recognised that Māori education success was a Ministry wide responsibility" (Berryman & Eley, 2019a, p. 78-79). In taking an emancipatory (Sleeter, 2011) and sociocultural approach to school reform, a different form of pedagogy was required to address the disparities. One where the fundamental relationships of care between student, teacher and knowledge are acknowledged (Elmore, 1996). Where learning is reciprocal and dialogic, students are actively encouraged to determine their own self-efficacy and, most importantly, culture is crucial (Cummins, 1986, 1996; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Lyle, 2008). It is also necessary that those who lead school to reform listen and learn from the voices of those that the reform is supposed to benefit (Berryman & Eley, 2019a). In looking at whole school reform, Bishop and O'Sullivan (2005, as cited in Bishop, 2008) developed the GPILSEO theoretical model as an acronym for the essential elements needed for school reform. The model aimed to address both the culturalist and structuralist approach, whilst also drawing upon a relational discourse (Bishop, 2008). The focus on goals, pedagogy, institutions, leadership, spread, evidence and ownership at the classroom, school and system level, together with the asking of critical questions, allows for sustainable change (Bishop, 2008).

2.8 Kia Eke Panuku

2.8.1 Background

Kia Eke Panuku was one of the Ministry of Education funded programmes that replaced Te Kotahitanga. In recognising the complexity of the situation, the Ministry requested proposals for a professional learning model that moved away from a methods approach (Bartolome, 1994), to one that "created a moral, social and economic imperative to ensure priority learners achieved success and in particular that Māori learners enjoyed and achieved success as Māori" (Berryman, Eley et al., 2015, p. 58). In doing this, the Ministry saw the need for an approach that better considered the cultural capacity of Māori students and their own need to respond more effectively.

2.8.2 History

Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success was the name for the successful proposal operating from 2014 to 2016. The contract was won by a consortium led by the University of Waikato and

included Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and the University of Auckland. It was based upon understandings gained from five previous programmes that members of the consortium had earlier been involved with. These were Te Kotahitanga, He Kākano, the Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success and the Secondary Literacy and Numeracy Projects. In attempting to address the education debt and its complexity, Kia Eke Panuku was more than a classroom pedagogy approach; it was focussed on transformative school reform through equity and excellence (Berryman & Eley, 2017). Its kaupapa (central purpose) was "Secondary schools giving life to Ka Hikitia and addressing the aspirations of Māori communities by supporting Māori students to pursue their potential" (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). Kia Eke Panuku had two overarching goals, one that linked explicitly to Ka Hikitia – Māori students enjoying and achieving education success as Māori and a student achievement goal, which was linked to the Better Public Service goal of 85% Māori achieving Level 2 (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.).

Kia Eke Panuku continued with the premise from Te Kotahitanga that it was no longer good enough to provide a programme where the focus was on student deficits and where teaching was delivered through a mono-cultural lens in which Māori could not see themselves (Walker, 1973, as cited in Egan, 2015). Te Kotahitanga had sought to address the deficit theorising of New Zealand teachers through sharing the narratives of the students in their classrooms (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop et al., 2014). Students' dialogue recorded by Bishop and Berryman in their work *Culture Speaks* (2006) provided teachers with voice on how Māori students felt about education and the way that basic assumptions that the teachers had, were impacting on Māori students ability to learn.

2.8.3 Theoretical basis

The Kia Eke Panuku initiative continued with placing culture first and foremost within schools. This sociocultural approach acknowledged mātauranga Māori to address the disparities in the education debt. Mātauranga Māori is seen as an evolving body of knowledge that can guide practice and understanding of the world around us (Woller, 2013). It considers the fluidity of knowledge, which is dependent on relationships with others and the surrounding environment (Durie, 2012). This sociocultural approach to knowledge underpinned Kia Eke Panuku, through the incorporation of previous learning, the acknowledgement of what had gone before and the continuing iterative nature of the programme. This learning built upon the concept of tuakana-teina (older to younger person relationship), in an interactive, communal approach. It emphasised the need for interactions which were 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face-to-face)

(O'Carroll, 2013) and the Māori concept of the collective group working inter-dependently over the Euro-centric ideal of the individual working independently (G. Smith, 1999). A key facet was of the initiative's professional learning aimed to develop teachers' understanding and valuing of a child's cultural toolkit (Bruner, 1996) and the reason for this needing to be evident in their classrooms (Berryman & Eley, 2017; Bishop, 2005).

By utilising a theoretical basis of critical theory to challenge the location of power (Berryman et al., 2017), Kia Eke Panuku sought to make a difference for Māori students by creating wide-spread ownership and public responsibility to promote social justice (Berryman et al., 2017). This empowerment of Māori students was seen as essential for academic success (Cummins, 1996) and through Bruner's (1996) tenet of identity and self-esteem, critical for ensuring that Māori students did not continue to be disadvantaged by unconscious bias or racism within the classroom (Blank et al., 2016; Kramer-Dahl & Kwek, 2011; Wearmouth, 2008).

Kia Eke Panuku was not located in a technical approach to school reform. Therefore, it was not about 'fixing' Māori students or finding the right strategy. In this way, it was designed to challenge the education debt as opposed to closing the achievement gap. It did this through its sociocultural approach to learning and by having kaupapa Māori and critical theories as its foundations. Kia Eke Panuku was situated in a Māori worldview that honoured the Treaty of Waitangi (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). This impacted on what happened in the classroom, the decision-making process for the school and relationships between colleagues and the community (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). By utilising the process of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in all facets of the initiative, transformative leaders were encouraged to challenge the status quo evident within their schools and in doing so resist the dominant discourses and pursue different ways of being.

2.8.4 Leadership

In developing the contract for Kia Eke Panuku, it was identified that a focus on classroom pedagogy was not enough (Berryman & Eley, 2017) and that morally courageous leaders were needed who were able to disrupt the status quo within their school to ensure better outcomes for Māori students (Berryman, Eley et al., 2015). The complexity and challenge of educational leadership was acknowledged (Shields, 2004, p. 109) and that Māori would not be able to achieve academically unless the education debt was addressed (Shields, 2004, p. 110). In

recognising that schools as institutions perpetuate the fabric of society (Bruner, 1999), Kia Eke Panuku acknowledged that leaders needed to be given professional learning and development to be agentic in challenging this discourse. Through the process of conscientisation, school leaders had to understand their role in enacting social change (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). School leaders were identified as needing to be potential focussed (Durie, 2015, as cited in Berryman et al., 2017), have 'contagious optimism' (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2009) and a clear common vision, espousing Bruner's narrative tenet (1999). Amongst all these different features of a transformative leader, they were also expected to deal with the madness that is a normal day in secondary schooling. Therefore, leading school reform to improve outcomes for Māori goes beyond will and skill it also requires courage, the ability to reframe situations and urgency (Walter, 2014).

2.8.5 Relationships

One of the seven factors identified in Alton-Lee's (2015) analysis of the Phase 5 Te Kotahitanga programme as being critical to its success was whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships). This was where a deliberate focus on culturally responsive relationships allowed for relationships of trust and respect where power could be shared (Alton-Lee, 2015). A failing of previous major educational reform is that the learning relationships within the classroom had not changed (Cummins, 1996). The focus on relationships was evident in the following approach to culturally responsive and relational pedagogy:

> • our students, their whānau and our colleagues are treated in the same way we would want them to treat ourselves or members of our own family
>
> • we value each other as whānau, collaborate and work as one for the common good, requiring us to share what we have including power, perceived or otherwise
>
> (Berryman et al., 2018, p. 4)

Relational dialogue is essential for creating trust (Berryman et al., 2013) and is reliant on the ability to listen (Berryman et al., 2018). In Kia Eke Panuku, this relational dialogue was developed between teachers, teachers and students, students and students and teachers and whānau. Between teachers, there was a need for high relational trust as many of the conversations in addressing assumptions and beliefs felt, or were, confronting. The collaborative nature of the professional learning emphasised Bruner's interactional tenet (1996)

of learning over others and the benefits of working collaboratively rather than individually (Elmore, 1996; Sleeter, 2011). The emphasis on relationships extended outside of the school as there is a wide range of research that emphasises the importance of strong connections with the community and why these are so vital (Berryman & Ely, 2017; Bishop et al., 2012; Cummins, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 1995). As a result, Kia Eke Panuku emphasised the need for strong connections with the Māori community, with connections taking place on an equal footing.

2.8.6 Process

Initial involvement in Kia Eke Panuku entailed a profiling exercise of school data by the Strategic Change Leadership Team (SCLT) to create an overview of the school (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). The SCLT was a group of school leaders and teachers whose specific role was to lead the implementation of Kia Eke Panuku within their school. They were involved with numerous wānanga (meetings) with other teachers from other schools. As in Te Kotahitanga, this provided an emphasis on understanding the theory behind the practice. Perception data from students, whānau and teachers were also collected using the Rongohia te Hau survey as part of the data set. In this way, the model could be responsive to each school's evidence and the actions that were needed (Berryman & Eley, 2017). The profiling was followed by an intensity discussion where the principles of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis were used to create an action plan. In examining the school data, the SCLT needed to be conscious of the impact of current practice and make critical decisions on which practices were most effective and needed to be sustained or changed. The SCLT also needed to critically review those practices which were ineffective and needed to be discontinued (Berryman et al., 2017). The focus was always on the acceleration of outcomes and looking for transformative practice that would support the kaupapa of the school reform.

In using the Rongohia te Hau survey, teachers were challenged on the basic assumptions that people have around Māori achievement and why Māori students are not performing as well as Pākehā. Through using the Ako: Critical Cycle of Learning model, a learning environment was created where critical theories were used to challenge the inequity and social injustice prevalent within schools (Berryman et al., 2017). Kaitoro (external Kia Eke Panuku team facilitators) worked with schools, to challenge and disrupt the status quo of inequity for Māori students, especially regarding how teachers thought about Māori students and their home communities (Berryman, Eley et al., 2015). This was further reinforced through use of the Observation to

Shadow Coaching Tool. Mahi Tahi referred to the ‘map’ that outlined the work of the SCLT in leading school reform (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.).

Kia Eke Panuku emphasised the need for culturally responsive and relational pedagogy. The following principles were used in all conversations with the SCLT and by them with teachers.

- relationships of care and connectedness are fundamental (whanaungatanga)
- power is shared and learners have the right to equity and self determination (mahi tahi, kotahitanga)
- culture counts, learners’ understandings form the basis of their identity and learning (whakapapa)
- sense-making is dialogic, interactive and ongoing (ako)
- decision-making and practice is responsive to relevant evidence (wānanga)
- Our common vision and interdependdnt roles and responsibilities focus on the potnetail of elarners – Māori studets achieiving and enjoying educational success as maoir – (kaupapa)

(Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.)

2.9 Positionality statement: Insider / Outsider

“When unpacking culturally responsive methodologies it is important to note that I must understand and know myself before attempting to know and understand or study the Other” (Valenzuela, 2013, p.73). According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2019), reflexivity recognises that researchers are “part of the social world they study” (p. 16). Reflexivity is seen as a way for researchers to acknowledge themselves within their research so that they can better understand where they are situated (Cohen et al., 2011). As Linda Smith states, “Most research methodologies assume that the researcher is an outsider, able to observe without being implicated in the scene” (2012, p. 138).

I am not an outsider as I am part of the research and as such, I need to ensure that I am reflexive in my thinking and approach. As a non-Māori, it is vital that I place this at the front of my research so that I understand the potential impact on my methodology and on the lens that I

look through. By positioning myself as a collaborator as opposed to an expert and by emphasising the relationship it is hoped that I will be seen as 'insider' (Glynn, 2013).

However, I am not insider as I am not Māori yet this study focusses on improving outcomes for Māori. In order to position myself within this research and to be reflexive, I feel that is important for me to justify myself and my context. This justification is seen as an essential aspect of culturally responsive methodology (Berryman et al., 2013) and necessary for me to be aware of my biases and subjectivity and so that I am aware of my personal positioning within the research agenda (Woller, 2013). As Glynn (2013) notes, the cultural toolkits that we bring to interpret situations are vastly different and so by listening and understanding my own cultural toolkit then I am better positioned to understand others within the research.

Bishop (1998) has observed the role of research in New Zealand in perpetuating a colonial discourse, where Māori have an inability to cope with human problems and "that Māori culture was and is inferior" (p. 200). Again, this is indicative of the lasting impact of the Doctrines of Discovery. It is therefore important that my writing is not reinforcing or promoting the dominant discourse (L. Smith, 2012). Said (1982) asks the question "who writes?" (p. 1) then goes on to say that invariably it is the 'expert', the person who is in the position of power, which in New Zealand, is not Māori. Therefore, when I write about the impact of education on Māori, it is vital that I do not position myself as the expert, that I am not some outsider looking in, that I am respectful, that I listen and that I am aware of the position of power and privilege that my culture has provided me with.

Therefore, I write myself into my research:

> I am a mother and a wife. A friend, a sister, a daughter. I am an outsider; I am tauiwi - I am not from here. I am a coloniser. I am British, Liverpudlian, I am New Zealand Pākehā. I am English, married to an Australian, with two New Zealand children, living in New Zealand.
>
> Originally, from the United Kingdom I moved to New Zealand in the late 90s during a time of shortage of New Zealand trained teachers. My family are originally from Liverpool, with both of my parents being descended from Irish stock, with Scottish and French on my mother's side. This link to other countries has always been a source of pride for me as it implied something more than 'just' being English. My parents were hard workers and both left

school early to begin their careers. They always wanted something better for us. My parents were open-minded, accepting of others. I remember them being anti the Falklands war and this not being the norm. My mother trained to be a nurse and as was then the practice, stopped work after marrying my father to bring up three daughters. My father left school at 14 years old to work on the coal ships that sailed from Liverpool to Newcastle. This was the beginning of a long career involving the sea, which took my father and us, as his family, all over the world. As a child, we lived in Trinidad and the Middle East. We moved extensively and I think I attended 12 schools. I am proud that I have lived all over the world. It was a privileged life.

I fell into teaching after having completed a Biology degree and not being sure what I was going to do with myself. I remember the disappointment from my father that I had picked this as my career.

