HIKITIA TE TAKI: AN EXPLORATION OF THE INTERNAL
AND EXTERNAL CHALLENGES THAT MĀORI CHANGE
AGENTS EXPERIENCE WITHIN SCHOOL REFORM.

BY

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Abstract

Māori change agents are often employed in educational initiatives that seek to redress Māori student achievement inequities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Their experience in this role is under researched. This qualitative research project uses a kaupapa Māori approach to investigate the experiences of Māori change agents working in mainstream educational institutions. Results indicated that these facilitators experienced different challenges that had both internal and external dimensions. The metaphor of the kaiwero (challenger) in a pōwhiri (formal Māori welcome) is used to explore the researcher's interpretations of the experiences of Māori change agents. In order to be effective Māori change agents must be well prepared and understand the different dimensions of the change that they face when attempting to facilitate change. Key recommendations, associated with research results, highlight the importance of external supports and facilitator preparation and ongoing professional development. Creating a shared vision of change, with a clear understanding of the change agent's roles and responsibilities is a key element of support. Prior to the introduction of programmes aimed at enhancing Māori student achievement, school communities must create a common understanding and vision for Māori student success which must be informed by an understanding of the power, race, colonisation and political issues.

Contents

Chapter One – Introduction.

Tēnā koe.

In this chapter I introduce myself to you, the reader. I explain how my past experience as a Māori, male change agent has shaped my motivation to undertake this qualitative research project. In sharing this with you, I acknowledge my biases and assumptions – as is appropriate for qualitative research (Johnson, 2008).

This thesis is a narrative account of my learning, which has resulted from:
i. an analysis of my conversations with members of my research whānau; and
ii. the challenge I experienced whilst analysing their accounts and critically engaging with my own assumptions and current literature.

As is appropriate with kaupapa Māori research methodologies (Smith G.H., 1992; Smith L., 2005), I begin with my own mihimihi which explains my motivations for undertaking this research journey. I have chosen to use the metaphor of the kaiwero to describe the role of the Māori change agent. In the indigenous Māori language of Aotearoa New Zealand, the word 'kaiwero' means the challenger or person who does the challenge. The wero is a traditional challenge from tangata whenua (hosts) to manuhiri (visitors) in the formal welcoming process of Māori (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004). In the final discussion chapter, I will make clear what I consider to be the links between the kaiwero and the Māori change agent.

I was motivated to take up this challenge, as I found little research that had explored the experiences of Māori change agents working for change in non-Māori educational institutions. Through the metaphor of HIKITIA TE TAKI which I explain fully in chapter 5, I intend to highlight the complex dimensions of the challenge that Māori change agents face when undertaking their work.

1.1 Ko wai au?

I am a Māori male with Polish and English whakapapa (ancestry). My Polish ancestors came to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1875 and, not long after, settled on farms in Inglewood in Taranaki. At around the same time, my Māori ancestors were on the other side of Mount Taranaki opposing the settlement of Māori lands – using passive resistance strategies. Nearly one hundred years later, my parents married and started a family. I was brought up in a context where I was proud of being Māori, but learning to do well in the Western world was emphasised as the way to get ahead. I did not learn the Māori language until I started tertiary study. Indeed, I grew up as a middle class urban Māori who did well in the Western world, having gained a university degree and teaching diploma.

I believe that not enough is being done in schools to promote the success of Māori students in the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is therefore a privilege for me to be one of the many who have the goal of seeking redress for this situation.

From the outset, I wish to acknowledge that there are gender perspectives that relate to this area of research; however, given the scope of the work, I have been unable to adequately address these perspectives. This may be an area of further research.

My initial motivation for undertaking this research was to explore the experiences of Māori change agents working in non-Māori education institutions – to find ways of making their experience less stressful, and empowering them to be more effective in the pursuit of better outcomes for Māori students. I am very clear about my own agenda. My previous experience as a Māori change agent, working in a secondary school reform project aimed at reducing Māori student disparities, was not always particularly pleasant. For this reason, my position is not totally objective. My motivation is to find ways to change the experiences of other Māori change agents. In addition, I am Māori and I bring that dimension to this kaupapa Māori research project.

In 2009, the mainstream secondary school that I worked in implemented the Te Kotahitanga[1] programme. The facilitation team was selected and I was appointed the school's Lead Facilitator. The team underwent training at the end of 2009 and began working with the first of our three student cohorts in 2010. I found the implementation of the programme to be both rewarding and challenging. Some teachers responded very positively, making changes to their teaching practice, while others were very resistant to change and preferred to maintain the status quo (transmission-type teaching) in their practice. I personally found the process of dealing with resistors very difficult and challenging. Some of these teachers labelled the programme 'separatist' and 'racist' because of its focus on Māori student achievement.

I also found that some teachers remained unconvinced about the level of impact that 'deficit theorising' could have on Māori student achievement. Deficit theorising, according to Bishop and Berryman (2006), is the unjustified practice of using Māori students' perceived deficiencies to explain their poor academic achievement. Some have argued that this reference to deficit theorising is basically 'teacher blaming' (Openshaw, 2007). My experience was that teachers could become defensive when they felt they were being blamed. What often resulted was what our team characterised as 'lip service'. Teachers would go through the process of observation, feedback and goal-setting; however, when goals were followed up, or evidence of change was sought, there seemed to be any number of excuses given for lack of follow-through.

Dealing with these types of situations was emotionally draining, particularly as I was motivated to ensure our school better served the needs of Māori students and their communities. To this extent, observing and giving feedback to some teachers had caused me and other facilitators in our team significant anxiety. After two and a half years of these experiences, I became doubtful about my effectiveness as a Māori change agent – and the effectiveness of school reform programmes that attempted to address Māori students' educational disparity. On reflection, I realise I was seduced into negative thinking. I began to

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[1] Te Kotahitanga was a Ministry of Education professional learning and development programme for secondary teachers which promoted culturally responsive pedagogies to improve Māori student achievement.

think that I was in the wrong job and needed to find an alternative for myself, where I was safe from what I perceived to be racism and from dealing with conflict about pedagogy, attitudes and beliefs.

A conversation with a colleague and trusted friend led me to realise that my experiences were testing my resilience. I felt resentful that more had not been done to support me in dealing with these types of challenges, which I considered to be very personal. As a result of this experience, I began to think about the dimensions of this challenge and wondered how other Māori change agents coped. I found myself asking questions. What challenges do Māori change agents face? How do they overcome the challenges? And how do others (particularly indigenous change agents) maintain their resilience in the face of resistance? What research had been done in this area that I could draw on? I wanted to find out what kinds of support would be necessary for indigenous facilitators of social justice programmes to be successful in the face of resistance from majority and dominant cultures. How did they handle the challenges that they faced, maintain resilience and therefore not be lost to the cause?

I wish to acknowledge that the experience of non-Māori change agents in this type of role could well be similar to those of Māori change agents. However, I also suspect that there were experiences that were unique to the non-Māori members of the team – just as there were experiences that were unique to the Māori change agents. There is scope for a broader study, such as comparing and contrasting the experiences of Māori and non-Māori, or that of male and female change agents. However, because of the limited scope of this thesis, these broader areas will not be explored here.

My initial literature search highlighted that very little had been published by Māori writers about the challenges that Māori change agents face. I did find material that had been written by non-Māori dealing with the challenges of bringing about change for social justice issues (Theoharis, 2007), dealing with conflict (Achinstein, 2002), maintaining resilience (Seligman M. , 2011), and the critical need for a common vision (Hynds A. , 2010). Some key themes in the literature had relevance to my own experience.

I have learned more than I expected when first starting this research. One particularly strong theme is the need for the alignment of a programme's vision and goals. When the school that I worked in entered into the Te Kotahitanga programme, there was no discussion at the outset about the need for the school to educate teachers, students or their communities about the programme. Conversations about the existence of educational disparities, and the critical need to address them, were not undertaken with our teachers until three years into the programme, by which time their participation in the programme was compulsory. This lack of alignment between staff, students, whānau and the wider school community meant that the facilitation team were dealing with resistance (from some) for sustained periods.

A new theme that emerged from this research, which has not been extensively written about, is the experience of being a Māori change agent and not being supported by other Māori to bring about change. In some cases, Māori teachers who were comfortable in the pedagogical approaches that they were using blamed Māori students for their lack of success. This became difficult to deal with because they sometimes questioned the authority and cultural mandate of Māori change agents to challenge.

My own experience is that the interface between teachers and Māori change agents is a place of conscientisation[2] and challenge to the hegemonies[3] that maintain dominant, Pākehā (non-Māori descendants of European immigrants) pedagogies. For Māori change agents, it is often an uncomfortable, unsettling and sometimes unsafe place to be. This raises the question; do educational interventions that use Māori teachers as change agents in these settings take responsibility for ensuring the cultural safety of Māori change agents?

1.2 The current situation.

The Ministry of Social Development's study on living standards in New Zealand has indicated that some Māori people have hardship rates 2 to 3 times that of Pākehā (New Zealand European) or other groups (Perry, 2008). This situation is directly linked to the ongoing failure of the education system to educate a significant number of Māori children. The

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[2] Conscientisation as a process of 'consciousness raising' (Roberts, 1996)
[3] Hegemony is leadership or dominance, especially by one state or social group over others (Cox, 1983).

results of such a selectively effective education system can be seen in the New Zealand Index of Deprivation (Crampton, King, Salmond, & Waldegrave, 2005), which shows that in many cases Māori are twice as likely to be suffering deprivation as non-Māori people. Indeed, in some cases Māori have been experiencing deprivation at four times the rate of non-Māori.

Evidence of the failure of the mainstream[4] education system for Māori has been revealed in the Ministry of Education PISA[5] report (2004), which states that 'Average achievement for Pākehā in particular is consistently above the OECD mean which… will likely give this group a considerable economic and social advantage in later life.' The report adds that Māori students' '…average achievement in all domains is appreciably lower than it is for Pākehā and Asian students.' Even though the research has shown that Māori have been underachieving in education, and that poor education outcomes have led to poor socio-economic outcomes, many mainstream schools have continued to be ineffective in bringing about change. This can be seen in the 2010 Education Review Office report (Education Review Office, 2010).

Six years after the PISA report of 2004, the 2010 Education Review Office report on Māori achievement revealed that '…current research information and national and international achievement data continue to show sustained Māori underachievement in education.' The report added that, in spite of '… this well-promulgated evidence, many schools do not yet undertake sufficiently rigorous analysis of student achievement data, or set targets for improved Māori achievement…. As a result there are not enough schools where Māori student achievement is comparable to that of non-Māori, or where schools can demonstrate that they are making a difference for these students.' (Education Review Office, 2010). A further report written by the Education Review Office (2014) highlights that there are still high numbers of Māori who are not being served well in the education system.

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[4] Mainstream schools are English language medium schools. 85% of students in Aotearoa attend mainstream schools.
[5] PISA is the Programme for International Student Assessment.

1.3 Disparity and educational debt.

What is most concerning is that this disparity of achievement is not a new phenomenon. It was first identified in the 1960s (Hunn, 1960). Fifty years later, progress has been insufficient – as indicated by the Education Review Office reports that have already been referred to. Ladson-Billings (2006) uses the term 'education debt' to explain the cumulative effect of successive years of the 'achievement gap' that characterizes the disparity between educational achievement of the dominant majority and the marginalized minority in the United States.