My first teaching experiences were in inner city London schools. These were incredibly ethnically diverse with many of the students being refugees from around the world. However, none were indigenous and as such, I was never aware of where my culture sat amongst others - the dominant prevailed. On moving to New Zealand, I worked in a school in Auckland where I was astounded by the 'whiteness' of the classroom. During my time at this school, the ethnic makeup changed to include a greater Māori and Pasifika proportion. However, the European culture was dominant. The school was a very traditional boys' college based upon colonial ideals. As such when I changed schools, I reflect that I was ill-prepared to work effectively with Māori students.

While I considered myself a very effective practitioner who met the needs of her students, experiences at my new school showed me that this was not truly the case. I look back in shame at some of my interactions and how poorly I handled situations and individuals. I believed that all students were the same. I failed to see the impact of 'colour' and how alienating school was for our Māori students. I reflect on the myths that I helped maintain and the hidden curriculum that I have taught. As I reflect on my thinking and rhetoric, it was my pathologising of individuals that created the problem. I have learned that

many issues in education sat with me, the systems, and the structures, not with the students.

It was only through the Kia Eke Panuku professional learning that I was able to 'see' the culture that I swam in. It was only through my listening to the stories of Māori that I began to truly understand the lasting impacts of colonisation. It was this that let me look and see some of the behaviours of our Māori students as push back and fighting against the power of the dominant culture. Students who were disengaged because they had not been encouraged to bring their cultural capacity to their learning. Not knowing or seeing or being properly able to articulate their feelings but knowing that something was not right and responding in kind. It is my need to tell this story, in the hope that it will resonate with others, to challenge the perpetuation of colonisation. To help them to reflect and change their practice.

2.10 Summary

The literature reviewed highlights the need for a sociocultural approach to enacting school reform to tackle the education debt. In looking forward to address the disparities in educational outcomes, the literature has emphasised the impact that historic actions and policies continue to have. The creation of assumptions and beliefs of Māori, by Pākehā, can be traced back to the Doctrines of Discovery and the colonisation of Māori. The literature has also identified the need for leadership, which is culturally responsive and prepared to challenge its own positional power. The literature has shown how Kia Eke Panuku endeavoured to address school reform in a sociocultural manner through challenging the assumptions of teachers and leaders.

3 Methodology & Method

3.1 Introduction

Within this chapter, I will define the nature of research and explore the paradigm that this study is situated in. I will also discuss how culturally responsive methodologies relate to this work and how the themes put forward by Berryman et al. (2013) better allowed me to position myself within the research. The method of the research, using photographic essay and interviews as conversations will be discussed, as will the analysis of these results through grounded theory. The participants will be introduced and the research procedure given. Ethical considerations will be outlined to show how the principles of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality were considered and adhered to.

3.2 Research

Research is the systematic enquiry into creating new knowledge; it commences with a clear question and its outcomes are shared (Menter et al., 2011). Research is also the activities and undertakings that are aimed at developing a science of behaviour (Cohen et al., 2011). The nature of the research enquiry, its ontology, epistemology and methodology will then depend upon the paradigm that the researcher is located within (Cohen et al., 2011). So too, will the area of focus and the questions asked be dependent on one's cultural positioning (Siegel, 2006). According to a positivist perspective research must be objective and without bias; to ensure this, an ethical approach must be taken (Menter et al., 2011). Fundamental to good qualitative research is reflexivity (Delamont, 2016), where the researcher undertakes a continual process of analysis and scrutiny of their methodology, their results, their role and the role of their participants (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). The ethical principles of minimisation of harm, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity and limitations of deception must be adhered to. A common goal in educational research is for school improvement, better educational outcomes and improving practice (Menter et al., 2011).

The proposed question "What does it take to make us listen? The experiences of those leading whole school reform to improve outcomes for indigenous minority students" constitutes

research as it involves a systematic enquiry to construct new knowledge which will then be shared.

L. Smith (2012) defines methodology as "the theory of method or approach or technique being taken or the reasoning for selecting a set of methods" (p. ix). Research design eventuates from the research question (Menter et al., 2011). In looking at the research method selected, it is also necessary to know the paradigm and epistemology within which the research is situated as this impacts on the process and how the findings will be viewed. Berryman et al. (2013) identify that it is "essential that researchers be clear about their own epistemology and ability to see beyond their own limited understanding of knowledge production" (p. 3). As this study looks at the experiences of others, it was necessary to use a methodology that allowed for development of reciprocal relationships, care and power sharing. It was decided that culturally responsive methodologies (Berryman et al., 2013) best suited the research and methodology. The rationale for this choice is discussed next.

3.3 The research paradigm

A paradigm is a set of beliefs, values and assumptions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004); it is a way of researching and viewing scientific knowledge (Cohen et al., 2011). Prior to the 1970s, educational research was mainly centred in a positivist paradigm (Donmoyer, 2006), located in a realism view of knowledge where human nature was determined and as such could be studied through quantitative analysis (Cohen et al., 2011). The shift to a post-positivist, interpretive paradigm led to educational research also having a qualitative approach, where human behaviour was viewed as voluntary (Cohen et al., 2011) and knowledge as being something that researchers construct as opposed to discover (Donmoyer, 2006). With a growing focus on the emancipation of individuals and research that was done with and not to (Cohen et al., 2011), the post-positivistic paradigm developed to include critical theories and complexity theories. As educational research has been identified as being increasingly complex (Berliner, 2002; Labaree, 2003), there has been a blending of the two dominant paradigms to create mixed methods research. It is argued that this approach, using both quantitative and qualitative designs, increases the accuracy of the data, providing a more complete, triangulated picture of the research (Cohen et al., 2011). Further discussion has led to this paradigm being referred to as the pragmatic paradigm (Cohen et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2007).

My research question does not fit within the positivist paradigm as the behaviours are not viewed as objective or value-free nor is the cause of the behaviour viewed as being in the past (Cohen et al., 2011). The paradigm is not interpretive given that I, as the researcher, am embedded in the study and the interpretive paradigm does not consider the political and ideological context of New Zealand. The study does have aspects of kaupapa Māori research, as the end outcome is to benefit Māori (Walker et al., 2006). However, L. Smith (1999, as cited in Walker et al., 2006) identifies kaupapa Māori research as "by Māori for Māori and with Māori" (p 333). As I am a Pākehā this would seem to indicate that the research outlined is not a truly kaupapa Māori approach as my Western viewpoint may impact upon the lens through which the study is viewed (Walker et al., 2006). It also has aspects of critical theory as the research seeks to transform the situation rather than just understand it (Cohen et al., 2011). Critical theory seeks to "emancipate the disempowered, to redress inequality and to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 31) which is where this research is situated.

As with Nevin (2013), my experience from a science perspective is that quantitative data is vital, that tests have to be fair and variables controlled, and that validity is ensured through large sample sizes, repeated results and statistical analysis. As such, my whakapapa, has been that of the positivism paradigm where the researcher is 'outside' of the research. However, through my personal learning journey, I now see this is as a very western way of viewing research and not suited to the study I envisage. How I view knowledge also has an impact on the paradigm within which my research is situated. I view knowledge as being in a process of becoming, from a constructivist position. I see the place of mātauranga Māori, in that knowledge continues to evolve and is fluid. I see the place of language and dialogue as essential. I also see the need to understand the impact of colonisation on education. The merging of critical theory and Kaupapa Māori into culturally responsive methodologies (Berryman et al., 2013), allows for the challenging of a western approach, for my subjectivity to inform my research (Nevin, 2013) and for the issues of inequality within education and society, to be deeply examined.

3.4 Culturally responsive methodologies

Situating this research within culturally responsive methodologies, allows for the acknowledgment of the importance of whanaungatanga (relationships). This focus on close relational interactions is in contrast to the western view (Berryman et al., 2013) where, as mentioned previously, research is 'done to' the participants (L. Smith, 2012), disregarding the importance of relationships and their role in the co-construction of knowledge. Within culturally responsive methodology the participants are viewed as experts of their own knowledge and as a result the "validity and reliability or truthfulness and consistency now depend on the quality of relationships rather than research tools and procedures" (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 19). It involves research where the relationship between the researcher and the participant is crucial and "central to both human dignity and praxis" (Berryman, Nevin et al., 2015, p. 3).

By examining Berryman et al.'s (2013) themes for researchers to consider when applying culturally responsive methodologies to their research, I hope to better position myself "both as co-researcher but also as a co-participant" (p, 22). This means that I will attempt to:

Learn from multiple sources - having worked with my participants for a number of years, I hope that I am knowledgeable of them and that I have shown my commitment to them and to this kaupapa of improving outcomes for Māori learners through school reform

Bring my authentic self to the research - in identifying myself and how I am positioned, I hope to show my authentic self.

Bring a relational and dialogical consciousness – through focussing on our relationships I hope to evoke genuine opportunities for voices to speak and be listened to.

Enact ongoing critical reflection – by being reflexive in my thinking, I will continue to question my position and the lens that I am using to understand my own situation and the situation of others.

Assess shared relationships and agreements – through continued reflection and sharing of our thinking, I hope this work will be of benefit to our Māori students and their whānau.

3.5 Method

This study uses photographic essay, interviews as conversation and grounded theory as its method of analysis. These will be explained further in this section.

3.5.1 Images in research: The photographic essay

In photographic essays, the participant is asked to select photos and then present their reflections on the selected images (Menter et al., 2011). As part of the research method, the participants were asked to select a series of images that reflected their journey through the process of school reform and then write reflective commentaries on their images. This method of evidence collection has been selected to take a different perspective on the views of those involved. As an alternative to questionnaires and interviews, the use of images allows for the communication of "our deepest feelings" (Prosser, 1998, p. 1) and potential discussion on a more complex level (Harper, 1998). It is hoped that the use of images may provide a different way to communicate views and ideas that may have been shared previously in the written word, but not necessarily heard or understood. The importance of using visual images was seen to provide a different way of knowing and telling (Prosser & Loxley, 2007).

The meaning of the photograph needs to be constructed by the maker and the viewer (Prosser, 1998) otherwise, we run the risk of the 'outsider' interpreting what is presented. This can be a limitation of this method (Prosser & Loxley, 2007). The use of the written reflective commentary by the participant provides a non-visual means to support the use of the images. Thus ensuring that those viewing the image, as opposed to those who created them, do not interpret the images differently (Menter et al., 2011). Including the interview as conversation, which further allows the participant to reflect and explain to the researcher their thinking. Thus, allowing a relational and dialogical consciousness and ensuring that the images are not interpreted incorrectly (Menter et al., 2011).

3.5.2 Interviews as conversations

The research question should dictate the methods used (Cook, 2001). Furthermore, research has the most power when the method is deliberately selected (Arksey & Knight, 1999) and aligns with the methodology. In selecting interviews as a method, the information gathered is not meant to provide generalisable findings but to enhance and deepen the understanding of a given area or topic (Menter et al., 2011). Interviews are used preferably where there is already knowledge and the aim is to deepen or find out people's perceptions and attitudes (Menter et

al., 2011). Menter et al. (2011) describe interviews as "dialogue aimed at eliciting information" (p. 126). Interviews are a powerful tool for researchers (Cohen et al., 2011) where there is a "conversation between two people in which one person has the role of researcher" (Arksey & Knight, 1999, p. 2). Interviews as a research method have become increasingly popular (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Menter et al., 2011) because of the flexibility that they allow the researcher (Bell & Waters, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011). They can also be used to complement other research methods, as in this study, thus increasing the robustness of the research (Menter et al., 2011).

Interviews are seen as the sharing of information between interviewer and interviewee (Kvale, 1996, as cited in Cohen et al., 2011) and as such, in the context of culturally responsive practice and pedagogy, their use as a research method allows better understanding of the views, beliefs and assumptions of those being interviewed. Previously the role of the interviewer was to extract information from the interviewee (Oakley, 1981). Bishop (1997) discusses how changes in interviewing have gone some way to developing an "*enhanced research relationship*" (p. 32) in which those involved are able to share their viewpoints on how they regard situations (Cohen et al., 2011).

The type of interview selected for this study allows for an unstructured approach to interviewing, where the theme or topic is used to form questions as part of a conversation (Burgess, 1984). The questions emerge from the immediate context and there are no predetermined question topics (Cohen et al., 2011). As an interview involves a social interaction, the quality of the data generated can be affected by the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee (Menter et al., 2011). Power dynamics, personality and gender can all have an impact, as can the skills and experience of the interviewer (Menter et al., 2011). Interviews as conversations, where the researcher positions themselves as silent and attentive, goes some way to reducing the dominance of the researcher within the 'conversation' (Bishop, 1997).

3.5.3 Grounded theory

Grounded theory is a qualitative approach to data analysis first developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. According to Charmaz (2000), "grounded theory methods consist of systematic inductive guidelines for collecting and analysing data to build middle-range theoretical frameworks that explain the collected data" (p. 509). It allows themes to be identified and theoretical explanations to be created (Menter et al., 2011). Cohen et al.'s (2011) synthesis of the different versions of grounded theory identify several key features:

- theory is emergent rather than predefined or and tested;
- theory emerges from the *data* rather than vice versa;
- theory generation is a consequence of, and partner to, *systematic* data collection and analysis;
- patterns and theories are implicit in data, waiting to be discovered;
- grounded theory is both inductive and deductive, it is iterative and close to the data that give rise to it. (p. 598)

Analysis using grounded theory involves coding, to highlight key aspects in the data; collecting aspects of the data that can then be grouped; categorising, to generate theories and theorising to explain the subject of the research (Menter et al., 2011, p, 145). Coding allows the data to be taken apart and developed into abstract ideas (Charmaz, 2006). In the case of this study, the interview transcripts and images were analysed to identify common emerging themes. These themes were then used to create an ongoing memo (Cohen et al., 2011). Through memo writing, we are encouraged to think differently about our codes and it assists with "linking analytical interpretation with empirical reality" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 517). Further analysis of the data allows constant comparison to be undertaken and in this way, the emerging themes can be analysed and theories developed. The method of grounded theory and its use in analysis allows us to better share the stories of those involved in our research, for as Charmaz (2000) says "Through sharing the worlds of our subjects, we come to conjure an image of their constructions and of our own" (p. 529).

3.6 Research procedure

Two possible candidates were considered. They were sent an email inviting them to take part; the information letter, information sheet and informed consent form were attached to the email. This information can be found in the appendices. The email was then followed up with a phone call to discuss any questions they might have about their potential involvement. Then, participants were asked to reflect on their experiences of leading school reform by selecting images that reflected their journey through Kia Eke Panuku. They were then asked to write a reflective commentary about their images.

Next, I met with each of the participants for about an hour and undertook an informal interview as a conversation. Participants chose where the interview would take place. During the interview, the participants were asked to discuss their images and their thinking behind them. Interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The participants were given a copy of the transcript to check before analysis began. Once the transcripts and images had been verified and annotated, they were analysed using grounded theory. This was done through a breakdown of the interviews and images to create codes for what was being said and seen. These codes were then synthesised to identify the common themes within the data. As I undertook the analysis, I wrote memos to highlight concepts as they arose.

As a participant myself, I also selected images that reflected my personal journey and wrote about those.

3.7 The participants

The participants were selected from individuals who took part in the Kia Eke Panuku programme from 2015 – 2016. Given the importance of relationships in culturally responsive methodologies, the fact that I had previously worked with the participants and had an established relationship is of importance. As Valenzuela states: “This intangible element that allows me to cross to and from the participants world is the mutual trust that we have developed through having long lasting relationships with the participants” (2013, p. 75)

All three participants are women who were involved with leading school reform through delivering professional development to other teachers. Pseudonyms are used to respect confidentiality.

Lizzie was a teacher who was a member of a SCLT. She is a young Māori who had been teaching for 10 years at the start of the programme.

Alicia was an experienced kaitoro who had been involved with Te Kotahitanga as a teacher and was now providing external facilitation of Kia Eke Panuku.

The third participant is myself, the researcher. I was a senior leader within a school participating in Kia Eke Panuku and a member of the SCLT.

3.8 Ethics

This study was approved by Te Kura Toi Tangata Faculty of Education Ethics Committee of the University of Waikato.

In planning the research, the principles of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality were considered and adhered to. The participants were not coerced into being involved in the study. Potential power sharing was established through the relationship between the researcher and the participants in that they had worked together previously in Kia Eke Panuku, this is no longer the case. The only power relationships that were present were those between friends. As the researcher, I was aware of how this influenced the participants and the research and so was mindful of how I interacted with the participants and the data that they provided.

The participants were given the right to decline to participate and withdraw their data at any time without any penalty. They were told that they would be able to decline verbally to myself or in writing. This was outlined in the information sheet and informed consent form. The participants were able to withdraw up until they had approved their transcripts. The participants were advised, through the information sheet, that they would have the opportunity to review, amend and approve their data, in this case, images, explanations and interview transcript, prior to the analysis of the data.

The participants will have access to the findings now they have been written and prior to publication. The participants have been advised that they can access the outcomes of the study from the University of Waikato Research Commons for theses.

3.9 Summary

In this research, I am positioned as both insider and outsider. It is hoped that in this positioning I will have an increased awareness of the world that I am studying. Given my outsider status and the historic damage of research 'done' to Māori, I am mindful of my position and the power that I hold. In basing my research in culturally responsive methodologies, I am better able to utilise the strong relationships that I have formed thus placing me as insider within this work. As both insider and outsider, it is hoped that this work will be of benefit to Māori students and their whānau.

4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the key themes that have emerged from my research. I will begin by outlining how the participants approached the selection of their images. I will then look to answer each of the research questions through a collaborative story approach.

Within this section, all of the participants use the term kaupapa and as such, I feel it is necessary to explain its meaning in more detail. As introduced in the literature review, the kaupapa of Kia Eke Panuku was "Secondary schools giving life to Ka Hikitia and addressing the aspirations of Māori communities by supporting Māori students to pursue their potential" (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). When using the term kaupapa, the participants and I are relating this work directly back to the central purpose of the Kia Eke Panuku initiative.

4.2 How participants approached their images

I begin by considering how the participants selected their images. As the images, to some extent have then influenced how the findings are considered.

Lizzie selected images that showed people and places from her life. She had initially selected images that were abstract; she wanted to use these to describe the concepts she wanted to convey. However, she realised that what was important to her were the people involved, from her whānau and from her work. For Lizzie, this was the reason that she had been involved in this kaupapa.

Alicia decided that she could not select images to use for a number of reasons. She wanted to use images of her whānau:

> So, my thought processes were initially to me this is all about humans being humans. But I'm not going to take photos of people. There's no way I would do that, I can't take photos of my whānau, and put them in… I'm not okay with that.

Alicia did not feel comfortable doing this knowing that the images of her whānau may be published. She was also uncomfortable with the idea of taking someone else's work, for example from the internet, and using those images. She referred to it being like plagiarism. During her interview, Alicia said that she would have chosen images that included her family, planting a seed, fertile soil, birds in flight. Alicia indicated that she would have used images from the artist Robin Kahukiwa. Instead of using images, Alicia selected and gave the whakataukī:

Mā te huruhuru ka rere te manu. Adorn this bird with feathers to enable it to fly

I also struggled initially to think of images that represented my journey. When I first considered what I would select, as with the other participants, my images would all have been of people with words, questions and comments that they said to me that made me think – thus prompting my unlearning. That was the first stage in my process. I held in my mind an image of the person and wrote down what they had said to me. After doing this, I was then able to select images that articulated clear ideas that had come through and that I wanted to express. I began with the people who had influenced my new learning but then the focus became the acts of unlearning and new learning.

4.3 What were some critical experiences of those leading whole school reform?

Critical experiences for the participants were centred on their own conscientisation, the place of social justice and inequity, the process of unlearning and learning and the place of power and how this plays out within schools.

4.3.1 Conscientisation in themselves

A significant experience for all of the participants was their journey to conscientisation. For each individual it took place at different times and because of differing experiences, though there were common themes. These were the use of voices collected through the Rongohia te Hau surveys, the importance of working collaboratively in partnership with others and their own awareness of their thinking through this process. It should be noted that conscientisation for the participants was not seen as a single discreet act but can be seen as multiple experiences and actions.

4.3.1.1 Use of other voices

Lizzie and I identified the use of the Rongohia te Hau data as being of particular significant for us. Alicia made comment of how she saw the triangulated survey analysis, collecting voice from students, whānau and teachers, and the classroom walkthroughs as helping to create conscientisation.

Lizzie used images of tukutuku panels that she had from Waitangi to express how looking in one direction and then another can change how you see the information.

She used the following words to go with the image:

> Take a step back to take a closer look. Searching for the truth in a different perspective. Student voice, whānau voice, staff voice. Ever closer to our truth.

This was in relation to the collection of the triangulated voices through the Rongohia te Hau survey. Lizzie felt that for the first time the data created some very hard and honest conversations about what was happening in our schools. There was a need to step back and look at things differently and from a different perspective.

> It was the first time I think we'd ever had some really honest conversations… that we actually need to step back and then we'll see a different perspective.

I also commented on how the Rongohia te Hau data allowed us to see the true culture of our school through the perspective of our Māori students and their whānau.

> When you actually started to look at what was happening in our school and what it was like for our Māori students, you appreciated how 'white' our school was. Once seen, you couldn't not see that. The data from Rongohia te Hau helped to see our culture through a different set of eyes.

Alicia spoke about how the data allowed others to see what was happening from a different perspective as well.

> Rongohia te Hau creates a space to reflect on other people's points of view… something like that is really powerful because [without relevant evidence] it's really hard to see through another's eyes.

4.3.1.2 Partnership

Lizzie selected a number of images that reflected the duality of New Zealand under the Treaty of Waitangi. In one of the images she chose, there are two young girls, one Māori, one Pākehā sharing a hongi (Māori cultural greeting). Lizzie explains why she selected that image:

> I like the fact that it is Māori and non-Māori… Because that was one of the nicest aspects about our team, was that it was Pākehā people that felt that this kaupapa was as important as the Māori people at the table did. So, the agency of the Pākehā people, it moved me hugely.

Again, the importance of this partnership for Lizzie can be seen in her experience:

> …rather than us talking about what had happened to 'our' families, what the history was and how we heal this history… It was about Pākehā people talking, and not a blame game, but Pākehā people talking about owning the history, owning what had happened and then saying, understanding this is why we are here and understanding that it can be different… I don't think I'd ever felt that before. I'd always felt that like I'd been listening to my aunties and different people in my family explaining tikanga Māori, explaining the loss of a language, explaining…It wasn't like, us trying to convince Pākehā people of our position, it was actually about Pākehā people understanding as well.

This working together with Pākehā was very important to her as she felt it represented the true meaning of the Treaty and a way forward. In another of her images, Lizzie referred to the principles of partnership, protection and participation where she showed herself working with a Pākehā colleague. For Lizzie, this learning together was important.

> …we all learnt together, and I learnt as much as Pākehā people learnt.

4.3.1.3 Our feelings of conscientisation

Both Lizzie and I talked about how the process of conscientisation had felt for us. I talked about my personal embarrassment at some of the ways that I had previously thought and how this would have influenced my practice. However, there was also an awareness that this thinking needed to be acknowledged and that these thoughts were part of our process of unlearning, learning and becoming.

> I am embarrassed for some of the ways that I previously thought. Though, they are me and I have to accept them. I can't believe personally how far I have come.
>
> I also didn't understand the concept [whakawhanaungatanga]! I remember going to one of the hui [meeting] late so I missed out on that part. I'd turned up after. Not understanding till later the importance of that stage.
>
> I was 'effective' but not culturally responsive or relational. The culture part is so important.
>
> …this was not how I should feel if I felt this was important and if it was something that I wanted to be involved with. I should be more open. I had to make a conscious decision from then to be like that.

Lizzie spoke about how she wanted to share her new thinking with others and how it made her question her own practice.

> I remember wanting to share that and that's a really difficult thing 'cause you actually have to learn that for yourself, about you... you go through that process yourself… I questioned so many things about my own practice.

Lizzie also spoke about her own conscientisation when she realised the role that she had been playing in maintaining the status quo that reinforced educational disparities for Māori students.

> Cause they [Māori students] don't need saving. And, there was just a little part of me, that still had that mentality, just because I was so desperate for things to be better and then when I realised I was part of the problem
>
> …because even around the racism I had lots of aha moments about how I had become part of that.

A significant shift in thinking for me centred on my personal 'soapbox'. This was my pou (pillar) that I used when I wanted to challenge the status quo or when I could see the inequalities that were present in our systems and I wanted to make them visible to others. Metaphorically, I would stand on my 'soapbox' so that I could share this thinking with others. Now that I had seen the inequity, it was not something that I could ignore, nor was it something that I felt should be ignored.

> I can't un-see it. I can't unlearn it.

This inability to change your thinking was also emphasised by Lizzie. For her, as Māori, she could then see the injustice in her own family's experiences and in how she was interacting with the whānau that she worked with.

> But now I was so aware. It was an awareness that I couldn't take away and so I would draw parallels in the conversations I would have, in the way I was speaking with families, in the things that I was doing to and with families and I made connections to my own family and the things that had been 'done to' them. So now again that was front and centre.

In selecting one of my images, it made be aware of how I viewed my journey.

Parts of this path aren't easy; they're hard work. It hurts. I do these walks with my friends. We share experiences; we go together. They support me – I'm always at the back.

I realised the enormity of this kaupapa and that it required a collaborative approach. I also reflected on the learning that we underwent and how naïve we were in our understanding of what culture was and how it impacted on our students.

> I think this also reflects that being culturally responsive was something that you did as an add on. Even in the early days, we struggled about what was culturally responsive and what was culturally appropriate. I think it showed our lack of understanding of what culture is and how little we perceived the dominant culture that we swam in.

Alicia spoke about how her understanding of her role as a kaitoro changed over time. How in the beginning she positioned herself as the expert, but as she learnt to apply the principles of culturally responsive and relational pedagogy, she realised that this did not embody the notion of power sharing and building self-determination.

> But the evidence of my practice over time, showed me that lighting the fire in other people was much more rewarding and effective. And I enjoy it; I love seeing people get excited and off they go and do amazing things…

4.3.2 Social injustice & inequity

The participants' awareness of social injustice and inequity created strong emotional responses, particularly for Lizzie and myself.

4.3.2.1 Grief & hurt

The impact of social injustice and inequity was far-reaching for Lizzie. This was evident in the images that she selected and the comments that she made. In her choice of images, Lizzie had a close up of her uncle with the words "I'm sorry. I'm hurt and sorry. I owe you this much." This sense of pain at what inequity had caused for her whānau was also evident in how she spoke during the interview.

> …his disconnection from education for such a long… for his whole life… I often just flashed back to it, I flashed back to him and my dad and all of his family, all of his siblings… I kept thinking about the systems and the way we have things set up and the institutional racism that's existed for as long as these guys have been…

For her this represented the alienation of Māori from education because of institutionalised racism. She referred to people hurting and the grief that she and others felt. Lizzie labelled an image of the Māori Battalion performing a haka with the words "The grief - 100 years of bad press". For Lizzie it was "Grief. The pain of bringing these issues front and centre. Māori withdrawn and disconnected."

She spoke in particular about an older Māori teacher and how she felt that Kia Eke Panuku had affected him.

> I remember what was on his face. That we were bringing up so many things that he'd struggled with for so long, and then we'd all decided as a team that we all needed to take these things and work together on them and he'd been sitting with this grief for a long time.

Lizzie also spoke about the sense of responsibility that she felt to tackle these issues and the sense of obligation to change what was happening.

> What will it mean if we do? What difference will it make this far on? And this far gone. And then I felt really hurt and I felt really sorry… I thought I owe you this much.

Lizzie also commented on how being part of the system that was creating inequity made her feel.

> And I look at the quality of life and I look at some of the real struggles and sometimes being part of the same system… I struggle with. Because sometimes, the families that I work with, well actually all of the families, and I don't think I'm different from anyone else, the families that I work with, I would see reflections of my own family.