In our country, since the nineteenth century, there is plenty of evidence that racism was prevalent and contributed to the disempowerment of a people (Wearmouth, Bishop, & Berryman, 2010). It has been a period of domination by the Pākehā majority and marginalization of Māori. "Educational initiatives and policies along with mass media, the church, and other civil agencies promoted a particular set of Pākehā knowledge codes at the expense of Māori codes and supported the domination of European culture and the subordination of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences, and practices." P.16 (Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005). For decades, Māori have been marginalized in our own country. To use Ladson-Billings' terminology, governmental practice and policy has created an educational debt that has to be repaid to Māori.

To address the educational disparity Shields, Bishop and Mazawi (2005) suggest that the critical element that must be challenged is the continued pathologising of Māori by teachers. What this means is that teachers may hold low expectations of Māori students, believing that they (and/or their home backgrounds) lack the resources, skills and knowledge to achieve successfully. As a result of engaging in such deficit thinking, teachers may inadvertently lower their expectations of Māori students and reduce teacher agency for changing practice. Teachers may assume that Māori parents do not care about their children, that Māori youth do not care about getting an education, or in some other way that the students are the problem (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Bishop et al (2007) indicates that when teachers are challenged to examine their existing beliefs about this way of seeing Māori, and when they stop seeing Māori students as being in deficit, there is a turning point

in their actual teaching practice with regard to Māori student success. Bishop (2008) contends that it is critical to assist mainstream teachers to change their thinking from deficit to positive, in order to become part of the solution to systemic Māori underachievement rather than continuing to be part of the problem.

1.4 Challenging the status quo.

In response to the issues described above, the New Zealand Ministry of Education has provided funding for school-based reform projects and professional development interventions in mainstream secondary schools. Projects such as Te Kotahitanga, He Kākano and Te Kauhua have all endeavoured to improve the quality of practice and learning outcomes for Māori students.

These professional development initiatives are targeted at mainstream schools so that Māori students can achieve educational success as Māori. Te Kotahitanga is a research and professional development programme aimed at improving Māori student achievement by encouraging teachers to develop a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007) i.e. pedagogy that actively takes account of the culture of Māori learners – to build more effective learning relationships and interactions in classrooms, which translate into achievement success. The programme challenges schools to reconsider structures and institutions in the school, so that they support Māori student achievement.

He Kākano is an in-depth professional learning programme for secondary and area school[6] leadership teams. The programme is targeted at senior leadership rather than classroom teachers. It aims to increase the ability of school leaders to implement a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations (Ministry of Education, 2014c).

Te Kauhua is a programme that supports school-based action research projects. Action research is a reflective process of progressive problem-solving, used by a learning

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[6] Area Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are usually combined primary and secondary schools.

community to improve the way they address issues and solve problems. The research projects are funded by the Ministry of Education – initiated by schools and informed by data about Māori achievement. The projects work in partnership with whānau (Māori families) to improve outcomes for Māori learners (Ministry of Education, 2014a).

The Te Kotahitanga, He Kākano and Te Kauhua programmes are kaupapa Māori[7] and/or Māori- centred research and development initiatives. Kaupapa Māori programmes are driven by Māori people, with Māori people, for Māori people (Smith L. , 2005). They represent a response by Māori educational theorists to a highlighted problem; for example, the monoculturalism of mainstream secondary schools being linked to processes of colonisation and assimilation (Sleeter, Bishop, & Meyer, 2011). The programmes are data-driven and developed by Māori to advise non-Māori on how to address the problem of Māori underachievement that is perpetuated by many mainstream schools. Some of the programmes use in-school facilitators to champion the change. I have chosen the label 'change agent' to describe these people who work in schools to bring about equity in Māori student outcomes. They are also called facilitators. Those who are Māori, I have called Māori change agents. From my own experience, it is difficult working as a Māori change agent at the interface between Māori aspirations to redress educational disparity and a Western-influenced educational system that has created and perpetuated Māori and non-Māori inequity (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). It is not easy being a member of the minority group working to change the attitudes and practices of those in the dominant group.

The following is an overview of the rest of the chapters in this thesis. Chapter two reviews the literature that is pertinent to this research. Chapter three discusses kaupapa Māori, which is the research methodology that I followed. Chapter four highlights the findings of interviews conducted with the research whānau about their experiences as Māori change agents working in non-Māori educational institutions. Chapter five is my discussion of the major findings from the research project, which concludes with recommendations.

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[7] Kaupapa Māori is further explained in the 3rd chapter (Methodology) of this thesis.

1.5 Summary.

This chapter has provided an overview of the genesis of this thesis. I have introduced myself, outlined my motivations, and exposed my potential bias. The chapter explains the educational context for many Māori school students in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Government responses to the evident achievement disparities, and my own experience of being part of a Government-sponsored programme to bring about change in the classrooms of mainstream secondary schools. These elements have given rise to my desire to explore the experience of Māori change agents working to improve Māori student achievement in non-Māori schools.

The next chapter details a literature review that aligns to notions of support for Māori change agents working in the contexts of non-Māori education institutions.

Chapter Two – Literature review.

This chapter covers the literature that I located prior to engaging with my research whānau (research participants). This literature helped to shape my initial research proposal and research questions. I found very little written about the experience of being a Māori change agent, or the complex dimensions of the types of challenges that they would encounter.

2.1 Key word search.

When I began this review, I searched Google Scholar and Victoria University's 'Te Waharoa' data-bases. Te Waharoa means 'the gateway' and is the name the university uses for its online library interface. I searched for articles using the key words such as "overcoming teacher resistance", "educational reform and resistance", "teacher resilience", "conflict resolution and education reform"," indigenous and Māori", "resistance to facilitators in diversity education" plus "diversity and resistance". There were hundreds of articles and books that covered aspects of these descriptors. Some dealt with the challenges of adult education in issues of diversity. But there was very little that directly addressed the support required by indigenous (or Māori) change agents in educational reform – particularly when dealing with racial disparity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It therefore became apparent to me that my experiences and research could contribute to this research base.

I have also reviewed a number of relevant articles and books that were related to the challenge of keeping resilient when dealing with resistance to cultural perspectives in education. The following is an analysis of these publications, grouped under three main headings.

2.1.1 Dealing with resistance in school reform.

I wish to make a distinction about the term 'resistance'. In kaupapa Māori theory (Smith G. H., 1992), resistance is seen as a positive response to oppressive colonial practices in education. In the context of my research, I define resistance as being an obstacle to overcome in the pursuit of positive change for Māori. This is consistent with the literature

that defines resistance in the context of school reform or change as negative actions, non-action, ill will, resentment, and defensive or confrontational dispositions. (Starr, 2011)

In a New Zealand study of Māori and non-Māori teachers' collaboration, Hynds (2010) found that resistance to culturally responsive school reform was a complex matter. Her results revealed that resistance to an equity-minded school reform initiative, focused on improving teacher practice and student achievement, was evident from both indigenous and non-indigenous school groups (teachers, students and parents/caregivers). She emphasised the importance of a shared vision to drive the reform – and the need for an inclusive and open school culture to support the reform implementation. Critically, she argued that support for change agents is paramount. Her position was shared by Theoharis (2007) who made the point that dealing with resistance can take a high toll on change agents. His research, conducted in the U.S.A., explored his and other principals' challenging experiences when meeting resistance to social justice reforms in their schools, based on principles of inclusion. He found that stress was often the factor that undermined effectiveness. Theoharis noted that principals needed to be supported with preparatory training and mentoring when dealing with resistance.

McKenzie and Scheurich (2008) write about their experiences working as external school facilitators to improve student academic results in an ethnically diverse elementary school in the United States. The ethnic make-up of the staff in the school did not match that of the students. Most staff members were white (73%) females (90%), while only 14% of the students were white. In this study the authors reported a strong sense of resistance to change amongst the staff. The primary reasons identified for resistance were a reluctance to take responsibility for results and a tendency for staff to blame external factors (such as parental expectation) for poor achievement. The staff saw accountability systems as destructive to their teaching. They were sensitive to change and saw it as a criticism of the status quo.

Moreover, they did not see themselves as leaders in the school. McKenzie and Schuerich contend that teachers' social positionality influences their reaction to change, which can

make it very difficult for facilitators and principals to effect change in a school. What this means is that teachers see themselves as relatively powerless. By examining how teachers see their role and value in schools, leaders should aim to move teachers to a discourse of empowerment. Leaders must understand that resistance to change is not meaningless or negative.

I found this article useful for a number of reasons. Firstly, the ethnic make-up of teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand parallels with the McKenzie and Scheurich (2008) research on teachers in the United States. In 2012, 73% of all NZ teachers were female and 79% were Pākehā (Ministry of Education, 2014b). This means that many of our schools that have higher Māori student populations do not have a correspondingly higher Māori teacher population. Therefore, it is behoven on those teachers to ensure they are teaching in culturally responsive ways, to meet the needs of a culturally diverse student population. Another parallel between McKenzie and Scheurich's (2008) research and the situation in Aotearoa New Zealand was the tendency for teachers to lay blame externally for Māori students' poor academic results (Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth, & Peter, 2012). Finally, not dissimilar to my own experiences, the article identified that teachers were resistant to change and that leaders have a difficult task overcoming that challenge. The authors stated that further research is required to explore the impact of social positionality on teachers' willingness to make changes.

2.1.1.1 Strategies for dealing with challenge are absent.

While a number of salient points are raised by McKenzie and Scheurich, there are some concerns that this article raises. The first concern is that the article does not address the experience of indigenous change agents dealing with white teachers, or other indigenous teachers, who were resistant to change .The second concern is the absence of any exploration of the experience of leaders and facilitators when dealing with resistance. The authors wrote about the frustration that many of the principals experienced trying to overcome resistance to improving teacher performance. However, there is no exploration of strategies that have been used to deal with this frustration or the impacts that it has on the

leader. In addition to the above concerns, although the authors themselves were external school facilitators, very little was shared about their own experience of dealing with the frustrations of resistance.

This is in contrast to the writing of Goodman (2011) who has written about her experiences of working as a Social Justice facilitator. In her book she explored the privileges enjoyed by majority groups in the United States (whites, men and heterosexuals for example). What is interesting about Goodman's book is that she raises awareness that there is resistance to change in a number of social justice areas. Goodman also highlights the issue of people from dominated groups who may ignore, deny or rationalise inequities they face. This is consistent with the experience of Hynds (2010). Her study showed that members of the indigenous group also presented resistance to a school reform designed to address the inequities experienced by that group. Resistance is complex. Goodman shares her perspectives on reasons for resistance – and how to respond to it. Significantly, she explores issues for educators – highlighting the importance of facilitators understanding themselves, knowing their triggers, and developing strategies for dealing with the challenges. Goodman's book offers a number of interesting viewpoints, and this research will explore their relevance to the indigenous change agent.

2.1.1.2 Racial prejudice is a source of resistance.

In reading McKenzie and Scheurich, I thought that not enough emphasis was placed on racial prejudice being one of the reasons for resistance. This is in contrast to the writing of Gay (2010a), who describes her experience in teaching pre-service teachers about cultural diversity and their reactions to it. She writes of the need for teachers to understand that Eurocentric orientations and emphases are more inappropriate now than ever, because teachers are dealing with ever-widening cultural diversity. Her premise is that racial, ethnic and cultural attitudes and beliefs are ever present and often problematic – and they shape teaching. She also contends that teachers must examine their beliefs and attitudes toward specific ethnic groups and cultures.

Gay writes that many trainee teachers do not think about their attitudes and beliefs toward ethnic, racial and cultural diversity. They prefer to think of themselves as being colour-blind, advocates of racelessness, and past focussing on race. The result of this is that cultural diversity is often seen as a threat and a detriment – to be denied, avoided or eliminated by white people who respond with silence, denial and social disassociation, by emphasising aspects of diversity that are less threatening (like gender, social class and individuality). Gay suggests that one of the ways to address the discomfort of white people with racial diversity is to help them to see themselves as cultural beings, thereby helping them to recognise their own culture.