For myself, this was evident in one of the people I selected for my images; that is a young Māori girl who left school at the start of Year 10. Her lack of voice was indicative of a system that had shut her out and not met her needs "Saying nothing. Not being at school." This is an example for me of the lack of social justice within our schools that our young Māori feel that the only agency that they have is to not return to school

4.3.2.2 Pride

In contrast to the grief and the hurt, Lizzie also identified the sense of pride that she had in being involved in this kaupapa and how it could make a difference for Māori.

> But also huge amounts of pride that I was working on a kaupapa that was so important to make sure that things were different and that what kids were getting, what was getting up in front of kids everyday was going to be different from what these guys had had. It was a bit of a driver too; it was a real driver.

4.3.2.3 Urgency

Lizzie and I both commented on the need for urgency to ensure that social injustice was challenged and challenged now. One of the conversations amongst the participants explored what this looked like:

> At a whānau hui, where we were explaining what Kia Eke Panuku was and what we were doing, the parent expressed that they were glad that this was what we were doing as a school but how was it helping their child in that moment.

> …at the same time we had Māori students being disengaged from school, being stood down, suspended, so I felt that real urgency…

4.3.2.4 Hope

Lizzie then went on to discuss the hope and the importance that she felt that the social injustices and inequity could be challenged through Kia Eke Panuku. She linked this into her selection of two of her images to show her brother with his new born child. This helped her to articulate the idea that it was about growth and doing something better for the next generation; that it could not be a continuation of the previous inequities.

> A new beginning brought with it hope, hope that things could be so different. Especially for these ones. So desperately wanted this to right for us.

> I did feel like really weighty, that we had the kaupapa and that we had it in our hands and that we were the ones that were going to be responsible for this. And I felt all of that anticipation sitting there between us when we were having some of those conversations and sometimes even that angst between us because we knew how important this was.

4.3.3 Unlearning & learning

The participants expressed how Kia Eke Panuku pushed them to unlearn through a way of learning that required them to be actively involved. They also spoke about how they personally resisted this new learning and saw this resistance in others.

4.3.3.1 The learning was different

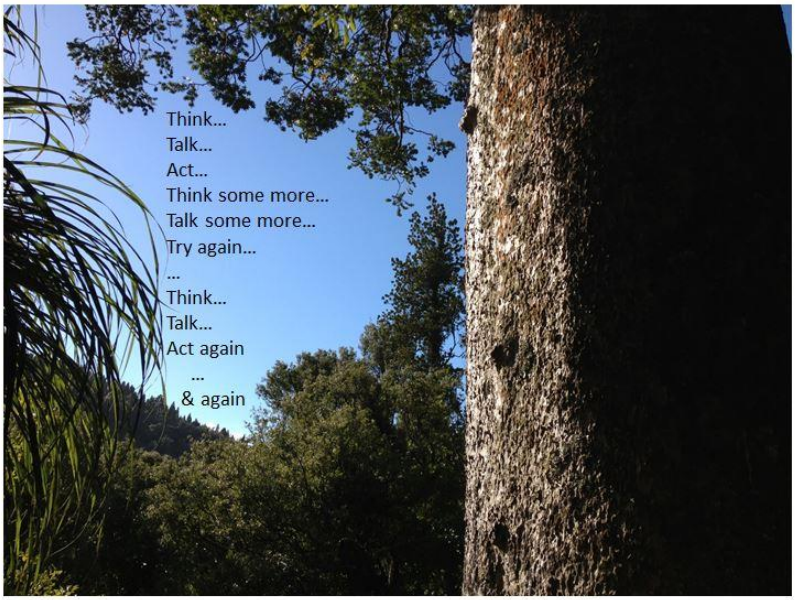
All of the participants commented about how different the learning was in Kia Eke Panuku to previous initiatives that they had been involved with. They referred to the sociocultural nature of learning through the need for new understandings to be constructed together.

> We had to find it. We couldn't just be receptacles of the knowledge. We had to find it ourselves. It wasn't that we were given information and then asked to make sense of it, which is how we'd always learnt before. It was quite different from that and it was all around the questioning, the questioning of our facilitators and then us learning to question each other, that got us to think so differently.

For Alicia as a kaitoro, it was about getting people to unlearn what they thought by breaking down the mental models that they currently held and adhered to. She spoke about the need to challenge their thinking.

> …because it's the mental models that prevent us from really making a difference. So many people are unaware of the mental models they carry around every day. The assimilated ways of seeing the world; the racist attitudes and beliefs, all of those things. And it's the qualities of the individual which allow somebody like me to say some pretty hard things and then for them to hold it and not get upset or crazy but go "Wow, that's really different, what do I think about that?" And go away and ponder it and then allow it to shift them if it's what they think is right or correct or helpful.

Selecting this image below enabled me to think about how I saw the learning process. The shift for me personally, was the concept of thinking critically about what we were doing and that this thinking had a theoretical basis. Previous initiatives that I had been involved in had never challenged the assumptions that I held. They had been, and continue to be based, on reinforcing the current status quo of deficit-orientated approaches and students needing to be 'fixed'.



I see the tree as my pou. The poem represents my thinking on learning. The need to talk and co-construct your thinking with others.

4.3.3.2 Opposition to learning

Lizzie and I identified the opposition that we had encountered within our schools to this way of thinking. For me personally, there was a new understanding of learning. I had always been conscious that as someone who had been successful at school, learning had come easy to me. I knew that this was not the case for all and I needed to be mindful of that. However, this learning positioned me outside of my comfort zone in a place where I realised my Māori students were often located daily.

> Struggling with the process – so much, so fast. I remember feeling lost in the process. There was all this 'stuff' written on the walls and I remember feeling overwhelmed and not knowing where to go next.

Lizzie talked about the need to unlearn what she believed when the data challenged her thinking.

> I remember some of the data thinking I had to unlearn things because I thought, I know, I've got a fair idea of what's going to come out here. And then sometimes it was different, and I had to be okay with that too.

It was evident that teachers still wanted to address the disparities as a technical problem. This can be seen in the comment made to me by a Head of Faculty regarding their faculty data "We've tried everything. It doesn't work. If we knew what to do we'd be doing it."

There was opposition to learning in the SCLT as well and this was evident in some schools in how their members viewed the conflict that they were seeing from staff.

> There were some voices that members of the SCLT didn't want to listen to but you can't do that if you honestly feel that every voice has value. You might not like what they're saying but that doesn't make it any less true. Kia Eke Panuku taught me to listen to the other voices and to think about what we doing from their perspective – and I'm talking about teachers here.

I believe Lizzie's choice of image to show a storm symbolises what we saw in ourselves and in others. There needed to be discomfort in our thinking and there needed to be challenges to our assumptions, as this loss of equilibrium is often what allows for unlearning and learning.

One learns more from storms than from settled weather

4.3.4 Power

The realisation of the place of power within our school was also a critical experience for the participants. The awareness of where that power sits and what it maintained had a significant impact on the participants.

4.3.4.1 The place of power

Part of my journey towards conscientisation was a clearer understanding of the role of power within our society and in particular in the education system. Reflecting on conversations that I had with colleagues where we discussed what it meant to be Māori and which of our students identified as Māori and which did not. These involved teachers making judgments about students' culture based upon where the students lived and whether or not they did kapa haka (Māori performing group). I now see this as another form of colonisation in action in our schools today. The people with the power, Pākehā, deciding who is and who is not Māori.

I am also conscious of the rationale for joining Kia Eke Panuku. For some schools, I do not think that the focus initially was about challenging the position of power or Pākehā privilege; it was about looking for a strategy that would 'fix' our data.

> I think it was about knowing that there was an issue with our data and how our Māori students were achieving in comparison to our Pākehā students. But at the start, I know it sounds harsh, but I'm not convinced it was about changing our

> school or our systems it was about getting the kids to do better. Not that there was any acknowledgement of how we as teachers were implicit in what was happening.

From my personal experience, many secondary school teachers considered themselves very sound practitioners, who treated their students as individuals. There was little awareness by them of who held the power within our schools and the impact that this was having on our Māori students. Alicia spoke about her role as kaitoro in raising this awareness in other; she used the question "Who benefits from that?" This question was designed to increase the understanding of teachers so that they could see who was holding the power and what affects that was having.

4.3.4.2 Maintaining power

When one of my colleagues said to me "But it depends on what you think school is for," it stopped me in my tracks.

> What was my role in social reproduction? How did I perpetuate the dominant discourse? I'm not sure I'd ever truly considered this – how ridiculous was that? And then, when I did start thinking about it I couldn't not think about it. Was I creating an education system where the sole point was to keep people 'in their place'?

Alicia talked about her views on the role of education and the need for liberation to challenge the power structures.

> I think we are so institutionalised and colonised. Freire talks about that you're either educating to bring people into the current social order or you're educating to liberate. Often I find that when I'm sitting with teachers and leaders in schools, that they are not liberated.

All the participants mentioned perpetuating the status quo and challenging the systems that the power maintained. For Lizzie it was the realisation that she was playing a role in maintaining the power.

> Almost like ‘help the Māori students’, rather than understanding that I was part of the problem and part of the systems who encouraged them to be where they were.
>
> I was deficit around Māori students without even realising that. And that was probably the biggest shift for me once I realised. I’m part of the systems, and I’ve helped create some of these systems that are actually limiting success for Māori as Māori.

At that time, the word racism was not used explicitly by the participants. However, reference was made to power being used to reinforce prejudice that was based on race and that this was considered the right thing to do. Alicia did speak openly about racism and how she was now able to use that word far more in schools. She gave an example of a conversation that she had had with a Pākehā teacher, who had tried to explain to her why her daughter had been subjected to reverse racism.

> Racism is prejudice with power behind it. So, if we understand that is the meaning then there can’t be reverse racism because the Māori people do not sit in the halls of power and decide how the system will work for their benefit.

In this comment, Alicia clearly identifies how the lack of power for Māori means that they are removed from making decisions about the education system and its impacts upon them. Alicia also then went on to give an example of how when suggestions are made that challenge this position of power, people do not want them, as they do not want to lose the power that they hold.

> And then if you say, look here’s a way to stop doing the really horrible thing, people go ooh! Hang on! What’s in it for me? And is it going to disadvantage this group over here who’s really advantaged? And am I going to get hurt?

For myself this shows the need for school leaders to be courageous in their work, as they need to make changes within their schools that address these power imbalances and the disparity and lack of social justice that it maintains.

4.3.4.3 How does that make us feel?

In examining the place and position of power within our schools, Lizzie and I spoke about how an awareness of this made them feel.

From my own reflections, I was naively surprised at how staff responded to conversations where we suggested changes to address the power imbalance. Staff were still affronted by a focus that was specifically for Māori students. When the Rongohia te Hau data was presented to teachers, many responded with anger and disbelief. People looked for flaws in the method of collection in order to justify holes in the data.

> I remember it being hard for some of the other teachers who were presenting. We hadn't expected this. I remember members of the team taking the reactions very personally. They were hurt.

Lizzie expressed how this created resentment for her towards her Pākehā colleagues, as she felt that they were not supporting the Māori students. She was also conscious of her older Māori teaching colleagues. She expressed concern for them in the way that they engaged with the learning given the work that they had struggled with over the years and the racism that they had been subjected to.

> Sometimes he'd get angry; sometimes he would withdraw… he definitely participated 'differently' from the rest of us… I remember questioning why I didn't feel that and then I realised that I hadn't been subjected to the sort of racism that he has. And not for as long.

I selected the image below because it made me reflect on the place of power within our schools and how this makes Pākehā and Māori feel. The children in this photo are mine and those of my friends. Every day the children and the adults in this picture are allowed to bring who they are into their school and their classrooms. Their culture is what dominates, what is privileged and therefore, what holds power. As educators, we regularly complain about how we are unable to get Māori whānau to engage with us. My realisation was that this is not surprising given the negative experience that we invariably create for them. It was through reflecting on my own children's experience within education that made me question what I was doing for my Māori students.

Not allowing them to bring their culture into my classroom and the negative impact it had on them and their learning

4.4 What helped leaders to challenge the dominant discourses within their school and lead changes in teacher pedagogy?

The participants identified that relationships, leadership and creating conscientisation in others was what enabled them to challenge the dominant discourse within their school and make changes in teacher pedagogy.

4.4.1 Relationships

The role of relationships is a key concept within culturally responsive and relational pedagogy, so perhaps it is not surprising that relationships were a significant feature in helping leaders to

challenge the dominant discourses. I believe that Alicia articulates this clearly when arguing what is needed to make change.

> …the relationships, which are the powerful things that move people.

I wanted to show the power of supportive relationships to challenge us and push us to make difficult choices.

> I do these walks with my friends. We share experiences; we go together. They support me – I'm always at the back. They are just happy that I am there with them. We couldn't have done what we did without the support of those around us. It takes individual and collective action.

Alicia also emphasised the importance that it was a team of people leading this kaupapa, as it did require a group approach.

> …the team that's around them is critical as well, because as we know, if you're the only one, it is an incredibly lonely journey. And I feel that when you are in this space of challenge and being challenged you actually need people around you to support you.

4.4.1.1 Types of relationships

Alicia identified what she saw as the key features of relationships within those leading this kaupapa.

> Strong relationships built on shared vision of equity – not compromising the vision; being clear from the start who we are and how we are so the relationship is one of transparency, respectful and power sharing.

Additionally, Alicia indicated that as in the Effective Teaching Profile from Te Kotahitanga, relationships needed to be non-dominating power relationships, especially within the SCLT. Without this, the SCLT was not able to share their questions and explore ideas. Alicia expressed that this required a willingness from the SCLT to avoid personal criticism and judgement and to create a space where not knowing was safe. She saw this as essential for the SCLT to move forward and challenge current views and action. Non-dominating power relationships were not evident in teams where ideas were shut down or members tried to wield power over others in order to dominate and manipulate the processes of learning.

> When I think specifically about some teams that have been like that… if they're power holders who are wielding power over, then you don't get that condition.

For Alicia as well it was about developing others through power sharing relationships.

> It's that human thing again. Encouraging people to grow beyond where they are… being in a relationship of what can I do to support you in whatever it is you're wanting to be doing in the future.

Lizzie commented on the need for true collaboration between members of SCLT and how when this occurred the potential for new learning was created.

> I put that down to the way we were able to work together. The way that we were expected to work together through that process, around the questioning, around the creating – we created things together. Even though we were so different, we were such a diverse group, but it was a true understanding of a collaborative approach to working on something.

All of the participants articulated the importance of being able to share who they were with their colleagues. For Lizzie this was symbolised through an image of her and her father talking and these words:

> Connect me to my people, connect me to my place. It is only through this that we will connect with each other, forever. The team incredibly close and committed to this kaupapa.

4.4.1.2 Trust

Another key feature of relationships is the place of trust. All of the participants mentioned this. Lizzie expressed the need to be able to trust the other member of the SCLT, as many of the conversations that were had were uncomfortable and required people to show their vulnerabilities. This developed a high level of trust between team members. Lizzie's comment below is indicative of the reciprocal nature of these relationships.

> You needed to be fed and you needed to be supportive and you needed each other.

Alicia also focussed on the need for trust between kaitoro and teachers so that everyone involved could safely take risks.

> Cause the trust factor has to be built, constantly every day; that people trust you to take them to hard places.

I also commented on the importance of trust in being able to challenge others.

> …you also have to be able to challenge them and that's where trust sits. I felt that when we sat around the table as the SCLT, we sat as equals; there was high trust that developed over time.

4.4.1.3 Use of narratives

In developing relationships with the teachers that she worked with, Alicia spoke about sharing her own stories. Alicia felt that through this she was able to make connections with the people and develop trust. It enabled the teachers to relate to her as a person and the narrative of her life.

> …people connect at a heart level. They also can make connections, because everyone has a whānau, and when I tell stories about my dad, or I tell stories about my son, or I tell stories about an experience I had as a teacher, then people can connect to that. In a way that the data doesn't. It's a human face. Which builds that relationship, that strengthens that relationship.
>
> Humans experiencing humanity are very powerful ways of bypassing our ways of minds to go to our hearts.
>
> I would say that the narratives [personal stories] are really powerful.

The ability for people to share their stories also highlighted for Lizzie a better understanding of why someone does what they do. For her this was crucial in accepting the people she was working with. These shared understandings and experiences also led to a shared language, which Alicia saw as essential to the successful working of a SCLT.

> I can say the word cultural to a person I don't know, and they have this complete other story about what the word cultural means… you do have to have a shared language to have understanding and trust… particularly initially with teams.

4.4.2 Leadership

The importance of leadership in this initiative was seen in the leadership of the kaitoro and the leadership of the SCLT. The participants reflected on what they saw as the key qualities needed to lead this kaupapa. They also discussed the challenges in leading those that did not want to change their views.

4.4.2.1 Leadership of the kaitoro

A crucial factor identified by Lizzie and myself was the role of the kaitoro in helping us, as leaders to challenge the dominant discourse of where power was located and lead changes in teacher pedagogy. Kaitoro had a clear vision based upon research, of what we were trying to achieve. Alicia commented, "There is something that drives us". Kaitoro 'fed' new ways of thinking and made us reflect critically on what was taking place within our schools. The kaitoro were:

> … extremely strong facilitators and almost didn't let us get away with anything. Didn't let us off the hook. And I found Alicia very strong… she turned up the heat on us sometimes too, and I think you had to be prepared for that as well.

They created a sense of urgency and a need for change. This strength in Alicia's ability as a facilitator was not something that Alicia felt was always welcomed or seen. She commented that some school leaders found her leadership 'weak'. On exploring this further, this was because of the type of leadership schools were expecting. They expected Alicia to position herself as the expert and provide them with the answers. Alicia saw this as a reflection of how we view leadership; in the traditional mental models of these people, a leader is there to tell you what to do.

> Some people get really cross and say, "You're not doing what you're supposed to; you have to tell us." "It's all very well this theory, but can you tell me the top three things that make a difference for Māori achievement."

In modelling the principles of culturally responsive and relational pedagogy in her practice as a kaitoro, Alicia aimed to make it explicit for teachers that this is what the principles could look like when leading. She also supported the development of the leaders' own action plan that focussed on what made a difference as opposed to what people did.

Alicia saw her role as kaitoro as a facilitator of learning and as a co-learner.

> I have to say it a lot and enact it for people to start understanding that I'm not here to tell you what to do. I'm here to facilitate your learning.

This is disruptive to how some people think and it was important to Alicia to handle this conflict in a way that maintained the mana of those involved. Alicia again spoke about how using her own personal narratives allowed time for people to process what she was saying. She emphasised the need to model this change so that the teachers realised that they would have to find the answers for themselves.

> It takes a lot of modelling and it takes time for people to understand "Oh, she's not going to come with the answers… We have the answers we just haven't been used to finding them for ourselves…" It's retraining, unlearning.

Therefore, the relationships between the kaitoro and those leading the kaupapa needed to reflect the principles of culturally responsive and relational pedagogy. Alicia believed that she needed to position herself in this way so that she was truly sharing power herself thus aiding the development of others.

> But the power, and if you think of the principles of cultural relationships responsive pedagogy, it says that we understand how we share power with each other and that we want to contribute to somebody who can build their own self-determination.
>
> It's a relationship of transparency, respectful and power sharing. So, the power sharing one is an awkward one because if people think you're an expert then they don't understand when you try to share power or co-construct.

4.4.2.2 Qualities of a leader

The participants were able to identify the key features that they felt were needed if leaders were able to change teacher pedagogy and the systems within the schools. From her experience as a kaitoro, Alicia described what she felt was needed to lead change through Kia Eke Panuku. She defined them as 'open' in that they had "a natural curiosity and a willingness to reflect on what they have heard, to consider it without shutting it down". They created an environment in which learning was encouraged as opposed to those that did not understand what learning looked like.

> …give you the opportunity to reflect without being criticised or judged or this idea that you can try something without somebody coming down on you like a ton of bricks. Going "you didn't get that right". Not understanding that that's what learning looks like… you give something a go and then you learn from it.

Alicia also identified that leaders within this kaupapa held a belief in the individual's potential for growth. They engaged in the learning and saw value in the process. They were "resolute and determined about what is best for the learners" and focussed on what was "socially just". Alicia also noted the physical resources and time that leaders set aside for teachers to engage meaningfully with this work.

> Within the school setting... have opportunities to think, reflect, challenge, be challenged in a way that is growth orientated and not critical or 'judgey'.
>
> That's really problematic but fundamental. If you're asking people to be self-reflective, when can they be self-reflective.

Alicia was very clear on differentiating between leaders who modelled the principles as opposed to those who did not.

> …they understand that leading is from modelling the ways of being and doing that you espouse. I see that in leaders when they turn up to the meetings. They turn up to the meetings every time and they're there and they don't dominate. They model learning. A learning disposition for me is almost top of the pops. I would say, often I feel I'm meeting leaders that aren't learning. Or learners. They feel like their experts or they're the king or the queen. And their role as a leader is to tell people what to do and to direct traffic and have the vision and then communicate it and get people to enact it. And so those people don't enjoy this work and don't welcome it and don't want it.

A key feature for Alicia was that leaders were able to take action. She felt that some leaders processed the information and the theory but were still not able to enact change within their setting.

Within a SCLT, Lizzie identified the need for clear communication that was based upon critical thinking.

> …as a team we got this really good way of communicating our ideas… it was based on high expectations of each other to think about things deeply.

Interestingly Lizzie did not see herself as a leader within this initiative. She felt that she was inexperienced as a leader and that her age was a factor. She commented that she saw other teachers within the SCLT as being ready to lead after being part of Kia Eke Panuku.

Lizzie commented on the leadership that she experienced through Kia Eke Panuku. She reflected on the difference that it had made for her and how supported she had felt.

> No, I don't think I had because I'd read lots of stuff, but I don't think I'd ever been led so convincingly.

From my personal experience, I reflected on the emotions that my leadership created in others. A teacher challenged me on a presentation that I had made to staff about the need for us to critically reflect upon and change our pedagogy. Their response was that "I felt like you were saying we were all rubbish – I felt told off."

> Is this what my leadership created in some? Was it necessary? I certainly hadn't intended to tell people they were rubbish but I had intended to say we needed to look at our classroom practice and make changes. I had intended to say that our data isn't good enough and the focus from now on would be on our pedagogy – that needed to be front and centre for everyone.

I do not think I had considered that this would be the reaction from others, that there would be this much disagreement to this way of thinking. I had naively thought that everyone would understand that this was important and that we would be able to change the fabric of our school. In my own position of resistance, I had failed to consider 'white fragility' and that people would want to maintain the power that they had.

Personally, I wanted my leadership to involve critical reflection, to be dialogic and collaborative and that I would take action.

I also reflected upon the leadership that I had been exposed to previously and how this kaupapa required something different. A previous Principal had always said, "Sometimes you just have to ask the question." This was his way to get people to reflect on their practice, that they did not need to have the answer then, but by asking the question this would encourage them to

think and make changes. I had never fully understood what he meant by this until I was in a position to lead others. However, in this kaupapa, I did not feel that it was enough to just ask the question, given the challenge to peoples' thinking the question needed to be asked but then it needed to be followed up with further questions.

> But was it actually enough to ask the question? I think now that it needed more than that.

For me, this represented my transformative praxis. My awareness of my own practice with others and what I needed to do to challenge the features of the systems that were continuing to oppress others.

4.4.2.3 Challenges to leadership

Alicia, Lizzie and I all made comment on the need to be working with others on this kaupapa. We all identified the importance of having other teachers to support us in our work. However, we also all made comment on the impact of those who were not supporting this kaupapa or who did not want to make changes to their practice. I reflected on those teachers who did not agree with some of the things that I was saying and how they must have felt. I was then unsure about how I felt about their feelings given what had happened and was still happening to Māori students.

> I was fortunate in that I was leading this change. I had allies that I could go to. What of those being led that didn't agree or couldn't see what I saw? How did they feel? Or, do I not care, given the injustices that have taken place?

I am still conflicted on this. I understand that change at this level, where assumptions are challenged creates strong emotions and that as a leader this has to be handled carefully. However, I cannot allow the social injustice to continue purely because Pākehā are worried about losing their place of privilege and power.

Lizzie admitted to sometimes holding deficit views about her colleagues in their understanding and capacity for change. Like me, she was conflicted by this, as she understood the need to be inclusive and supportive of the teachers that she was working with. Alicia articulated how in her experience, deficit theorising had predominately become about school leaders being deficit about their staff. She discussed how disempowering that is for all involved.

> To me deficit theorising is when you identify a problem, that you're experiencing but the solution has nothing to do with you; you have no facility to change it. Which disempowers you but also disempowers the group that you're deficit theorising about because they know that you think that they're the problem. Instead of people becoming able to participate in the solution they become disempowered and unable to participate

This deficit theorising by school leaders enabled them to claim that they have no agency and as a result, there is nothing that they can do to alleviate the problem.

4.4.3 Creating conscientisation in others

As discussed in the literature review chapter, conscientisation is the understanding of the role that we play in contributing to the oppression of others. All of the participants expressed thinking on what led to conscientisation and what it looked like in others. They discussed how people displayed resistance and reflected on their practice through transformative praxis. They saw the layering of these three concepts and not a progression from one to the next. They also evidenced the oscillating movement within their thinking.

4.4.3.1 Conscientisation

In creating conscientisation in others, Alicia spoke about how she worked with people so that they could become aware of the true nature of their schools. Over time, she had seen that become a significant aspect of her work.

> …the work that I do is to help people see the invisible. Like that whiteness, is the invisible water we swim in. The stories and the evidence and the videos, prior knowledge is to help people see what is invisible to them.

Of significance for Alicia was that Kia Eke Panuku was different to other initiatives that she had previously been involved with. Kia Eke Panuku was developed to create conscientisation in others. The emphasis was on understanding the principles of culturally responsive and relational pedagogy and then applying them to the context of the school. Alicia identified the need for critical questioning and how using evidence, history, research and personal narrative activities with SCLT supported that developing conscientisation.

All the participants discussed the importance of addressing assumptions in order to create conscientisation. This was necessary so that teachers could understand their role and the role

of education in perpetuating inequalities. I felt that if these assumptions were not discussed then teachers would not change their practice in a meaningful way.

> You have to have addressed what people actually feel and believe. If you don't do that then nothing will really change. People will say that they have listened and understand what has been said but actually, underneath it all they don't do anything different and nothing changes.

Lizzie made comment that if there was not dissonance with the teachers that she was working with, then she questioned whether their thinking had changed. This caused her significant anxiety as she felt that it was essential for conscientisation.

> If I was working with a group and they said "Okay, that sounds okay", and just accepted it and there wasn't any angst or any storm, or any struggle with it, I remember going away and feeling quite empty.

4.4.3.2 Resistance & transformative praxis

Resistance is promoting actions that support the kaupapa and resisting those that do not. It is reliant on those involved understanding the agency that they have to make change. Transformative praxis is the coming together of theory and practice that will ensure actions that lead to accelerated outcomes for Māori students. Alicia and Lizzie saw these concepts as growth in others. Alicia described this through the image that she would have selected of planting a seed in fertile soil. Lizzie selected another image of her brother with his new born with the words "We learn, we grow you'll see."

Alicia developed praxis through encouraging others to connect their experiences with the principles of culturally responsive and relational pedagogy. There was also the element of co-construction of their own knowledge through people researching, inquiring and developing their own understandings. Again, the Rongohia te Hau data was a significant step in allowing SCLT to better understand which of their practices developed resistance. Alicia wrote:

> Rongohia te Hau is the process that supports the multiple views of experiences to be heard and considered without assumptions and inferences or deficit stories dominating the analysis of the data.

This data created disruption and dissonance in traditional ways of thinking of the structures and systems within schools. Alicia saw this develop transformative praxis when SCLT acted upon what they were learning as they went, rather than waiting until they felt they had all the answers.