Significantly, Gay adds that it is extremely difficult to dislodge negative beliefs about other races, ethnicities and cultures. To counteract a lifetime of socialisation, and replace negative beliefs with constructive ones, is hard – but it is imperative in determining successful instructive behaviours.

Gay highlights significant issues about the reluctance of white teacher trainees to address racially prejudiced attitude. They link to similar issues identified in Aotearoa New Zealand, as evidenced in the narratives of Māori students and their parents (Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth, & Peter, 2012). Gay captures the sense of urgency that exists to challenge these attitudes. What is missing from her writing, however, is that she does not address the difficulties that educators of the teacher trainees face when dealing with racism that is often very close to home. Nor does she discuss issues of indigenous change agents working with non-indigenous teachers – and the complications that this can add to overcoming resistance. Neither does she explore the possible strategies that can be used to influence others to examine and reconsider their racist attitudes.

2.1.1.3 Ignorance of racism.

Garrett and Segall (2013) also write about their experiences of race and multiculturalism in teacher preparation programmes. Like McKenzie and Scheurich, they acknowledge that the population of teachers who are overwhelmingly white in the United States does not reflect

the population of the students they teach, who are becoming increasingly diverse. Racism in education persists and is pervasive (Gulson, Leonardo, & Gillborn, 2013). Raising trainee consciousness about education, race and power relations is a central concern, according to Garrett and Segall. They add that, when raising issues about this topic with white students, common reactions are silence, anger, resistance, guilt and the use of colour-blind discourses. Garrett and Segall highlight the fact that two terms are often used in the literature in conjunction with issues of race – namely, ignorance and resistance. Ignorance is described as the perceived lack of knowledge about race. The term resistance describes the reaction of white teacher candidates to learning about, or discussing, race issues.

In terms of ignorance, it is claimed by Garrett and Segall that white people have been portrayed as ignorant of how racism works in schools and society. The assumption, they add, is that ignorance can be overcome by the addition of knowledge. However, based on their experience, they contend that teacher trainees are not ignorant of racism at all – ignorance is simply used as an avoidance strategy. It is an active dynamic of negation and an active refusal of information. Ignorance is a form of resistance.

Their exploration of resistance itself is enlightening. Resistance works to further entrench previously held notions that are being directly challenged. They add that sometimes resistance manifests as defiance, while at other times it looks like silence. It can take a wide range of formations, which is what can make it difficult to address. It must be addressed though because, as Garrett and Segall write, changing people's minds about race is a top priority – albeit very difficult.

Garrett and Segall contend that resistance can be overcome by careful attention to pedagogical practices. They add a cautionary note that teacher educators may need to come to terms with the impossibilities of teachers immediately changing the socio-political circumstances for their students. I agree that the political landscape may take time to change – but the landscape of the classroom can be much more easily altered.

Finally, Garrett and Segall propose that ignorance and resistance may not be a problem at all, but just part and parcel of the process of any significant learning. They suggest that resistance might be well-served if seen as a part of successful pedagogy and a marker of student engagement.

The perspectives of Garrett and Segall are enlightening; however I am conscious that their articles are based on experiences with teacher trainees and not qualified teachers. In a context where a change agent is working with teacher trainees, the trainees are obliged to attend workshops and explore their own cultures. If they do not complete such programme requirements, they may not graduate. A different power dynamic exists with in-school professional development programmes, which can lead to sophisticated resistance strategies. This leads me to question how effectively the aforementioned authors can measure change in the teacher trainees' attitudes and how they would mitigate against trainees writing or saying the right thing simply to pass their training course. More importantly, it raises the question of how similar are Garrett and Segall's experiences to that of Māori change agents working in education institutions.

2.1.1.4 Raising awareness of privilege in Aotearoa New Zealand.

After searching for articles using the key words 'Māori resistance', I found one that described the process of challenging the views of Pākehā (people of European descent in New Zealand) teacher trainees about Māori achievement inequities. Bertanees and Thornley (2004) write about their experience as teacher educators and their desire to address student teachers' lack of understanding of the colonial structures that promote inequitable Māori student achievement. Their approach was to broaden the theoretical understanding of the trainees and their ability to critique the structures and ideologies in New Zealand that promote privilege for the majority and marginalisation for the indigenous minority. As a result of their training programme, some students developed the ability to critically theorise about a curriculum that resides within a colonial framework. However, others remained in denial of any problem – or had a superficial perspective. Bertanees and Thornley

acknowledge that the process of exploring relations of power in education may uncover uncomfortable moments for those resisting colonialism.

It was pleasing to locate literature that addressed aspects of challenging the beliefs and attitudes of educators about Māori achievement. However, when contrasted with some of the insights and the depth of Goodman, I considered that Bertanees and Thornley minimised the impact or potential conflict that arises when challenging colonial beliefs. To suggest that there may be some uncomfortable moments is a significant understatement, which brushes over the depth of feeling that can be generated for facilitators and learners alike. While Bertanees and Thornley do emphasise the importance of challenging the thinking of educators about Māori student achievement, they make little reference to the existence of resistance to examining the issues. Neither do they discuss the difficulties experienced by indigenous facilitators in championing the cause of their people. The focus on teacher trainees also raises the same questions as the Garett and Segall article.

2.1.2 Responses to resistance.

Achinstein (2002), writing about dealing with conflict amongst teachers in the process of reform, contends that negotiating conflict takes time and that understanding its complexity is important. Accordingly, practitioners need to learn how to navigate conflict because organisational learning is deeply linked to conflict management and resolution. In the Te Kotahitanga programme, it is acknowledged that in-school facilitators have a key role in helping teachers to discursively re-position themselves as having an impact on the results of indigenous and minoritised students (Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth, & Peter, 2012). The role of discursive repositioner is not an easy one. Based on my personal experience, I fear that programmes like Te Kauhua, He Kākano and Te Kotahitanga have under-prepared Māori change agents to deal with the conflict and challenges that Hynds, Theoharis, Aichinstein and Goodman identify. Over and above this issue, none of these articles deal with the in-school experience of the indigenous change agent challenging the worldview of the majority culture on behalf of the minoritised students.

I found that Shachar (1996) provided a useful model for bringing about organisational change and highlighted challenges faced by change agents. Developed in Israel, her model

identified key stakeholders as the principal, subject matter co-ordinators, teachers and students. With the exception of the students, each group undertook preliminary training to define roles and develop skills necessary for successful programme implementation. The subject matter co-ordinators had a key number of skills required to be active internal change agents. Critical among these skills were the ability to identify teachers' resistance to change and helping teachers cope with these feelings and attitudes. Shachar adds that the skill of being able to negotiate with principals was important. Interestingly, Shachar's model made no mention of the need for community (whānau) involvement in the process. And, even more importantly, the model did not identify the power issues faced by the 'internal change agent' when representing a minority view that challenged those of a majority culture and perspective.

In phase 3 of the Te Kotahitanga programme there were schools that had rapid turnover of facilitators as well as teachers who were unsettled by a focus on Māori students, and significant numbers of staff withdrawing from the programme (Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth, & Peter, 2012). Few details have been shared about the skills required by facilitators to address conflict in those situations. Could it be that a rapid turnover of facilitators was linked to their inability to deal with conflict and remain resilient? Perhaps these change agents were ill-prepared to deal with the complexities associated with that role.

2.1.3 Māori conflict resolution.

A search of articles under the key words 'Māori' and 'conflict resolution' revealed that little has been written in this area. A further search using the words 'indigenous' and 'conflict resolution' similarly showed limited results. I did however find an article, written by Walker, which was of interest. Polly O. Walker is an Assistant Professor for Peace and Conflict Studies at Juniata College in the USA. She is of Cherokee descent and writes from an indigenous perspective on conflict resolution. An article written by Walker (2004) about Indigenous (Hawaiian and Native American) conflict resolution approaches made a strong case that many conflict resolution models employed throughout the western world are promoted as

acultural. They are individualistic, intellectual, and not focused on healing relationships. As a result, they marginalise indigenous worldviews. I wonder about the implications of this for indigenous change agents working to apply conflict resolution models that are not preferential to them – and how this impacts on resolutions with majority culture teachers. Restorative Justice practises are said to be more aligned with Māori conflict resolution models (Caruthers, 2013), however it was difficult to find much that had been written about this alignment and how it can be used by Māori change agents working with mainstream teachers.

2.1.4 Māori teacher resilience.

Resilience is defined as the ability to recover from trauma, the demonstration of mental toughness or stress resistance, and the ability to achieve results in high risk situations and to function competently in stressful situations (Truffino, 2010).

A Google Scholar search and search of journals on the Victoria University library website under the heading 'Māori teacher resilience' produced no results. There were a number of interesting articles about teacher resilience. Generally, teacher resilience is dependent on individual and contextual factors (Beltman, Mansfield, & Price, 2011). Examples include having a calling or vocation to get through the challenging times, the need for self-belief (Gu & Day, 2006), a strong belief in the ability to control a situation, a strong support group, competence and a sense of achievement (Howard & Johnson, 2004). However, little has been done to explore and compare how these conclusions are consistent with the experiences of Māori change agents and their resilience.

Positive Psychology is the science of identifying positive experience, traits and institutions that have the potential to improve a person's everyday experience (Seligman M. , 2000). Jacobsen (2010) uses Positive Psychology in the context of career counselling to explain that happiness leads to success, and that a person can use a number of specific strategies to promote happiness – including identifying and amplifying their strengths, cultivating positive emotions, and having an ability to savour the goodness in life. These are factors that are relevant to the positivity and optimism of people working within challenging environments.

It would be a valuable exercise to compare the experiences and positivity of indigenous change agents with the research that has been done in this area.

2.1.5 Literature review synthesis.

There are a number of insights that I have made as a result of this Literature Review. Firstly, I explored what the literature says about the experiences of Māori change agents working to make improvements for Māori in the mainstream education system. What I found is that little has been written about the experience of indigenous facilitators working as external or internal change agents, or the skills that they require to be effective. There have been some publications about facilitators working to promote issues of social justice, but not specifically from an indigenous perspective. The literature also indicated that many teachers are from the dominant culture and do not always serve minority cultures well. Moreover, there is a tendency for majority teachers to blame minority students for their poor achievement. It is clear from my research that racism exists in the education system. In addition, many of the educators from the dominant culture think of themselves as acultural and tend to minimise the importance of diversity.

Racist practice does occur in our mainstream schools. Addressing this is a huge challenge for Māori change agents – simply because it is extremely difficult to counter a lifetime of negative beliefs about race, ethnicity and culture. As already stated, common reactions are silence, anger, resistance, guilt and the use of colour-blind discourses. It is clear that indigenous facilitators need to learn how to work through conflict and the difficulties posed by challenging teachers' attitudes and beliefs – and helping them cope with their resultant feelings. Working through issues of conflict can be a complex process and takes time.

I have found very little written about the relationship between school leaders and facilitators working in schools where there are power issues associated with representing a minority view to a member of the majority culture who is also the leader of an institution. This was the reason that I chose the first question of my research; namely, 'What are the challenges that Māori change agents face when working in non-Māori educational institutions?'

The second insight that I made when reviewing literature about resistance is that it is not always negative or problematic. The kaupapa Māori view of resistance is a positive one because it has countered the undermining effects of colonisation. In addition, I made the distinction that resistance does not always come from non-indigenous peoples. Sometimes indigenous teachers will resist change that is instigated by indigenous facilitators. One further key realisation that I made is that it can be helpful to understand that resistance can be seen as a normal sign of engagement with the learning process. Having said that, resistance to culturally responsive school reform is a complex matter and is typically a stressful experience for facilitators, leaders and participants alike.