Alicia stated that in order for conscientisation to take place there had to be a willingness for the people involved to listen openly to what was being said. It did not mean that they had to change their practice immediately but they had to be willing to listen and hear stories that challenged their current view of reality. The key for Alicia was that they then acted upon this new way of thinking.

> Willing to act in new ways of understanding and being. They do something in response. It might be to go back to their world, having had this moment and start reflecting about what that might be different now. They're enacting the thing that they have been challenged around. Changing their view and that changes their actions.

Through their conscientisation, teachers and SCLT were positioned for transformative praxis thus leading to resistance.

4.4.3.3 Opposition to conscientisation

However, not everyone who the participants worked with was open to the ideas and changes that were proposed. Alicia spoke about the opposition that she encountered to this way of thinking. This was because it was challenging for people, as it questioned their understanding of education and their role in society. She likened it to them not being liberated and unwilling to relinquish their position of power.

> If they're perpetuating a type of education, they themselves are not liberated, so my work with them is to support the potential for liberation. A lot of people go "No thank you. I do not want liberation." Because there's safety in knowing, there's comfort in knowing what is expected of you and just do it. You might not be happy, you might not feel fulfilled but at least you know that you won't get in trouble. So that's why I say, there's a lot of fear that I'm going to get in trouble.

This identification of fear was a significant theme for Alicia. She saw it in all schools as fear of change, fear of getting into trouble, fear of failure, fear of knowledge, fear of information, fear of being judged, fear of being criticised and fear of standing out. I also saw this fear in my colleagues as they undertook this journey. For some it was fear of changing their teaching practice from what they knew and were comfortable with. For others it was a fear of changing their understanding of how their society functioned.

To counter this fear, Alicia spoke about the need to support teachers through ngākau Māori. For her this was understanding and having aroha (care) for when people are angry, frightened and resistant. She needed to always have an understanding that people are always becoming.

> The way that somebody is fronting today is not necessarily the way they're going to front tomorrow… to have ngākau Māori for people.

Alicia countered this with the perspective that there is an understanding that some people are not going to change how they feel and think.

> ….because ngākau Māori is not stupid. Ngākau Māori is "I can see there is potential for change. I will come every day fresh." But there comes a point when they're just like "I don't want you. Go away."

Within these situations, the easy solution can be to allow people to continue to push against what the data for their school is saying. However, given these are educators within our schools, and the need for urgency that was expressed earlier, there has to be the expectation of kaitoro, SCLT, school leaders and other teachers, that this thinking must continue to be challenged.

4.5 In what ways was this influential in improving outcomes for marginalised Māori students?

4.5.1 Leadership

Both Lizzie and I made comment about the pace of the change that we were creating and that we did not feel that we were doing enough. Lizzie knew that there would not be change overnight but was still critical of herself and what she managed to achieve.

> I felt like… we never quite reached that saturation point where… this was the only way. And I think that was what I wanted, I wanted this to be the only way.

Lizzie reflected on her journey this far as being successful in terms of shifting mindsets and beginning to tackle large-scale institutional change. She likened it to moving from the darkness into the light and selected an image of a young Māori man who blesses the whare (meeting house) on Waitangi morning before the dawn service.

> Tihei mauri ora. Ki te whaiao, ki Te Ao Marama
>
> The breath, the energy of life. To the dawn light, to the world of light. Emerging from darkness to light.

She wondered that too much time had been spent collecting data and that they had been slow to begin to take action. Though she countered this with the understanding that too often initiatives to improve outcomes for Māori had been about implementing strategies on people and these had not been successful.

> If we'd jumped too quickly forward and hadn't been able to bring people with us… if we had implemented and done things to people, which I think is a pretty standard model… but we knew that the next part with that beam, in shining it from being skinny to shining it brighter.

For Lizzie, a key feature that influenced improving outcomes for Māori were the partnerships that Kia Eke Panuku developed. Most of Lizzie's images showed people in pairs: father and son, father and daughter, sisters, friends.

I knew that we were making changes but that it was not happening quickly. I was aware that the education system is inherently slow to make change but I was worried for those students who were daily part of this system. It was not good enough for them to do nothing. I worried that we had promised so much to our teachers and our students but had we managed to make significant change?

On reflection, I was hopeful that the shifts that I had made in my thinking could be replicated in others. I believe that this had the potential to improve the outcomes for our Māori students.

A point to note is that as mentioned previously, schools are seen as reflections of society and as such maintaining the status quo of where power is located is encouraged. Given that Lizzie and I were attempting to change our schools, it required us to push against this status quo. This was challenging because we were constrained within the confines of our schools' existing

power structures. This may go some way to explaining why we were disapproving of the pace with which change was taking place. Whereas in her role as kaitoro, Alicia had a different perspective on what was taking place, where this was taking place and how this was of benefit for Māori students. She was then able to take this perspective back to those schools that were struggling to make change.

4.5.2 Focus on pedagogy and learning for students

Lizzie spoke about how the process of conscientisation meant that teachers better understood what their Māori students needed in their classrooms. Through conscientisation, there was a recognition of the inequalities inherent in our education system that has to be addressed.

> It was not good enough anymore just to gloss over. It became so important that we understood this and that we understood what this meant, and that we understood why we were doing what we were doing, and we understood what it was like for our kids in the classroom. It wasn't good enough anymore, just to accept things.

Lizzie expressed how the different approach to learning that was used in Kia Eke Panuku affected her learning. She recognised the need for students to be able to bring their cultural toolkit to their learning and how important that was. She was also acutely aware of the need to take an approach that was agentic for her students.

> They were conscious decisions that then I could make, when I had done some learning. They were conscious decisions about how we can actually make sure that these kids can bring who they are… and that if we truly believe and have the same expectations for these students as our non-Māori students… then, we won't be trying to save… we won't be trying to save them, we'll be trying to shift our practice so that it actually better suits what they need…

Lizzie also spoke about how this different approach to learning impacted on her and her colleagues. It created a shift in her teaching practice and through that the educational outcomes of her students.

> I wondered what this would be like for our kids? If they felt like this, if they would learn more. Cause at the moment I'm right in that learning space – if our kids could feel like this…

In one of her images, Lizzie showed her young niece standing strong next to an image of herself climbing. She likened her image to mauri noho (loss of hope) and mauri oho (readiness). In mauri noho there is struggle to reach mauri oho, which she likened to standing strong prepared for battle. For Lizzie this helped her to understand and to be able to explain to others what Māori achieving success as Māori could be. For her it was a way of being.

From my own experience, the focus on pedagogy meant that actions were being taken in the classroom where the impact was obvious for the students. This was facilitated through understanding Kia Eke Panuku that it was the leaders, teachers and teaching that needed to change, not the students.

> That's what changed, that understanding that we needed to change our actions, not change the kids. That was what we had the power to control.

4.5.3 Changing the culture of the school

Changing the culture of a secondary school in New Zealand is no easy task. Through Kia Eke Panuku, I felt that this was what we had started to do. This comment made by one of the teachers that I was working with reflected this:

> I felt we were at a tipping point where we were becoming the majority. Where pedagogy was what was talked about.

Lizzie spoke about the need for this thinking to be evident throughout the school not something that was just added on. Again, she used the image of the young man at Waitangi breathing life into the day.

> It was that idea of wanting to take this culture and rather than add it on in our schools, take this energy and us being able to breathe that into the kids or the kids being able to experience this kind of energy.

Lizzie had an image of two of her whānau who attend a school where Māori are the majority. She spoke warmly about their positive experience within the education system. She believed that this was because these young Māori were able to see themselves within their school and bring who they are to their learning. She saw this as Māori achieving success as Māori.

> They're not forced to fit. It's about their teachers being culturally aware, culturally located, understanding exactly what it is they're taking and because nearly all of the girls are Māori, then that's the accepted practice,

Lizzie strongly believed that in understanding our own cultural location we can make a significant difference for our Māori students.

> And I think until we understand what the culture that we take into the classroom ourselves, we're never going to understand the impact it has on other people. But as soon as we do, the exciting part is, that as soon as we do… things can be different.

4.6 Summary

My findings highlight that the educational disparities for Māori as a result of our historic actions continue to be played out in our schools today. These disparities are as a result of assumptions held by teachers that have been created through the Doctrines of Discovery that indigenous peoples are inferior to the coloniser. These beliefs have then been held and used over time to create an education system where Māori have been blamed for their own failures. When these educational disparities were identified, school reform has been situated in trying to 'fix' students, as they are the problem. It has not looked at who has the power within our schools and how this power is not being used to change systems and structures. We are maintaining the place of power within our schools to sit with the Pākehā.

Kia Eke Panuku as an initiative was different because it was not about strategies or fixing students. It was focussed on challenging the assumptions that teachers and school leaders held. This was quite different for a professional development programme. It looked to create thinking in teachers, which led to them becoming aware of who holds the power within our schools and what is being done with that – conscientisation. It encouraged teachers and school leaders to resist, that is understand their agency to make changes that challenge the status quo. Its basis in theory meant that teacher action was based upon critical reflection, thus ensuring transformative praxis that led to better educational outcomes for Māori.

My findings identify the importance of the SCLT within this process. The leadership from across the school, the relationships that were culturally responsive and the unlearning and learning that they created in themselves and others were all significant. Within my discussion, I examine the role of the SCLT in realising the kaupapa of Kia Eke Panuku through deconstructing power hierarchies.

5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Kia Eke Panuku was an initiative that sought to take a sociocultural approach to school reform that would allow it to tackle the education debt. It did this through addressing the assumptions held by teachers and challenging them to have resistance to current practices within their schools. My findings highlight the importance of the SCLT in deconstructing power hierarchies within schools, to create contexts for improved outcomes for Māori. The SCLT were the vehicle for conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis that led to these improvements. This chapter discusses the place of power hierarchies within secondary schools and why they need to be deconstructed. It then goes on to examine the role of SCLT in school reform praxis. Finally, I consider the role of Kia Eke Panuku in making school leaders listen and enact change within their schools.

5.2 Deconstructing power hierarchies in secondary schools

5.2.1 Where does the power reside in secondary schools?

5.2.1.1 History of power

As previously mentioned, secondary schools within New Zealand are a reflection of our society (Bartolome, 1994; Shields, 2010). They are the product of 250 years of colonisation through policy, strategy and initiatives. Schools are not institutions that have just evolved over time; they are the consequence of historic actions and decisions that continue to be acted out today. From the very beginning, New Zealand schools have been set up to place the coloniser, in this case Pākehā in positions of power. From the pathways that were provided for them, to the people who made the decisions, set the policies and ran the schools. Again, this was a reflection of a colonial past based in the Doctrines of Discovery (Mutu, 2019; United Nations, 2012). It was only through the advent of kōhanga reo (pre-school), kura kaupapa Māori (primary school), wharekura (secondary school) and wānanga (tertiary institutions) that a miniscule proportion of the Māori population have been able to assume control of their own education system (Berryman et al., 2017). However, as noted earlier, over 90% of Māori students are

educated in mainstream secondary schools; therefore, it is essential that school reform to improve schooling for better outcomes takes place.

5.2.1.2 Taking power

Through the Doctrines of Discovery, the assumption was developed that European civilisation was better than the indigenous populations that they colonised (Jackson, 2020). This assumption has validated decisions that have seen power taken from Māori. Schein (1992) argues, "assumptions become right and good depending on the history of their success" (p.12). Certainly, a history of colonisation based upon the Doctrines of Discovery have convinced Pākehā that their assumptions are correct; disparities in educational outcomes between Māori and Pākehā continue to reinforce this inferiority.

An example of this from my findings was my own experience of Pākehā discussing how Māori, Māori students were. I give this as an illustration of how this is just another form of colonisation still taking place within our schools. For Pākehā students it reinforces their position of dominance within education, whereas for our Māori students it is another way of belittling their culture and providing evidence for them of how Māori, and therefore they, are viewed as inferior.

5.2.1.3 The education debt

As discussed in the literature review, the education debt that is apparent in New Zealand can be attributed to successive policies of assimilation and integration, based upon an assumption of Māori inferiority. Attempts to address the education debt have previously been situated in a structuralist approach where the focus was on 'fixing' students and making them more like Pākehā. This is still an assimilation approach (Gorksi, 2008). Addressing the education debt in this manner can be seen in my findings where teachers want kaitoro to provide them with the strategies for success. It can also be seen in middle leaders believing that they have tried everything and that if they were just told what to do they would do it. In taking a sociocultural approach to this complex issue, Kia Eke Panuku sought to change the fabric of New Zealand society by changing the assumptions and beliefs of its educators. This is of significant importance given that the majority of educators within mainstream New Zealand secondary schools are Pākehā.

5.2.1.4 Where does the power reside?

My findings identified that in some schools the need for urgency and the pace of change was stymied by traditional power structures intent on perpetuating the current status for power and success in their schools. It is often suggested that changing the direction of a secondary school is like turning a large oil tanker. In reality, this is not the case. School reform is not about changing schools, it is about changing the individuals who have the power and who lead schools. Therefore, when we talk about changing schools what we really mean is that we need to change people. If these individuals, as Alicia said, are open to learning and are willing to be resistant in their practice, then school change can happen quickly. For this to happen though, these individuals must not be afraid to relinquish their power.

Ka Hikitia, as an education policy to improve outcomes for Māori, has been in place since 2008. It is a mandated requirement for schools. However, school leaders have been negligent in its implementation. Admittedly, the Auditor General (2013) commented on its poor launch by the Ministry of Education. Mention was also made of how the key concept of 'Māori success' was unclear to educators. This in itself is indicative of an education system that is deeply entrenched in western discourses about success. In his writing Gorski (2008) challenges those in education to take the hard door that leads to social reconstruction, as opposed to the easy door where we maintain our power and oppression and "skim along the surface of cultural awareness" (p. 519). I would suggest that for many schools joining Kia Eke Panuku was looking for a solution that went through the easy door. In my findings, I expressed how I certainly did not appreciate how much this professional learning would challenge my way of thinking. The policy of Ka Hikitia has been there for schools, the role of Kia Eke Panuku was to take school leaders to a place where they were prepared to challenge the status quo and be resistant in their thinking and their actions.