This exploration of literature also highlighted to me that there has been little written about indigenous models of conflict resolution. It is interesting to consider how appropriate it might be for indigenous facilitators to use indigenous models with non-indigenous educators. While conflict resolution is not a new topic, there has not been a great deal written about the skills and models that would benefit an indigenous facilitator working to address racial inequity. This raised the second question for my research 'How do Māori change agents overcome or work with resistance?'

This literature review supported my own experience that working as an indigenous facilitator with resistant educators can be a very difficult and stressful experience. It is clear that change agents need support. I suspect that Māori facilitators who deal with the challenge of changing non-Māori teacher attitudes towards Māori achievement are under-supported. I found that there was very little written that dealt directly with the support required by indigenous or Māori change agents in educational reform. Resilience is a relatively new area of research within the Positive Psychology movement – providing useful insights based on extensive research. However, nothing has been written about Māori educator or facilitator resilience. I considered this to be an opportunity to explore Māori facilitators' experience of resistance – which gave rise to my final research question, 'What do Māori change agents do to maintain their resilience?'

Having completed this review of the literature, I next turned my attention to the methodology that I use in the process of this research project. I decided on using kaupapa Māori approaches as my theoretical framework. The following chapter explains my position on this theoretical framework.

Chapter Three – Methodology.

This chapter explains the methodological approach that I used to inform the process as well as the outcome for this research project. I describe my understanding of kaupapa Māori research, how it informed the process of this research, and the specific challenges that were encountered. These challenges included dealing with the undefined and flexible nature of the methodology, reconciling the use of non-face to face approaches (when the methodology recommends the opposite), and clarifying who was eligible to take part in kaupapa Māori research. As part of the methodological processes, this chapter documents who the participants are, the process of collecting data, and the analysis processes used in the project. I have chosen to use kaupapa Māori research methodologies because I identify as a Māori researcher and, as such, this approach legitimates the cultural preferences I have.

In the following sections I address these questions: What is my understanding of kaupapa Māori research? What were the key features of the approach I adopted to guide my research? What concerns have been raised about the methodology? What challenges did I encounter in using this approach and what were the implications of this for both the process (method) and outcome (results)?

3.1 What is kaupapa Māori Research?

Mahuika (2008) suggests that it can be difficult to understand what kaupapa Māori is because it has been used to describe a theory, a research methodology and a research ethic all at the same time. She also suggests that this is indicative of the intertwined and interrelated nature of the many issues involved in kaupapa Māori theory and practice. Before exploring what kaupapa Māori research is, as used in this thesis, it is useful to consider the historical context that kaupapa Māori emerged from.

3.1.1 The emergence of kaupapa Māori.

In Aotearoa New Zealand during the 1980s, there was a revolution by large numbers of Māori who gave up waiting for their social and economic situations to change and began creating change for themselves (Smith G. H., 2003). This time represented a significant shift

from Māori being the passive victims of institutions to being activists involved in a counter-hegemonic struggle (Smith L. , 2005). It represented the beginning of a journey of conscientisation, or consciousness-raising, for Māori (Smith G. H., 2003). It supported the emergence of the Kōhanga Reo (Māori language pre-school), Kura Kaupapa (Māori language primary school), Wharekura (Māori language secondary school) and Whare Wānanga (Māori tertiary institution) movements that were established by Māori, outside the mainstream systems. These are some examples of kaupapa Māori initiatives that have snowballed since the 1980s.

Barnes (2000) highlighted one of the problems that led to the emergence of kaupapa Māori. She wrote that Māori had become 'the other' in our own country. This means that Māori had become 'the other' judged against what had become the Western-centred norms of the dominant culture. To promote this situation Western researchers in the past have written about Māori, using their research to maintain Western centrality and disempower minority interests (Mahuika, 2008). Māori, along with many other indigenous cultures, have been the victims of non-indigenous authors and researchers who have promoted misinformation about indigenous people and their histories (Mead, 1994). Western research has used these notions of 'the other', privileged written text over oral testimony, and promoted individualism over collectivism – because the West was seen as the centre of legitimate and civilised knowledge (Smith L. , 1996). This helps to explain why Māori researchers have been so motivated to claim back ownership of Māori research projects, and use their own methodologies – with a view to making positive changes and sharing experiences that will benefit other Māori.

Graham Smith (2003) has written that kaupapa Māori is a positive and proactive approach by Māori to shake off the colonial hegemony that had many Māori believing that Māori ways of being in the world were inferior to Western ways of being. He argues that kaupapa Māori is the validation and legitimisation of our language, knowledge and culture. This approach has emerged from the Māori struggle for equality in Aotearoa New Zealand; it is a theory that affirms the cultural preferences of Māori.

3.1.2 Kaupapa Māori defined.

As stated above by Mahuika (2008), it is surprisingly difficult to find a concise and definitive explanation of what kaupapa Māori is. Smith (2003) has said that kaupapa Māori is a transformative praxis that moves through a cycle of conscientisation, resistance and transformative action. Pihama (2010) more recently has written that kaupapa Māori is an indigenous theoretical framework that challenges oppression from a Māori cultural base. Bishop (2012) has added that kaupapa Māori is a critique of ongoing power imbalances that maintain a pattern of domination and subordination. Others, like Rata (2004), dismiss kaupapa Māori as a strategy of cultural elitism used by middle-class Māori.

Kaupapa Māori is about positive change for Māori and by Māori (Bishop, 2012). This is a common statement that has caused some conflict for Pākehā researchers particularly, who feel excluded by its apparent intent. Jones (2012) is a Pākehā researcher who sees the statement as a political one, intended to promote Māori inclusion rather than Pākehā exclusion. She acknowledges that there is a role of partnership for Pākehā in kaupapa Māori research, but adds that control must remain with Māori.

Kaupapa Māori research has also been described as a transformative project, active in the pursuit of social and institutional change that makes space for indigenous knowledge and promotes the challenge of power relations in our world (Smith L. , 2005). Kaupapa Māori methodology addresses concerns about power imbalances because the relational foundation for the process is drawn from Māori epistemology (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2013). Therefore, kaupapa Māori is about using Māori approaches to bring about social justice for Māori and redress historical imbalances that exist in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The question that is pertinent is what exactly are Māori approaches? It has been said that Māori approaches to making changes for social justice can be seen in the areas of Justice, Health, Social Welfare, Education, Housing, Employment and Research (Smith & Reid, 2000). In all these areas, and more, Māori communities called for autonomy because things were not working for them. This is operationalised in kaupapa Māori as self-determination by, and for, Māori people (Bishop, 2012). This statement implies that Māori approaches are those

that Māori people decide on for themselves. I am conscious that, while the term 'Māori' is used as a universal, in reality there is significant diversity within Māori. This issue will be explored further in this chapter.

Kaupapa Māori has originated from Māori concepts, views and values. It is based on, and is informed by, Mātauranga Māori i.e. Māori knowledge and experience (Pihama, 2010). Smith (2003) supports this notion when he writes that, while it is based on Mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori is not the same as Mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori emerges out of Māori ways of thinking and being. It strives to normalise Māori ways of being in the world, in an effort to improve the experience of Māori. It promotes Māori sense-making (Bishop, 2012). It is the honouring of the practices, value systems and social relations that are evident in the taken-for-granted ways that Māori people live their lives (Smith L. , 2005). It recognises the rights of indigenous peoples and Māori researchers to use these starting places to actualise approaches from culturally-specific epistemologies versus approaches from Western origins (Mane, 2009).

While these perspectives explain broadly what kaupapa Māori is, a more detailed exploration of its features in terms of research is necessary; this will follow.

3.1.3 Concerns about kaupapa Māori research.

The definitions of kaupapa Māori are all quite general. Mahuika (2008) suggests that one reason for this may be that defining and codifying such approaches may run the risk of reducing them to simple procedures. I agree that it is important not to devalue this methodological approach by making it a paint-by-numbers recipe. However, I also believe that academic researchers who are still settling on a particular methodology that suits their purposes and fits with their values need some detail and definition for guidance on how to proceed. Pihama (2010) writes that kaupapa Māori methodologies do not provide answers by following a set recipe. She argues that we must resist attempts to define and concretise the theory because that would deny the dynamic nature of culture. Instead, it is contended that kaupapa Māori needs to flexible and adaptable (Smith G. H., 2003). While I understand

this position, and acknowledge that learning is the fruit of the struggle to make sense of a flexible and undefinable methodology, I also strongly believe that it is useful to share guidelines and possible strategies so that the emerging researcher knows whether indeed they are following a kaupapa Māori approach.

When kaupapa Māori research, with its focus on Māori epistemology, emerged in the 1990s there were some non-Māori who were critical because, in their eyes, a specific methodology did not exist (Barnes H. , 2000). There has been criticism too because claims that kaupapa Māori is a multiple rather than singular way of being (Smith & Reid, 2000) are too general and not definitive in their prescription of the research methodology.

3.1.3.1 Who is qualified to use kaupapa Māori?

Who is qualified to use a kaupapa Māori approach is also a problematic question. Pihama (2010) states that being grounded in Māori knowledge, kaupapa Māori cannot be understood without knowledge of mātauranga Māori, the ways Māori engage knowledge, and the forms of knowing. The questions that this raises for me is how fluent in the Māori language must a researcher be to understand Māori knowledge and what kind of experiences must the researcher have had to qualify for using such an approach? Can a non-indigenous person who has learned the language and knows customs and protocols use a kaupapa Māori approach? Mahuika (2008) acknowledges fluency with Māori language as an issue when she writes that a researcher's (lack of) fluency in the language can raise issues of authenticity in translation. This leads to the question of how we decide who is Māori enough to be a kaupapa Māori researcher and research whānau member? Because there is no definitive prescription or formula about who qualifies, kaupapa Māori approaches are open to criticisms from academics like Rata (2004) who have claimed that kaupapa Māori is elitist because only those 'of the blood' can participate in Māori ways of knowing. Openshaw (2007) has also been critical of what he calls a culturalist approach, where ethnic identity becomes a type of sacred identity blessed by tradition.

3.1.3.2 Cultural restrictions.

There is a danger that kaupapa Māori could be seen as something of a 'sacred cow' which, in the eyes of some, makes it exempt of critical scrutiny (Rata, 2004). This could be true when dealing with situations that relate the relationship of tuākana (elders) and tēina (juniors) – where a teina might feel uncomfortable (culturally) to respectfully challenge the position of a tuakana because they are often seen as authorities in their area of expertise. A researcher who is junior to members of the research whānau must not be fearful of giving constructive criticism or asking uncomfortable questions at the risk of transgressing protocols of respect. Questions should still be raised respectfully.

3.1.3.3 Māori as a homogenous group.

Kaupapa Māori methodologies defining Māori and Pākehā as, respectively, the oppressed and dominant groups in Aotearoa New Zealand have been criticised as being too binary or black and white – leaving little room for different, diverse and hybrid identities (Openshaw, 2007). Smith and Reid (2000) have written that kaupapa Māori is not elitist but a methodology that embraces all Māori in all of our diversity. Being Māori is a diverse experience. There is a continuum where some Māori have maintained many of the values and practices of ancestors, while others have indistinguishable lifestyles from their non-Māori neighbours (Eketone, 2008). When Māori are portrayed as an uncomplicated non-differentiated mass, the spaces of heterogeneity are not explored (Lopez, 1998).

Māori are not a homogenous group who see things in a certain way. Indeed, Māori often have a tribal way of looking at things. Webber (2009) writes that research should recognise the diversity of the Māori experience and refute the tendency to refer to Māori as homogenous. This emphasises the importance of the respectful, responsive, power-sharing approach that has been used with my research whānau. By constantly asking them how they would like to proceed, and what processes they were most comfortable with, issues of assumed cultural homogeneity were addressed. As a researcher, I was able to avoid making assumptions about the Māori way of doing things, by taking the lead from the research whānau. For example, when I first met with them at Ako Pai marae (tribal meeting place), it

was the hosting women who decided if they wanted to use karanga (welcoming call) to the visitors. I did not tell them that they should – in fact I explicitly told them that I had no expectation for them to karanga. I did, however, suggest the process for a whakatau (less formal welcome), which they readily agreed to.

3.1.3.4 The Māori/Pākehā binary.

Rata (2004) cites the assumption of two ethnically-determined groups that are distinct as a major flaw in kaupapa Māori methodologies – because of the spectrum of experience associated with what it means to be Māori and Pākehā. In addition, over time, the cultures have borrowed from each other to create the hybrid identities that Openshaw highlights. Lopez (1998) shares the same concern when he says that individuals in a cultural context are multiply situated and positioned. My own experience in working with the research whānau for this project has been that there is a spectrum of skills, abilities and knowledge from the Māori world. However, this does not mean that the varied needs could not be catered for. Some of the research whānau were more fluent in the Māori language than others, and some chose to speak more Māori than others. Their right to speak in whichever language they chose was respected and it was important to me that people had the option to choose. Most chose to speak predominantly in English. I believe this was out of respect for those who were less fluent – and also because I started most of the unstructured interviews in English.

To some extent, Eketone (2008) agrees with Openshaw when he says that the colonisation process calls into question the validity of the Māori world view and Māori knowledge. In both the English and Māori languages, there are words that have been borrowed from the language. Moreover, this is mirrored in other facets of both cultures. Mahuika (2008) raises an interesting point about kaupapa Māori criticisms of the colonial oppressor and the desire to reject the epistemological frameworks of the colonizer. Nevertheless, there are references made by kaupapa Māori researchers to non-Māori theoretical frameworks; for example, critical theory and the writings of Paulo Friere. What this means is that Māori language is not pure, because it borrows from other languages. Furthermore, Māori

theoretical frameworks are not pure, because they borrow from non-indigenous academics. Perhaps the suggestion is that the term kaupapa Māori is inaccurate because the theory is not solely Māori.

Eketone (2008) raises a very important point when suggesting that there are problems in associating kaupapa Māori with critical theory frameworks. As stated, critical theory seeks to address power imbalances imposed on minority cultures – and there have been links made to this as a motivator for kaupapa Māori. Eketone (2008) promotes the concept of Native Theory in which Māori seek to move forward, as Māori, in Māori contexts. He adds that many Māori do not use critical theory ways of thinking when using kaupapa Māori approaches. They are not interested in power relations; they just want to promote Māori advancement using Māori concepts. Perhaps Eketone is suggesting that kaupapa Māori researchers must be careful when positioning themselves within the context of power, dominance and colonisation – because some Māori are not thinking of the political context when they undertake kaupapa Māori projects. Kaupapa Māori is not only a resistance against negative forces; it is also about being Māori and doing Māori things – a positive expression for positive initiatives.

3.2 What are the key features of kaupapa Māori?

As I have already argued, a formulaic approach to kaupapa Māori research is something to be wary of. Some of the key features that I will share and discuss are very important and they must be genuinely used. Kaupapa Māori is not a sales pitch that one follows in order to close a deal. It is an approach that must be driven by a vision and a belief in the outcomes of the research. It must be focused on using Māori approaches to produce research that will support the development of other Māori. It is not an undertaking that can be faked or shallow.

Barnes (2013) writes that Pākehā researchers working in kaupapa Māori settings often want a recipe or formula that describes the process. It does not exist. However, there are some elements that I have highlighted as important in a kaupapa Māori approach to research. These elements are neither compulsory nor exhaustive.

3.2.1 The research whānau.

In a sense, the people participating in this research are like a family to me. In some cases, we have relationships that go back more than 25 years. Some members of the group are known to my wife and family; we have shared happy and sad times together. With some, I have deep and enduring relationships; with others I have newer burgeoning relationships. Usually those participating in a research project are known as the participants. In kaupapa Māori there is an emphasis on the group of participants forming extended family-type relationships and therefore coming to be like a family (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2013). Metge (1990) explains that, in a Māori context, the concept of family or whānau comes with certain rights and responsibilities about commitment to, obligation to, and support for, the collective. These responsibilities are based on tikanga (customs and protocols), warm interpersonal interactions, group solidarity, shared responsibility for each other and cheerful co-operation working towards the group goal. For some of the participants, while they are motivated by the topic of this research project, their sense of obligation to participate comes from the enduring personal relationships that they and I have developed and value. In a kaupapa Māori research project the participants become whānau, with the rights and obligations that this entails. A significant amount of time and energy may be expended in the establishment and maintenance of these relationships – but it is fundamental to kaupapa Māori. As such, a researcher must have the skills and abilities to guide this process (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2013).

3.2.2 Whanaungatanga (building relationships).

Whanaungatanga is the establishment and maintenance of these whānau relationships (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2013). Relationship building is a key element of kaupapa Māori. Relationships are not to be taken for granted. Where possible, face to face interactions are best used to optimise and strengthen enduring relationships (Mane, 2009). As already mentioned, some of the relationships I have with the whānau stemmed from historical experiences and others were new. The ones that were new were fostered by the recommendation of another whānau member. When I spoke to new candidates and suggested that their colleague (with whom they enjoyed a trusting relationship) had

recommended them to be part of the whānau, the connections that we shared made the establishment of a new whānau much easier. These relationships must be respectful and reciprocal (Smith L. , 2005); there is a 'knowing' that the whānau members all share. Given that most are academics, and have worked in the area of education, I anticipated that they knew about the importance of relationship-building.

The emphasis on relationships is a significant part of the kaupapa Māori research process. There are formal and informal processes that foster the building of relationships. This is one reason why it was important for me to be cognisant of my position in the relationship and the need to engage in power-sharing processes. Kaupapa Māori research is not just about making friends with participants (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). Establishing relationships that promote respectful challenge is critical to finding the best outcomes. The idea of 'making friends' implies the risk of 'not rocking the boat' at the expense of damaging relationships. Whanaungatanga is the Māori word used to describe 'extended family' relationships (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2013). Whakawhanaungatanga is the process used to establish whanaungatanga. In terms of kaupapa Māori research projects, whakawhanaungatanga focuses on the researchers' connectedness, engagement and involvement with the research whānau to promote their self-determination and agency, and to give a voice to their experiences and stories (Bishop, 2003).

3.2.3 Informal interviews.

A common approach in kaupapa Māori research is the use of informal interviews that follow a spiral discourse, with participants pursuing their own agendas (Johnson, 2008). Sharing is a crucial aspect of maintaining the ongoing relationship. By feeding back to whānau their stories, and hearing their responses, the dialogue continues (Johnson, 2008) and relationships are further developed. This is why I used semi-structured interviews with groups and individuals. Participants shared their stories, experiences and perspectives. These stories were transcribed and fed back to them, which resulted in further in-depth discussion. For example, I convened a hui (meeting) and discussed the main findings that I had identified with members of the research whānau. In the process of reviewing the main themes, the research whānau members added a further theme; namely, working as a

change agent in their own rohe (tribal area) and being authentically Māori. This was a new area of challenge that had not been previously identified.

The process ensured the authenticity of how the ideas of the research whānau were represented. If the research members felt that I had not captured the essence of what they wished to convey, this was made clear to me. Through the process of identifying what I considered were major themes, (and then checking for agreement, dissent or other perspectives), the conclusions from the interviews were co-constructed. These are examples of the respectful relationships and power-sharing approaches that are features of a kaupapa Māori approach.

3.2.4 Dealing with power issues.

Bishop (2003) writes that there is a need to address the following questions: Who is the project initiated by? Who will benefit from the research? Who is represented in the research whānau? Who legitimises what is being done? To whom is the researcher accountable? He suggests that, by answering these questions, the researcher and whānau will mitigate the power issues that have hitherto meant research has not been in the best interests of Māori.

Who controls the research is central to kaupapa Māori methodology. Control is not held by the researcher but shared through a process of negotiation with the research whānau (Barnes H. , 2000) and through 'participant-driven practices' (Bishop, 2003). In other words, the research whānau must have a strong voice in the processes used and the directions followed; this cannot be an imposed recipe or formula. One of the approaches used to promote a strong research whānau voice is using a process where each person is given the floor to speak uninterrupted. This may be used when co-constructing a process or sharing stories. A commonly used phrase in this type of process is 'Ka hoatu te rākau ki a koe' – which means 'the stick is passed to you'. This refers to a metaphorical 'talking staff' that dictates who has the floor. It is important to ensure that the research whānau actively participates in determining the process and sharing content, because kaupapa Māori

recognises that it is the communities who are experts in determining their own solutions (Barnes H. , 2000).

3.2.5 The acultural researcher.

Kaupapa Māori research methodology challenges the notion of an acultural researcher (Pihama, 2010). That is, no matter how much one tries, it is impossible for the researcher not to bring something of themselves to a project. Rather than try to be neutral, kaupapa Māori researchers must bring an agenda because the methodology demands it of them. Māori researchers using this model unashamedly declare their positionality as unobjective (Johnson, 2008). Bishop (2003) adds that Kaupapa Māori researchers understand themselves to be somatically in the research process. That is, they are physically, ethically, morally and spiritually connected and committed to the project by its outcome. This common goal was one of the factors that built the trust of my research whānau and gave me (and them) the motivation to be a part of the project.

3.2.6 Positive benefits for Māori.

The goal that kaupapa Māori researchers work towards is an outcome for the betterment of Māori. They must work to produce research that has a positive benefit for Māori, and be accountable to the community for that outcome (Smith G. H., 2003). The work must be linked to positive outcomes for Māori (Mane, 2009). This underlines a link that exists between kaupapa Māori and critical theory. Critical theorists hold on to a hope that research can lead to emancipation and social justice for oppressed groups (Smith L., 2005; Mane, 2009). This is a driver for many researchers using kaupapa Māori approaches and is certainly a motivating factor in the initiation of this project. If Māori working within mainstream organisations to bring about change for the betterment of Māori can be supported to be more effective, then the premise is that better outcomes for Māori will follow.

3.2.7 Participants.

Who conducts the research and who participates in the research is an element of debate in kaupapa Māori. In earlier times, there were those who were adamant that kaupapa Māori initiatives were to be conducted by Māori researchers, with and for Māori (Barnes H. , 2000). Others have welcomed Pākehā participation that was informed by an understanding of the power issues relating to colonisation (Jones, 2012) (Barnes A. , 2013). My own thinking is that kaupapa Māori approaches can and should include non-Māori, because sometimes it is only through partnership and working together for the benefit of Māori that change can occur. All of the whānau members of this research project have Māori whakapapa (genealogy), but other ethnicities are acknowledged by the whānau – including Polish, Italian, English, and Scottish ancestry. Pākehā have not been excluded for any reason other than they are not part of the group being researched. I know from personal experience of working with Pākehā colleagues to improve Māori achievement, that there is a story to explore about Pākehā change agents' experiences. Their stories are valid and offer more perspective; however, that is outside the scope of this study.