5.2.2 What does that power maintain?

5.2.2.1 Racism

Racism is prejudice about race; it is the maintenance and perpetuation by those with power, who reinforce that these prejudicial beliefs are the right thing to do. It is interesting to note that during the time of Kia Eke Panuku, racism was not a word that was used in secondary schools. It is only since the events of March 15 2019 that the concept of racism has been openly discussed in New Zealand society. Alicia spoke candidly about this fact; how in her work now, she speaks about racism with teachers whereas during Kia Eke Panuku this was definitely not

the case. Perhaps this change in thinking demonstrates an emerging conscientisation within our society.

The 2018 report by the Office of the Children's Commissioner and the New Zealand School Trustees Association highlights that many students still experience racism and are treated unequally because of their culture. Predominantly these students are Māori. In interviewing senior Māori students, Berryman and Eley (2019b) identified that even though these students had been successful within the education system, they still felt that they needed to "resist negative stereotypes about being Māori" (p. 993).

In my findings, I recognise my own behaviours where, through my actions and my language, I had maintained my position of power and reinforced negative stereotypes of Māori. I consider the actions of a Year 10 Māori girl and how her only way to have agency, was to stop coming to school. I also reflect on how the systems that we setup within our schools treat students unequally because of their culture. I now see these actions for the racist behaviours that they are. Lizzie also spoke about how she became conscious of her thinking that she viewed Māori students as in 'need of saving'. When she critically reflected on this through Kia Eke Panuku, she realised that this was perpetuating racism within our schools. It is the fact that racism is still evident within our schools that necessitates the identification and deconstruction of the place of power within our education system. If we are not able to do that then we cannot identify and change oppressive practices that are inherently racist.

5.2.2.2 Pākehā privilege

Consedine and Consedine (2012) identified the white privilege that benefits Pākehā daily, through the assumptions of what is normal and widely available. Our Pākehā privilege is as a result of colonisation (Margaret, 2018) and means that 'white' is the dominant discourse. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) noted, "only white people have the luxury of being colour blind" (p.118, as cited in Shields, 2004). Pākehā privilege in education, as with racism, is maintained at the expense of another group, which in New Zealand's case is Māori (Consedine & Consedine, 2012). If the primary purpose of education is to prepare students for "employment and economic stability" (Gorski, 2008, p. 518) then Pākehā will always have better long-term options than Māori. As Pākehā is the group that are currently, disproportionally succeeding within our education system. Wink (2005) refers to groups being groomed by the institution of education and that it prepares "one group for a high-status place in life" (p. 53).

Kia Eke Panuku enabled me to see my Pākehā privilege, through critically reflecting on the experiences of my children and those of my friends. Through this learning, I became aware of what the education system was like for some Māori and their whānau. In my findings, I referred to the age-old teacher's whinge about Māori whānau not wanting to engage and how I was now able to see this from my position of privilege. Our education system is setup to favour those with power, who are Pākehā. Therefore, we should not be surprised that those who we see as powerless do not wish to engage with us.

My findings also show how reluctant those with power are to give it up. Alicia gave the example of how in her work, teachers would articulate how awful the situation was for Māori. However, when it came to enacting change, it created a reaction of "What will it mean for me?" "What about this group who are advantaged, what will happen to them?" Teachers recognised the gravity of the situation but did not want to give up their power. I now consider myself naïve when I reflect upon the opposition that SCLT faced from teachers not wanting to relinquish their power. In recognising our colonial history and its impact, we can hope to see through our Pākehā privilege and its basis in oppressing Māori.

5.2.3 Why do we need to deconstruct these power hierarchies?

Within the literature review, I highlight that we have a moral obligation to tackle the education debt within this country. This is a complex problem that needs more than just structural approaches. It is necessary to provide agency to all those involved, especially to those that historically have been powerless. Lizzie reflected upon the historic nature of this issue in her realisation of the racism that had been endured by older Māori colleagues within our schools. She reflected on this and how older members of her whānau had been treated by the education system. This is one of the reasons that she is so passionate about this kaupapa, as she wants to ensure that it is different for this generation and ongoing generations of Māori students. In my findings, I express my developing awareness of the purpose of schools and how I had come to understand my place in social reproduction. Thus, if we want to do more than keep people in their place, then we have to deconstruct the power hierarchies. Through deconstructing the leadership structure in a school, the status quo is disrupted. Inherently those teachers in senior leadership and its middle managers have blocked school reform; these are the people with most to lose. Through the creation of a SCLT that had teachers from across the school, Kia Eke Panuku sought to deconstruct these power imbalances.

5.3 The SCLT as a vehicle for conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis

5.3.1 The role of the SCLT

As stated earlier, the creation of an SCLT to implement Kia Eke Panuku was a significant part of the initiative, as it allowed for the deconstruction of power hierarchies. The SCLT were selected from across the staff of a school so that leadership was distributed (Berryman et al., 2017) and power differentials could be addressed. The SCLT had to include the principal and representatives from across the school: people from the senior leadership team, middle managers, and teachers. It had to include Māori and Pākehā. By deliberately choosing the SCLT from across the staff and leadership areas, the team was better positioned to critically challenge the traditional leadership structures (Berryman et al., 2017). It could also be argued that by using and creating experts from within the school (kaitoro and the SCLT) power imbalances evident in wider society would still continue to be replicated (Sleeter, 2011). The use of a 'team' approach from across the staff went some way to reducing this. The role of transformative leadership was essential in recognising the inequities of power distribution. The leadership of the SCLT needed to be situated in social justice and supported by the principles of Kia Eke Panuku to gain any level of traction. An important facet of this role was the understanding that any change must begin with themselves (Alton-Lee, 2015), thus the SCLT became the vehicle for conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis.

Within the experiences of the participants, the composition of the SCLT and its ability to challenge hierarchies was evident. Lizzie and I both spoke about our experiences of being part of a SCLT. We expressed how we saw ourselves sitting at the table as equals, with others from our schools. In Alicia's experience as a kaitoro, this ability to share power at this level was one of the key indicators for effective school reform. When leaders did not want to relinquish their positions of power then it was far more difficult to initiate change. In her role as kaitoro, Alicia worked in many schools but she was external to their existing power structures. This meant that in her approach to her role, she was better able to focus on demonstrating how power could be shared.

In including Māori and Pākehā in this work, the partnership evident in the Treaty was reflected. It was important for both, that those involved were fully conscientised to this kaupapa. G. Howard (2006) writes that as white educators we need to authentically engage with "those whose stories are significantly different from our own" (p. 39) and that by doing this we can

see our position of dominance more clearly. G. Howard (2006) also sees that "White educators and leaders in the White community should take on the responsibility of undoing White ignorance, rather than relying on people from other racial groups to carry this burden" (p. 81). This was evident from the perspective of all the participants. Lizzie explained that having Pākehā involved in this work was crucial for her. She felt that this meant that it was not only Māori trying to make change but Pākehā and Māori learning at the table together, "Pākehā people talking about owning the history." For Lizzie and Alicia, as Māori, this work also enabled them to be indigenous leaders within the schools that they worked in, in a way that did not expect them to compromise their indigenous identity (Hohepa, 2013).

5.3.2 Conscientisation

The place of conscientisation was obvious in many different facets of the findings. All of the participants spoke about their conscientisation and their experience of working with others to develop it. Wink (2005) explains conscientisation as moving from passivity to "the power of "We gotta do the best we can where we are with what we've got." (p. 32). This sense of agency was important to the participants in their own development and in others. Alicia saw it in how she showed teachers the water that they swim in. Lizzie and I spoke of our own experiences when we became aware of the racist systems within our schools and in my own case, the realisation of my Pākehā privilege and that of my children. I was also aware of my role in perpetuating these power imbalances for my own advantage. Once I had seen this and could see it every day, it was not something that I felt could or should be ignored, "I can't un-see it. I can't unlearn it." Conscientisation with the SCLT was essential so that they could identify what needed to be changed within their school. At a classroom level, this mental positioning impacts upon the pedagogy that we promote and it allows us to think more critically about are practice.

In becoming aware of the power imbalances that surround us and the need to address them, it is imperative that leaders take action. Alicia commented on those SCLT where teachers spoke about how important this work was and how they now understood, but they never did anything different. Gorski (2008) would refer to this as the 'easy door'. Shields (2011) also acknowledged that "leaders are captivated by an emphasis on data" (p. 11). In some schools, the data collection for Kia Eke Panuku became a barrier to deconstructing power. By continually collecting one more piece of data for analysis, the SCLT held the power to procrastinate, choose to not take action and avoid the power imbalances within their school, as

they continued to explore their data. This was where Alicia's role as external kaitoro was so important in facilitating and asking the difficult questions. 'Holding up the mirror' so that SCLT were required to recognise the impetus for resistance.

5.3.3 Resistance

The SCLT were vital in critically reflecting on their school data and creating agency in themselves and others. Through the Rongohia te Hau survey, students and their whānau were given a voice to speak about their school and how it made them feel. This data was then triangulated with teacher voice and provided SCLT with a clear picture of the reality in their school for Māori. The use of the Mahi Tahi framework (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.) provided a method by which SCLT could then critically examine their school's structures and systems, with a view to enacting change. The ako: critical contexts for learning concept (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.) allowed SCLT to identify those deliberate acts of leadership that were causing resistance and how they could be developed further.

At a classroom level, SCLT then worked with teachers to challenge their pedagogy using the observation to shadow coaching tool (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). This tool allowed teachers to 'craft' their own practice whilst working with their colleagues in non-power dominating relationships. This tool was seen as incredibly powerful as it allowed the principles of Kia Eke Panuku to be explored and enacted in the classroom, thus making a significant difference in the experiences of Māori students. Lizzie identified how this tool and her learning through Kia Eke Panuku allowed her to shift her practice for her students. It provided agency for teachers, in that they were able to understand that the power was with them to change their practice, not the children in their classes. However, it should be noted that school reform cannot just take place within the classroom; resistance needs to be enacted across all levels of the school in an ongoing, interdependent and dynamic manner.

Within my own resistance, I recognised that I had to take action against those that opposed challenges to their power. It was no longer good enough to have people disagree with the kaupapa of Kia Eke Panuku and for that to be okay. My resistance required that I continue to challenge this way of thinking.

5.3.4 Transformative praxis

Kia Eke Panuku used a theoretical basis of kaupapa Māori as the clear focus of the kaupapa and critical theory to challenge the location of power (Berryman et al., 2017). The learning in

Kia Eke Panuku did not take place in a transmission model, it was reliant on those involved creating new knowledge for themselves based upon their new lived realities (Wink, 2005). The focus needed to be on deconstructing power relationships. By understanding the role of their culture and their practice, Pākehā teachers and leaders could better understand what their place was in in creating and maintaining a position of power that dominated Māori. In my reflections, I recognised the place of my culture and how I had ignored this in my students, "I was 'effective' as a teacher but not culturally responsive or relational." This different type of learning that I undertook through Kia Eke Panuku challenged my assumptions and views. It was this that allowed me to critically reflect on my practice and make changes to my pedagogy and my leadership.

Again, the use of the different tools within Kia Eke Panuku provided opportunity for SCLT to authentically reflect on their leadership as a group, their leadership of the school, their relationships with their community and the outcomes for their Māori students. There was a concerted focus on the need to accelerate improvements for Māori. This could only be achieved if those leading this kaupapa were agentic in their thinking. All the participants identified the need to agentic. Alicia saw this when SCLT acted upon their new learning rather than waiting until they felt that they had all the answers. I recognised my own transformative praxis in my understanding of the need to question further my colleagues in their understandings and in the systems that were continuing to oppress others. For Lizzie, it was in the acute awareness of feelings of grief and hurt and that if no change was made then historic inequities would continue.

5.3.5 Leadership for conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis

The leadership of the SCLT needed to be based, as Alicia identified, in "strong relationships built on shared vision of equity." The leadership required an understanding of social injustice and the inequities within the current education system. Within this form of leadership, one has to be cognisant of those who do and do not hold power. It then requires the leaders to be conscientised, so that this holding of power is no longer used to maintain systems and structures that perpetuate oppression. Rather there are deliberate acts of leadership based in the moral use of power (Bogotch, 2002). All decisions and thinking must be based around the question that Alicia asked, "Who benefits from that?"

Weiner (2003) argued that transformative leadership could still not make social change as the leaders power comes from the institution itself. By bringing together in the SCLT, the principal,

with another senior leader and a group of teachers, they were not reflective of the embedded power hierarchies within a secondary school; therefore, those power imbalances could be challenged. If, at the SCLT table, there were true non-dominating power relationships then different conversations could be had. These critical conversations needed to be focused on evaluating current and future actions, to see if they were perpetuating disparities and changing them if this was the case. It required the SCLT to have an understanding of what they were doing and why. I recall the SCLT presenting to teachers on how shadow coaching could be used to change our practice within the classroom; that it would enable us to create pedagogy that was more responsive to the needs of our Māori students. This was not some off the cuff idea or 'another initiative.' This was a research based approach that showed how changes to pedagogy could improve outcomes for Māori. It was underpinned with extensive professional development and support for teachers. Taking action without understanding the theoretical basis was no longer good enough. This was resistance informed by transformative praxis.

This quote from a school leader highlights the need for conscientisation in Kia Eke Panuku "You can't do something to people. The people have to do things for themselves, but what you can do is… help to raise their consciousness as to how that might happen." (Berryman et al., 2017, p. 533). It shows the need for conscientisation of teachers in making them aware and question what has been the status quo for too long. However, the next step was that teachers and school leaders took action and were resistant in their praxis. I no longer believe that just being aware of the disparities in our education system and the inherent power imbalances are enough. Conscientisation without action through resistance and praxis will not make the necessary changes for our Māori students.

5.4 What does it take to make us listen?

In answering the research question, I am drawn to the following quote from my findings. I believe that it encompasses the process that school leaders and educators need to undergo if they intend to lead whole school reform to improve outcomes for indigenous minority students.