3.2.8 Key tenets from Reid and Smith.

Smith and Reid (2000) highlight the following concepts as important for informing a kaupapa Māori approach: power and control of our knowledge, the concept of whānau and the importance of whakapapa (genealogy), te reo (language), tikanga (customs and protocols), and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). When I considered how I conducted this project, I found that these concepts were relevant. In terms of power and control of our knowledge, the project has been more about the power to share our experiences as Māori working against resistance to change in mainstream educational institutions. The concept of whānau has been important as we came together as a research whānau. We have used whakapapa traditions to establish our connections and ties, and acknowledged the importance that our homes and marae have for us. Many of the whānau spoke about the importance that tribal lands have for the continuation of their well-being. Te reo Māori and tikanga Māori have been honoured in formal settings, as we have initiated whakatau (informal welcoming ceremony), karakia (prayer), whaikōrero (formal speeches) and karanga

(welcoming calls by women). Moreover, some whānau members have chosen to be interviewed bilingually. Tino rangatiratanga has been observed as we assert ourselves as Māori, sharing a Māori experience. In addition, the power-sharing within the process has fostered the self-determination of the research whānau through the decision-making and conclusions that have been drawn.

3.2.9 Principles of kaupapa Māori research.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) outlines the following as principles to be used in the process of kaupapa Māori research. Fiona Cram (2001) has provided an explanation for Smith's principles. I have added a column with an example of how these principles were embodied in my own research process.

Smith	Cram	Research process
Aroha ki te tangata	Showing a respect for people. Allowing people to define their own space and to meet on their own terms.	Giving people the choice to attend hui, meet one on one, interview via skype or phone, and happily making the necessary arrangements.
He kanohi kitea	The importance of meeting people face to face.	Visiting research whānau at their workplace and flying them to a central place to meet.
Titiro, whakarongo … kōrero	Emphasises the need to look and listen, to develop understanding, and keep the voice of the researcher subordinate to the research whānau.	Ensuring that all research whānau members are given formal time to share, while I (as the researcher) kept my own stories to a minimum.
Manaaki ki te tangata	Using a collaborative approach, looking after the needs of the research whānau and expecting to	Continually seeking the permission of the research whānau for direction on

	meet commitments of reciprocity.	process and content. Ensuring that refreshments were provided.
Kia tūpato	Being politically astute, keeping culturally safe and being reflective about insider/outsider status.	Drawing on the wisdom of my tuākana (seniors) and kaiārahi (supervisors) in matters of tikanga (protocol & process).
Kaua e takahi i te mana o te tangata	Don't trample the mana (prestige, honour, esteem) of the people. Sounding out ideas with people, sharing and co-constructing findings.	Ensuring that all discussions were respectful. Sharing findings with the research whānau and seeking feedback.
Kaua e māhaki	Avoid flaunting knowledge and be humble. Remembering that the project is for the benefit of the people. Arrogance is not well received in these contexts (Johnson, 2008).	Ideas and insights gained through the research process were offered as koha (gifts) rather than 'gospels'.

These principles that Smith has outlined are useful guidelines, and the definitions that Cram has added are equally helpful. They are principles that have been largely followed in the process of this research project, with one exception; namely, the importance of meeting people face to face. The two hui that were held in Wellington were not attended by all the research whānau. For some, the travel and time requirement made this difficult. Another had a clash of dates, and one preferred to have one on one conversations with me. In some cases, this meant that Skype conversations were used. One whānau member was interviewed in my home, one at their workplace, and another was happy to converse by telephone. This illustrates why it is important that there are guidelines to follow in a kaupapa Māori research approach. But, more importantly, it emphasises the need to acknowledge that some research whānau members may wish to assert their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and choose a different approach that may not follow a

certain cultural norm. At these times, the researcher must be responsive and respect those wishes because they are examples of the heterogeneity among Māori.

3.3 Further evidence of kaupapa Māori elements.

The following sections underline additional elements of kaupapa Māori research approaches that have been used in this project.

3.3.1 Power-sharing.

Superficially, a kaupapa Māori approach in the classroom has hitherto been exemplified by the notion that teachers must use iconography, Māori language and good pronunciation. Actually, it is the power-sharing in the decision-making processes that is legitimate. The teacher must be prepared to share their power (Bishop, 2012). This is true also for the researcher. A kaupapa Māori approach is not about using established Māori practices for the purpose of window-dressing. Having karakia (prayers) for the sake of them (while not really believing in the purpose they serve), using Māori greetings, sharing pepeha (genealogy connections), and using whakataukī (proverbs) all mean very little if the project is not focused on making advancements for Māori and, more importantly, is not addressing the power issues that exist.

This is why Māori tikanga (protocols), such as karanga (women's calling), whaikōrero (formal speech often by a male), pōwhiri (welcome), hui (Māori gatherings), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (relationship-building) and manaakitanga (looking after guests), have all been used in the process of this research project. Key elements that are enhanced by these cultural practices are: the purpose of the research, and the importance to me as a researcher of working in partnership with the research whānau. I have been guided by the preferences of the research whānau about how we proceeded – from their choosing the level of formality in our meetings, to asking for their agreement and input about how to conduct the interviews, to their choosing the mode of their input (face to face, by telephone or via Skype).

Coming from a kaupapa Māori paradigm, the goal with this research project was to ensure that it has benefit to all parties involved – and Māori in education generally. It was also critical that I respected the intelligence, wisdom, experiences and whakapapa of those invited to be part of this research. Bishop and Glynn (1999)) emphasise the need for research processes to address the locus of power and control. It is for this reason that I have emphasised my desire to collaborate and co-construct with research participants throughout the project.

3.3.2 Co-constructing conclusions.

A significant example of the power-sharing that is a feature of kaupapa Māori is the practice of co-constructing conclusions from the interviews. After all the initial interviews had been completed and transcribed, I circulated by email the transcriptions of the interviews for the research whānau to check. Only one alteration was required, where I had attributed a comment to the wrong person. Following this, I analysed the transcriptions, broke the interviews into main ideas, and identified draft themes (by grouping the main ideas). At that point, the draft themes were shared with the research whānau – to give them the opportunity to feedback and feedforward their ideas and their reasons for agreement or disagreement. On the whole, there was little disagreement about the themes. In fact, the only change was the addition of themes that the research whānau considered had not been given enough emphasis. Some of these themes included: being Māori in your own rohe (tribal area), celebrating success, developing relationships, encouraging and praising, and responding to the question 'Am I Māori enough?'

Adjustments were made that aligned with the requests from the research whānau. I highlighted these in red and circulated them for consideration. The research whānau all approved the updated list of themes. One member wrote "Ka rawe ēnei huinga kōrero āu. E whakaae katoa ana ahau ki ngā mea āpiti mai ki te tae whero nā." (These assembled ideas of yours are great. I totally agree with the additions made in red.) I proceeded to write up my findings only when the research whānau agreed on a forward direction. This gave me the opportunity to avoid the mistakes that some past researchers have made when taking

knowledge from interviewees and mis-representing their viewpoint, to meet the agenda of the researcher.

3.3.3 Māori being Māori.

Pihama (Pihama, 2010) has written that the goal of kaupapa Māori is not to assert that it is a better theory than any other. It is about the assertion of the right for Māori to be Māori on our own terms and draw from our own base, to provide understandings and explanations to the world. This is certainly in line with the goal of this research project. There are people who have been invited to be part of this group who identify as being Māori, while still acknowledging their Scottish, Polish, English and other non-Māori roots. We stand along a spectrum of ability in respect of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, physical Māori features, and Māori experiences – yet we have come together to examine our experiences as Māori working within non-Māori institutions to make change for the betterment of Māori students. The decision to use a kaupapa Māori approach has meant that our ways of doing things have been forefront as we navigated our path. This has resulted in establishing, renewing, or deepening relationships – with a sense of purpose, as we have shared our journey.

3.3.4 Tikanga Māori.

I want to share more examples of how tikanga Māori (Māori protocols) have been followed in this project. In setting up the research whānau, I approached one of them to be kaiwhakaruruhau (an advisor and person who provides cultural safety) for the project. This person is someone with whom both my wife and I have worked before, welcomed into our home, and shared meals. We also attended her mother's tangi (funeral) as a mark of respect and tautoko (support) for her and her family. Generally, we have many connections to her (he nui ngā hononga ki te tuahine). I consider her to be a tuahine (sister) and tuakana (older sibling) of mine. Usually the word tuakana is more commonly used to describe the relationship to an older sibling of the same sex, but it is also often used as a sign of respect for the esteem that a person is held in. In the practice of being Māori, it is common to use our connections to people we can trust to undertake a task. This is how the research whānau came together. The other participants are all Māori, whom we would consider to be a part of

my (and the kaiwhakaruruhau's) broader whānau (family). In this context, family is used to describe the personal and professional connections we have, rather than just genealogical connections.

Further examples of kaupapa Māori in practice are the conducting of the first research hui (meeting) at Ako Pai marae in Karori, Wellington. Both my wife and I were part of the opening ceremony of the marae in 1987. Therefore, I consider myself to be 'tangata whenua' or a person who belongs to that marae, with special privileges and responsibilities that go with that.

As we welcomed the research participants to the marae, tikanga Māori (Māori protocols) were observed – with the women conducting an exchange of karanga (calls) as the waewae tapu (first time visitors) to the marae were welcomed. A whakatau (welcome process) was performed by me in the wharenui (meeting house). I acknowledged God who is the creator, our ancestors who have passed on, and the iwi (tribes) of all those present. In conclusion, I thanked everyone for their support of the project. We, the tangata whenua (hosts) and the manuhiri (visitors), greeted each other physically and spiritually in the process of hongi (pressing together of noses) before moving through to the wharekai (dining room) to share morning tea and conversation. The focus of these conversations was centred on who we are. Having made formal connections in the process of the whakatau (welcome), many informal connections at the morning tea table were made (such as the discovery of common friends and acquaintances, elements of work, and places where people live or have connection to). This process of making connections with each other is whakawhanaungatanga.

In terms of tikanga Māori, visitors to a marae become tapu (sacred) as a result of the pōwhiri or whakatau (welcome). Through the consumption of food they return to a state of noa (neutrality) and become tangata whenua (locals) themselves (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004). Having observed this formal tikanga meant that we had become a whānau; it was only at this point that we moved to the business at hand. Even then our next session began with mihimihi (speeches), where people took turns to recite their whakapapa (genealogy) and pepeha (tribe, subtribe, marae connections). Whānau members spoke using

te reo Māori (without having to translate) or English, (or both if preferred). Being Māori and tikanga Māori were the procedural norms that were expected, being comfortable for the participants. For us as Māori this was an authentic way to connect and establish our whānau.

3.3.5 Manaaki ki te tangata – hospitality.

Smith (1999) highlights the importance of manaaki ki te tangata which Cram defined as using a collaborative approach and looking after the needs of the research whānau. I have already highlighted examples of collaborative approaches that have been used. Looking after the needs of participants has been illustrated by ensuring participants were well-fed at the hui and their physical needs were met. A further example of this was evidenced when one of the participants came to visit my house so that we could conduct an interview. He brought his two young children with him, knowing that they would be welcomed into my home. The children were fed and played with my own children while their father and I conducted our interview. I pointed out that his bringing the children was an example of kaupapa Māori. His reply was that he knew it would be fine to bring them.

3.3.6 Whakataukī[8] (Proverbs).

Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) makes frequent use of proverb and metaphor to give meaning to experiences. Whakataukī have been used in this project. For example, the night before the formal interview process began at Ako Pai marae, I prepared a whiteboard that outlined the proceedings for the hui. At the top of the whiteboard I wrote a whakataukī – 'He ōrite tātou ki te kawau e noho ana ki te toka. Ka pari te tai, ka ngaro te toka, ka rere te manu.' This is translated as, 'We are like the Black Shag (Cormorant) sitting on the rock. The tide comes in, the rock disappears and the bird takes to flight.'

When our hui began, I shared this whakataukī and explained that the reason I had chosen it was because it made me mindful of being uncomfortable in a challenging role. In life, just when we get comfortable, circumstances change and we have to adapt to the ever-changing environment. Even though it may be more comfortable to perch on a cliff top, the Shag

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[8] Whakataukī are Māori proverbs about social values (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004).

knows that its food source is in the water and it must maintain proximity to survive. Similarly, working in the challenging environment of improving Māori achievement, it is at the interface with students, teachers and administrators that the most is to be gained. It is also this place that constantly changes and gets most uncomfortable.

3.4 Why has a kaupapa Māori approach been used?

In support of kaupapa Māori, Johnson (2008) argues that the thoughtless use of standard research techniques risks perpetuating Western imperialism. This statement acts as a strong driver for me to avoid making the mistakes of the past. In contrast to this, I know that kaupapa Māori theory and its associated practices have been taken by Māori researchers and applied to the area of academic research in an effort to redress the distrust that Māori have had for academia (Smith G. H., 2003). I am motivated to be one of a number of Māori researchers asserting our tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) to use a culturally-based methodology that legitimates Māori cultural preferences. As a Māori researcher, I want to contribute to this emancipatory movement, tell our own stories, contribute to and influence the literature base, and rebuild Māori trust in academia.

One of those motivators is the belief that when te reo Māori (indigenous language of NZ) and tikanga Māori (indigenous customs) are accepted as valid and legitimate, then Māori are no longer positioned as the 'the other' but instead hold a position of being the norm within our own constructions (Smith & Reid, 2000). Another motivator is the emphasis placed on power-sharing, respect and co-construction that are features of a culturally responsive approach. The value and practice of respect is one that is important to me as a person; it is an approach that I am strongly motivated to use. I have been very comfortable using kaupapa Māori as the theoretical basis for this project.

3.5 Introducing the research whānau.

The research whānau for the project was made up of five women and three men. Four of the women are aged between 50 and 60 years, while one is in her late thirties. Two of the men are in their forties and one is in his sixties. All the participants are Māori. All have a Master's

degree or Doctorate, and one has a Professorship. All have worked in schools or tertiary institutions in roles that focus on improving Māori student achievement.

In the process of finding participants, I was keen to find a balance of gender for the project. It was interesting to me that it was easier to identify potential Māori women, as opposed to Māori men.

3.6 Data Collection.

The data collection process consisted of digital recordings taken of the initial participant hui and one-on-one interviews with three participants who were unable to attend the hui but chose to be interviewed face to face through cyberspace. The digital recordings were then transcribed by a Māori High School student who is fluent in te reo Māori. The follow-up interviews and final co-construction hui were also digitally recorded and transcribed. In order to ensure that the interviews all had fidelity, I took a copy of the session outline that I had written on a whiteboard at the initial hui at Ako Pai marae and I made sure that the same process was followed with individual interviews.

3.7 Data Analysis.

The first step in the data analysis process was for me to identify ideas and concepts from the transcripts of the interviews that had been conducted. The transcripts were broken up into numerous specific ideas, which were grouped and coded under common headings. The codes were then grouped under two broad themes. I re-read the ideas a number of times to make sure that the coding accurately reflected the intent of the speaker. I then checked this with participants at a follow-up hui where we considered coding and themes. The feedback from the whānau was used to co-construct project conclusions.

3.8 Conclusion.

This chapter has explained the methodological approach that I have used for this project, my understanding of kaupapa Māori, and why I have chosen to use it. A summary of my experiences pertaining to kaupapa Māori has also been given.

The key driver for using a kaupapa Māori approach in this project was a desire to explore the experience of Māori working for change for the betterment of other Māori in non-Māori educational institutions. This was a purpose that resonated with all the research whānau. Many of the protocols that this research project followed were used because they are Māori ways of doing and being – from building a whānau, to following formal process. Perhaps the most important feature of this approach has been the power-sharing. Research whānau members have been self-determining in how they have participated in the process. The conclusions drawn have been made in a collaborative fashion, which reflects the partnership approach that is critical to kaupapa Māori research.

The following chapter is a synthesis of the main themes that emerged from the research whānau interviews about their experiences and challenges as Māori change agents working within non-Māori educational institutions.

Chapter Four – Results.

4.1 Main themes.

My analysis of the interview material that I have gathered from the research whānau highlighted two main themes related to the experiences of Māori change agents working in non-Māori educational institutions.

The first major theme focused on 'the challenge' of being a Māori facilitator championing change in non-Māori educational institutes. Within this challenge, I identified that there were two main dimensions - an external and internal dimension. My analysis indicated that these two dimensions were interrelated and difficult to separate. The external dimension involved challenges from other people or the institutions that change agents worked in. The internal dimension incorporated challenges within change agents themselves that were emotional, mental or intellectual.

The second theme explores the responses that Māori change agents used to deal with those difficulties highlighted as challenges in the first theme. Like the challenges, the responses used were sometimes internal and other times external. As the research whānau comments were explored, it became clear that being a Māori change agent in non-Māori educational institution is a very complex, multi-dimensional, interwoven challenge. It is an emotionally, mentally, physically and spiritually difficult endeavour and one that the underprepared facilitator undertakes at their peril.

4.2 The challenge - being a Māori facilitator in non-Māori educational institutions.

The first major theme emerged in response to the first question 'what have been some of your experiences with resistance?' All participants spoke about the challenges that they faced when working as a Māori change agent in non-Māori educational institutions. As already highlighted there were two main types of challenge that were identified and my analysis indicated that these had both external and internal dimensions. The external dimensions of 'the challenge' were listed as those existing outside of the facilitator – challenges from other people, whether as individual, groups or institutions. The internal

dimension of 'the challenge' identified were those that resided within the facilitator themselves emotionally, physically, spiritually and mentally. This section will deal firstly with the external challenges that were discussed and then with the internal challenges that the research whānau identified.

4.3 The external dimension of championing change.

The following reflections give an insight into the types of external challenges that had been experienced by members of the research whānau.

4.3.1 Poor Māori student achievement – how come we're still lagging behind?

Poor Māori student achievement was identified as an external challenge for Māori facilitators. One of the research whānau commented that a lot of progress has been made but Māori students are still lagging behind in terms of educational disparities. Another member of the research whānau shared her experience of interviewing Māori students about their school experiences. She made the following comment:

> *It was quite shocking to hear just how it was for those kids and it was*
> *quite sad to actually hear that.*

There were also comments that acknowledged the experiences of members of the research whānau when they themselves were teachers who could see Māori students weren't enjoying equitable success in the mainstream education system.

> *I trained as a primary teacher and probably in my second year I started to*
> *be really interested in why I could see Māori students weren't doing so*
> *well and they should have been.*

Even though problems with Māori achievement were identified fifty years ago (Hunn, 1960), a disparity still exists and this was one of the external realities that challenged the Māori change agent.

4.3.2 Māori achievement under-prioritised – we must find time to talk about that.

In some cases whānau members shared that the institutions they have worked in were not prioritising Māori achievement, even though the Māori achievement rates were lower than non-Māori. Particularly when conflicting priorities arose, Māori achievement initiatives were moved aside. One of the research whānau commented that:

> *Economic times dictated that the nice to haves as opposed to the essentials were let go of, and in the institution's minds it was the Māori aspects were the nice to haves rather than the essentials.*

One whānau member highlighted the fact that the Government has invested a significant amount of funding into professional development for in-service teachers, yet the same initiatives were disappearing from pre-service teacher training programmes.

> *I find it very ironic given that from 2008 onwards there are initiatives like Ka Hikitia, Te Kotahitanga, Te Kauhua, He Kākano, Ngā Tatai Ako [9] being supported. We're having a lot of professional development for in-service teachers, schools, leaders, managers and personnel. Yet, in terms of the initial teacher education, those types of things are dwindling, so we're actually having the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff.*

Another facilitator related his experience of a lack of prioritising within the institution he was working in. He relays the comments of a senior leader:

> *'We have a financial meltdown going on so I haven't really got time and I understand that we really must get there but nine tenths of this meeting is going to be around our immediate financial issues and we must find time, sometime, to talk a little bit further about these other sorts of matters, in the meantime can you go away and not bother me'. Or they*

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[9] These are all Ministry of Education projects which have been implemented in many schools with the objective of addressing Māori achievement disparities.

say something like that. But being preoccupied with change with new
strategic directions, with new governors, with finance, with staff, there
are endless ways to get yourself so busy that you haven't got a space in
your head to give this priority.

Finally, under-prioritising was evidenced by institutions having a lack of information about Māori achievement. In other words, when institutional achievement rates were reviewed by senior managers, the data was not disaggregated by ethnicity because no attention was given to Māori achievement and therefore there was little likelihood of targets being established to improve Māori achievement. This is another significant challenge faced by Māori change agents.

4.3.3 The effectiveness of programmes – are we empowering the kids?

Three members of the research whānau raised concerns about the effectiveness of initiatives within institutions that were designed to address inequities in Māori achievement. One of the challenges highlighted was that some in-school programmes focused solely on teacher development, but little was done to support student development and their empowerment.

When we first started to learn about Māori achievement programmes we
had a big question mark - we're doing all this work with teachers but how
are we empowering the kids?

The effectiveness of programmes was also impacted upon by the ability of teachers to respond to the programme itself. One whānau member commented that staff members who are new to their role and coming to terms with the demands of their jobs can struggle to deal with the extra requirements a programme may have. This can result in a sense of disconnect to the initiatives, directives and targets being established by Boards and senior managers.

4.3.4 Connecting others to a moral purpose – the heart and mind stuff.

Fullan (1993) says that the moral purpose of teaching is related to the desire to make a positive difference to the lives of students. A further challenge that was identified by members of the research whānau was the difficulty they faced trying to connect others to the moral purpose of their work in addressing equity. One commented that:

> *Often we're very good at understanding what to do, then we've focused*
> *on how to do it and it's disconnected from why, the moral purpose - the*
> *whole value of what you're talking about that is core and fundamental.*

Another acknowledged that:

> *You can't compel ownership or the moral imperative but once you've got*
> *the heart and mind stuff they're going to keep looking for answers.*

A question raised by the research whānau was "how do you capture their hearts and minds if they don't want to be open to the message that's been delivered?" These comments highlighted that it is vital to enrol people into the vision that explains why these initiatives are being undertaken. I suggest that if this cannot be achieved then change will be difficult. It is critical to be able to enrol others in the importance of such initiatives because as one of the research whānau commented:

> *Unless you're really looking at the core beliefs which could be limiting,*
> *well that other stuff is just tinkering around the edges.*

There needs to be a connection for people to the purpose that is driving the vision of the project. The 'why' constitutes the moral purpose and it requires a promotion of a broad understanding so that administration, teaching and managing staff all connect to the values and goals that are driving a project. But this can be difficult when working from the position of facilitator or change agents because they do not always work at the level of the strategic vision of an institution.

It is desirable for student and whānau communities also, to understand the moral purpose of a project. It can be particularly daunting for a Māori change agent if their job is to connect all of these stakeholders to the 'why' of an initiative. The research whānau added that when all elements of an initiative were not agreed to by all members of the institution then this could create a sense of resistance.

4.3.5 Racism – everyone has the same opportunity!

Racism was identified as another external challenge and source of resistance. One of the research whānau shared an experience of the difficulties of getting a Māori development initiative approved at a senior level. The approval for the Māori programme took a number of years yet others that were not focused on Māori achievement, that were seen as a higher priority, only took a matter of months. While accepting the need for rigour and due process, after 3 years it became ridiculous to the supporters of the initiative and their only explanation for the delay was covert racism and ignorance.