> Think… Talk… Act… Think some more… Talk some more… Try again… …
> Think…. Talk… Act again… & again

Within this quote, the need to think critically and with a theoretical basis is implicit. Through answering the question with this quote, I acknowledge that this critical reflection has to be focussed on understanding the power imbalances within our schools. This critical reflection needs to be informed by data. All the participants identified the narratives of Māori students and their whānau, collected through the Rongohia te Hau survey, as a key aspect. They felt that it was this data that made people listen and developed conscientisation within the SCLT. This triangulated data, linked with classroom walkthroughs allowed for the seeing of a different perspective and through this created disruption and dissonance. Lizzie saw it as taking "a step back to take a closer look".

This critical reflection requires the guidance of an external kaitoro. My findings show that this was the case for a number of reasons. The kaitoro is there to ask the difficult questions of the SCLT; as Lizzie identified they "didn't let us off the hook." They are able to provide an external viewpoint and bring learnings from other schools. They 'fed' the SCLT with theoretical understanding and a way of learning that was disruptive in itself. It is this disruption that creates a space where power hierarchies can be deconstructed.

The need to talk represents the importance for this kaupapa to have a collaborative approach. It is not change that one person can hope to achieve on their own. Lizzie and I both selected images that refer to the hardship of this work and the need to have the support of others in order to achieve it. The place of 'talk' also reflects the need for a sociocultural approach to school reform, where the dialogue between individuals is where new meaning and understandings are constructed.

In 'act', there is the recognition that conscientisation without resistance and transformative praxis leads to no change for our Māori students. All of the participants recognised the place of action and the need for urgency. My findings have made me aware that a lack of action is indicative of a reluctance to truly deconstruct power hierarchies; that inaction helps to maintain the position of power with Pākehā.

The cyclical nature of this quote also recognises that school reform is not linear. The process must involve a continuous reassessment of the data, dialogue must always take place and new actions must be taken if we are to learn together and be able to collectively work to improve outcomes for Māori.

As I stated in my findings, professional learning and school reform initiatives that I had previously been involved with had never challenged the assumptions that I held. In this way, I was allowed to maintain my position of power and my Pākehā privilege. Kia Eke Panuku challenged my thinking and enabled me to be aware of my culture. In this way, it forced me to truly listen to the voices of our Māori students and their whānau. My findings show that power still firmly resides with the dominant Pākehā in New Zealand secondary schools. Until this imbalance is seen and addressed, school reform will not make any differences for Māori outcomes. There needs to be an acknowledgement of these power differentials and the continuation of underlying assumptions of the inferiority of our indigenous Māori students.

6 Concluding remarks

In 2016, the Office of the Auditor-General recommended that the existing strategy of Ka Hikitia be pursued and not allowed to "wither on the vine" (Auditor-General, 2016, p. 5). In building upon the learning from Te Kotahitanga and other research projects, Kia Eke Panuku was able to further develop the factors that Alton-Lee (2015) identified as being critical for the success of allowing Māori students to achieve success as Māori. This is the underpinning tenet of Ka Hikitia.

Data collected at the end of 2015 from senior Māori students whose schools were involved with Kia Eke Panuku showed positive outcomes for these students. These students felt that they did not have to give up their cultural identity in order to succeed at school. However, these students knew that they were successful and that this was not the norm for Māori. They also still felt that they had to resist and overcome the negative stereotypes of them being Māori in order to succeed. Some attributed their success to the support that they had received from their school, specifically where their own culture and values were explicitly celebrated and modelled (Berryman & Eley, 2017). Data gathered in 2014 and 2015 using the Rongohia te Hau survey of students and staff showed similar improvements in the perceptions of both students and teachers relating to in-class relationships and dialogic pedagogic practice (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). The classroom observation data also showed an increase in the proportion of teachers demonstrating integrated culturally responsive and relational pedagogy in their classroom practice (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d.). At the end of 2015, data was also collected from principals who had been involved in the contract for one or two years. Their responses were overwhelmingly positive. For example, 93% reported that involvement with Kia Eke Panuku had contributed to Māori students' improved enjoyment of being at school and 88% reported the project contributing to the improved retention of Māori students (Berryman & Eley, 2017). Another measure of the impact of Kia Panuku was that by the end of the contract, 94 schools had been involved (Berryman & Eley, 2017); this equated to approximately one third of all secondary schools across New Zealand. Kaitoro also reported that they could see evidence of an unrelenting focus on Māori students and funding being applied in these areas, they felt that this was "the signal of real change coming" (Berryman et al., 2017, p. 535).

Although Kia Eke Panuku was only a three year project, I believe that it finally allowed schools to give life to Ka Hikitia through providing them with the 'will', the 'skill' and transformative leadership (Berryman, Eley et al., 2015) thus allowing them to create educational reform within

their schools. This was achieved through the creation of a SCLT whose role was to deconstruct power hierarchies within their school, through a process of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis.

6.1 Limitations

There are limitations in the size and scope of this research. The study was based on the experiences of only three people leading this change within schools and therefore may not have been indicative of every school. If a mixed methods approach had been taken, bringing in evidence of student outcomes, then a more detailed body of evidence may have been created.

6.2 Areas of further study

Whilst this study has explored the experiences of three people leading school reform within their contexts, their experiences may not be reflective of all. Given that a Pākehā has interpreted the findings, future study could involve examining the role of the SCLT through a Māori lens. Also, as Kia Eke Panuku is no longer in schools, further study could be based upon how Poutama Pounamu has developed the role of the SCLT, especially within Communities of Learning.

Continuing work needs to be carried out to consider how teacher assumptions are being challenged within schools and if these assumptions are changing. Most importantly, additional study should be based upon how power can be further deconstructed within secondary school hierarchies.

6.3 Conclusion

The need to address New Zealand's education debt is a matter of urgency. There is mandated policy in place in Ka Hikitia to lead school leaders towards "Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori" as a priority for all New Zealand schools. The education system needs to change to concentrate on the needs of its Māori learners and their whānau if we intend to address our education debt. Leadership required to make these changes, is leadership that is

prepared to relinquish power. It requires a major shift in thinking for most Pākehā to recognise the impact of our colonial discourse and our assumptions of the inferiority of Māori. This ongoing historical legacy within our schools needs to be foremost in the minds of school leaders, if they truly intend to address the disparities in educational outcomes.

This research explores the actions and thinking of those leading school reform to improve outcomes for Māori learners. It shows the critical experiences that these school leaders felt assisted them in developing their own conscientisation. Through reflecting on their own resistance, they identified how they were able to develop this in others. This was through the strength of relationships and leadership focussed in social justice.

It is worthwhile noting that even given the success of Te Kotahitanga and Kia Eke Panuku, the Ministry of Education closed these initiatives off in a very transactional way. Also, even though the evidence clearly points to how these initiatives were able to enact school reform that accelerated outcomes for Māori learners, some school leaders chose not to engage in this kaupapa. I believe this reflects how entrenched our thinking is within schooling. As educators, we know that disparities exist, we know where the cause of the disparities is situated, and we have evidence to show what actions should be taken in schools to address these disparities. However, many school leaders and teachers chose not to, as that would require their power to be deconstructed.

The evidence of Kia Eke Panuku was that it did make a difference for Māori in schools where SCLT were able to challenge and deconstruct power hierarchies. The SCLT was able to do this, as they were the vehicle for conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in themselves and in others. In these schools, the participants in this research would suggest that: "Māori students were more likely to be able to enjoy and achieve success as Māori."

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Appendix A

Information letter to potential participants

4 Brookby Place

Katikati

Tēnā koe,

My name is Louise Buckley and I am currently undertaking research to complete my Masters of Educational Leadership thesis at the University of Waikato. As part of this project I would like to work alongside you to create a photographic essay that reflects your journey through the Kia Eke Panuku professional development programme from 2015 to 2016. Accompanying this letter is an 'Information Sheet' which will give you some basic information about the project and what would be involved if you decide to participate. It is envisaged that the total time involved in taking part will be approximately ten hours. Please take time to read it so that you are 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 the research is to explore the experiences of those leading school reform to improve outcomes for Māori students. It is hoped that evidence you provide will be of benefit to others in leadership positions who are aiming for better educational outcomes for our Māori students. An electronic copy of the thesis will be available for you to access through the University of Waikato Research Commons. I am very grateful for the time and energy that you will be giving to assist with this research.

I will contact you to further discuss the process and timeline and to answer any other questions of concerns that you might have.

Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor if you require further clarification.

Appendix B

Photographic essay information sheet

What does it take to make us listen? The experiences of those leading whole school reform to improve outcomes for Māori *students.*

Researcher: Louise Buckley

1. This project is part of a Masters thesis being undertaken in the Division of Education at the University of Waikato. The research project has also been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee.
2. The education gap between indigenous Māori students and their non-Māori peers has been identified, analysed and the causes and solutions continue to be debated. The professional development programme, Building on Success: Kia Eke Panuku, was implemented in 94 secondary schools to give life to the Māori education strategy, Ka Hikitia, and provide a way to address the disparities in achievement between Māori students and their peers. I would like to research your experiences and understandings of leading within Kia Eke Panuku, in a mainstream secondary school. Using your data, I intend to examine what changes in the practices of those leading other teachers were influential in challenging and changing teacher attitudes and pedagogy. I will also be using school data, available through the public domain, to provide a quantitative viewpoint on the degree to which these changes may have begun to influence student outcomes.
3. I would like you to create a photographic essay which reflects your experiences of leading school reform whilst supported by the Kia Eke Panuku professional learning programme. There is not a set number of photos / images to use. These images can be created by yourself or sourced elsewhere. I would then ask that you write an explanation of why or how the images that you have used / created relate to leadership experiences in Kia Eke Panuku. Again, there is no set length for these explanations.
4. You will be given a three week timeframe in which to create / select your images and write your explanation. It is expected that it will take you approximately six hours to create the images and write the explanations. I would ask that the images are of a high enough quality to be reproduced if needed.

5. I would then like you to take part in a semi-structured individual interview in which you further discuss your thinking and the implications of your thinking in relation to your choice of images and explanations. This interview will be audio recorded and it is anticipated that this will take between one to two hours. I will then create a transcript of the interview.
6. Once the images, explanations and interview transcript have been given to me, they will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at my home. If there are digital copies of the images, explanations and interview transcript, these will be kept on a password protected computer at my home. No-one apart from myself and my supervisor will have access to them. They will be stored for the duration of the research after which time they will either be archived in a location of your choosing or destroyed if you so choose.
7. A copy of the images, explanations and interview transcript will be made for you, and the master copy will be kept securely at my home, and on completion at a secure location also of your choosing.
8. You will have the opportunity to review and amend your images, explanations and interview transcripts prior to my analysis of the data. It is expected that this will take one to two hours of your time. You will also have access to my findings after they have been written, prior to publication.
9. You will also be given the choice as to what access you will allow to the images, explanations and interview transcript by other people after this research has been completed. These options are outlined in more detail in the informed consent form.
10. The name and location of the school that you were involved with will not be disclosed in any way and you may choose to remain anonymous in this research project if you wish. If you chose to remain anonymous please be aware that whilst every effort will be made to protect the anonymity of all participants, this cannot be guaranteed.
11. An electronic copy of the thesis will become widely available through the University of Waikato Research Commons.
12. I would like to use the data collected in this research as the central data for my Masters thesis and for other possible academic publication / presentations.
13. If there is anyone else that you think I should be consulting with I would welcome your suggestions.
14. If you take part in this research, you have the following rights:

- To withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason. This can be done verbally or in writing, to myself or my supervisor. The right to withdraw is up until you have approved your images, explanations and interview transcripts.
- 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.
- To take any complaints that you have about the process, in the first instance to my supervisor: Professor Mere Berryman (details below).

I will be in contact with you in the next week to see if you might be willing to take part in this project. If you have any queries, please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisor via the contact details below.

Appendix C

Informed Consent Form

Please sign this form to protect <u>your</u> privacy and interests

Research project: What does it take to make us listen? The experiences of those leading whole school reform to improve outcomes for Māori students.

Researcher: Louise Buckley

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the research project above and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I agree to take part in the research project outlined on the information sheet.
- I agree to an audio recording being taken of the semi-structured interview.
  YES NO (Please circle your choice)
- I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I may withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This can be done verbally or in writing to the researcher or their supervisor.
- I understand that my right to withdraw is up until I have approved the interview transcript.
- I understand that my total time involvement in this research project will be approximately ten hours – six hours for creating the images and writing the explanations, two hours for the semi-structured interview and two hours to review the interview transcript.

PUBLICATION

- I agree that the images, accompanying explanations and interview transcript may be quoted or shown in full or in part in published work, subject to the conditions I have indicated in the **RESTRICTIONS** section below.
- I agree that my data gathered in this study may be used for future research publications, and/or presentations, subject to the conditions that I have indicated under the **RESTRICTIONS** section below.

ACCESS

- I agree that images, accompanying explanations and interview transcript may be made available to the researcher at _____, subject to the conditions that I have indicated under the **RESTRICTIONS** section below.
- I understand if I wish to obtain a digital copy of the thesis, I can access this though the University of Waikato, Research Commons and that it is accessible to the public to read.

RESTRICTIONS

- No access is allowed to the images, accompanying explanations and interview transcript and they are not to be reproduced or quoted in full or in part, without my prior written permission.

  YES NO (Please circle your choice)

- I wish to remain anonymous and any information that may identify me be excluded from any published work.

  YES NO (Please circle your choice)

- If the answer to the above question was YES, it has been explained to me that it may not be possible to guarantee my anonymity and I am satisfied with the researcher's explanation of what she will do to try and secure my confidentiality.

  YES NO (Please circle your choice)

- I require the images, accompanying explanations and interview transcript to be archived at the archive of my choosing (identified in the **ACCESS** section).

  YES NO (Please circle your choice)

- I require the images, accompanying explanations and interview transcript to be destroyed on completion of the project.

  YES NO (Please circle your choice)

CONCERNS

- I understand that if I have any concerns about the research, I can contact the researcher Louise Buckley in the first instance, or her supervisor, Professor Mere Berryman.

Researcher: _____Date: _____ Signature: _____

Participant: _____ Date: _____ Signature: _____