> *A proposed revamped Māori immersion teacher education course,*
> *probably sat there for 2 ½ years, it took 3 years, having to re dot i's, re cross*
> *t's ,jump through hoops backwards, blindfolded to get a course through the*
> *approval process at that same time other ones went through within*
> *months.*

Another member of the research whānau shared their perspective on the challenge of addressing racism:

> *I know there's an institutional ambivalence - there's a liberal discourse within*
> *the institution that loves to think about inclusion, loves to think about the*
> *notion of bi-culturalism, and loves to think about the notion of multi-*
> *culturalism. As long as it's containable. That's about a loss of power and*
> *control.*

Another example about dealing with racism was the observation that some people in educational institutions are ignorant of kaupapa Māori which means that programmes that are aimed at the empowerment of Māori will always have to legitimize and validate themselves. One of the research whānau shared a personal experience having been appointed to a leadership position within a school. There were articles in the local paper that suggested she only got the job because she was Māori. Other teachers and parents were speaking to the newspaper, claiming that they didn't think she should have the job because she didn't have any experience.

> *There were articles in the local paper that I only got the job because I was*
> *Māori. They didn't want me there and all this.*

The research whānau did agree that there is support from many non-Māori in education; however, covert racism is common, overt racism is less common. It is often driven by ignorance and well ingrained.

4.3.6 Challenging positions – Take responsibility because we're not all the same.

When reviewing the interview data, the research whānau agreed that challenging philosophical and pedagogical positions that do not support the success of Māori students within mainstream institutions was a difficulty. One of the barriers identified was getting teachers to take a position of responsibility for poor Māori student achievement. This does not mean that teachers are expected to take the blame for poor results, but they can certainly be responsible for finding ways that address the problem. One whānau member relayed an experience of giving a presentation to teaching staff about inequitable Māori achievement results.

> *Some staff said that the results were very concerning but then they did*
> *nothing about it. They did nothing to address the situation and nothing*
> *changed. Nobody wanted to take responsibility for finding solutions.*

One person added this observation:

> *The biggest form of resistance is being around the non-ownership of the*
> *outcome like 'That's someone else's job. That's not my job. That's why we*
> *employed you.'*

Some teachers had involuntarily taken part in a programme but they didn't see the value or reason that they should be taking part believing that the issue of Māori under achievement is that fault of students and low parental expectation. All of the members of the research whānau had experienced working with teachers who have taken a non-responsibility position for addressing Māori results. One of the research whānau commented that:

> *Some educators take the position that I'm a teacher and I teach and that's*
> *my job and if a Māori has any problems learning because he's a Māori*
> *well that's his problem not mine and what he or she needs to learn to do*
> *is be more motivated, speak better English all that kind of stuff. It all*
> *belongs to the student.*

One person said that in their experience there were some teachers who did not understand or attempt to understand Māori ways of operating in educational realms and didn't see the point of adapting their programmes:

> *If you've got people who aren't aware and they don't know about the*
> *culture they don't know about Māori learning patterns, Māori*
> *preferences, whanaungatanga these kinds of alternatives to evaluation,*
> *to preparation of the exams, to learning of the curriculum, all that, then*
> *they don't make any effort.*

One of the research whānau added that many non-Māori teachers adopt a 'one size fits all' approach because they have been successful learners using the methods that they teach and

therefore they take the position that what worked for me will work for you. In addition, one member commented about colour blindness:

> *Pākehā teachers have told me they just want to treat all students the*
> *same and giving preference to minorities is racism. They don't realise that*
> *treating everyone the same actually means treating everyone the same as*
> *themselves, Pākehā, as if that is not a culture. It's an approach that*
> *preferences Pākehā culture.*

Having to make cultural adaptations is an unnecessary inconvenience. As one member of the research whānau said:

> *They think they're neutral, a-cultural and they've got to negotiate the*
> *murkiness of our cultural investment in these values and beliefs.*

Another research whānau member commented about personal and positive relationships:

> *Some teachers haven't clicked onto the notion that many Māori students*
> *really thrive when they have a personal and positive relationship with*
> *their teacher. There are those who don't see the need to acknowledge*
> *diversity and the potential impact that can have on Māori students in*
> *their classrooms.*

Examples regarding the philosophical positioning's that teachers take further illustrate challenges Māori change agents face. Facilitators commented that effecting change in teacher efficacy is a complex issues positioned in colonisation:

> *When we're talking about change, we're talking about a paradigm shift.*
> *These issues sit as one cog in a far bigger machine and its called*
> *colonisation. Because it's so pervasive it becomes hard for us. It's*
> *complex.*

4.3.7 Challenging Māori teachers – you're not Māori enough!

In addition to the difficulties of challenging the attitudes and beliefs of non-Māori teachers, the research whānau also shared experiences of working with Māori who do not necessarily agree with some of the pedagogical approaches being recommended by programmes designers to address inequitable Māori achievement. For some Māori teachers who follow a traditional teaching approach, for example the transmission of knowledge, moving to relationship based pedagogy is a challenge and this has been a source of resistance. One of the whānau shared an experience about a Māori teacher they worked with:

> *This teacher was quite reluctant to come on board because he took quite*
> *a traditional and authoritarian approach in his teaching. He was a chalk*
> *and talk type of teacher and he was suspicious of what I was promoting.*
> *He thought that I was just trying to build a kingdom for myself. It's quite*
> *difficult when it's one of your own who is criticising you.*

In a further example, one research whānau member described working with a Māori educator who was dismissive of non-Māori teachers and their lack of cultural responsiveness.

> *It was a very stressful, upsetting and time consuming situation for me*
> *because of one of my Māori teachers who was very resistant to teaching*
> *anyone else because they feel 'my things Māori belong to me and nobody*
> *else and I'm not going to spend my time getting everyone else on the*
> *waka'.*

This research whānau member explained that she wanted to acknowledge the political position that the teacher was taking, but found it stressful because she also wanted to be able to enrol non-Māori teachers into seeing the importance of culturally responsive approaches. She worried that the position taken by the teacher might alienate others towards issues of Māori equity.

A further issue that has been identified by change agents is the criticism about facilitators not being Māori enough. This can cause significant stress for change agents who aren't fluent speakers of te reo Māori or who weren't brought up in a certain context because others may question whether or not they are authentically Māori.

> *Sometimes we Māori assume that there is only one way to be authentically Māori and others get shut out. It's a whole new way of beating ourselves up and excluding people. It's an elitism of Māori.*

Māori are not a homogenous group – we don't all share the same positions on pedagogy, politics and culture. This can be a significant source of resistance that is exacerbated by non-Māori agencies who don't understand the implications of using a change agent who may not be accepted because they are from another tribal area or don't have the perceived levels of knowledge about being Māori.

> *Some people think because you're a brown face you'll be able to get great results throughout the country but it's not necessarily true. It can be very complex.*

Four members of the facilitation group added that it can be a significant challenge for Māori change agents working in their own tribal areas or rohe. In many ways it's a double edged sword. Research team members agreed that it was great to be at home working with their own people, but there are high expectations and challenges that go with that. A whānau member made the following two comments:

> *In your own rohe they have different expectations of you and you really feel it. It ups the ante when you're working with your own people because they remind you over and over again of what they expect from you.*

While you are from the rohe and working with a school it gives you
strength but it also means you're more vulnerable because even when
you're from there, people still have an opinion.

The research whānau agreed that working to support Māori teachers to do their part to improve Māori achievement, has sometimes created very difficult and stressful situations. These situations can feel like a kind of betrayal and often provoke times of deep reflection for a change agent. Perhaps the change agents' greatest fear being that if non-Māori perceived that Māori were not valuing the initiative then maybe there is no value.

4.3.8 Levels of Resistance within an Institution – rein her in!

One whānau member highlighted that resistance to change can be encountered at different levels within an institution. He said:

"There can be institutional resistance because there's a lack of
governance around these issues and nobody at the board level is bringing
this up in a non-Māori institution. There can be resistance at managerial
level, including non-ownership and preoccupation with other more
important matters. And there can be resistance at, what you might call
your operational staffing level - operational staff will say that's what
senior management is all about."

An example of resistance at the leadership level was highlighted as leaders not wanting to upset their staff too much for fear of losing them. A whānau member commented:

They say 'We want Māori achievement improved but we want you to do it
our way, in a nice safe way where no one gets upset and please follow our
rules – or you won't be invited back!'

Another example was shared by one of the research whānau which illustrated the difficulty of trying to use Māori approaches within non-Māori institutions:

> *The leadership were all enthusiastic because I was going to come in and really move Māori achievement, but 'oh my gosh, she's being really frank with the whānau – reign her in! Rein her in! And then they had a little talk with me about appropriate conversations with the whānau. They didn't understand that if we don't talk at that level, we're not going to get anywhere.*

In addition resistance to change can come from those who are slow to get involved with change:

> *These people are the fence sitters. They'll basically fall on the side when they realise this isn't going to go away, but then on the outer ring like you're saying you've got the fence 'setters,' the ones who set the fences, they say stuff like 'ideologically that's crap, I'm retiring next year why would I get in to this? It ain't me'.*

From the experience of the research whānau, it can be seen that there can be levels of resistance based on institutional structure, but there are also levels that are based on philosophical positionality of the people within that institution. For example some within an institution can be open to exploring pedagogical positions and expanding their understanding, while others have an approach that they have used for a long time that they believe to be successful. These people are sometimes less open to change.

4.3.9 Leadership – don't upset them too much!

One of the critical aspects for a successful change programme is to have the support of leadership (Mulford, 2010). Sustainable change can be undermined if institutional leaders are not connecting any initiative to short, medium and long-term goals. It is also made

difficult without the public declaration of leadership support, the allocation of resources and leadership participating in the initiative itself.

The comment was made by one whānau member that usually a Principal is supportive of change programmes, but having the support of the rest of the leadership team is vital:

> *The senior leadership team are often the block. Their job is to take the*
> *message on from the Principal but they're often the problem. Not so much*
> *the Principal.*

Another observation that was made by several of the research whānau was that many principals are often fearful of upsetting their workplace when they know that the philosophical position of teachers will be challenged. They often want the results without the risk of the emotions that may be provoked when teachers resist having their beliefs and practises challenged.

> *They are meaning well and they want change, but they're looking from*
> *their perspective around what's safe and what's not safe. They only want*
> *it if it's safe and nobody gets too upset.*

This can create a difficult situation for the change agent. The support of the Principal is vital and they must have the courage to stay committed to the goals of an initiative while still being flexible to adapt when necessary. One whānau member observed that getting this balance right isn't easy.

> *If we don't push hard enough they stay in their comfort zones. If we push*
> *too hard and they're worse off for having engaged with us, it's not us who*
> *suffers, it rangatahi Māori (Māori youth).*

This task is made even more challenging for the external change agent who doesn't have the luxury of time to build trusting relationships that are crucial to the effective implementation of a change programme. A research whānau member agreed by saying:

> It's hard when you're a change agent coming in if you don't know
> everyone and where they're at. The supersonic people are the ones who
> can make relationships really quickly.

These reflections from the research whānau reveal that the main external problems identified are poor Māori student achievement and it's under-prioritisation, the ineffectiveness of programmes designed to address the inequity, the challenge of encouraging others to see it as an issue of importance, dealing with racism, overcoming criticism from other Māori teachers, dealing with resistance at multiple levels and gaining leadership support.

4.4 The internal dimension of championing change.

As a response to external challenges, and sometimes as a result of past experiences, many internal challenges arise for the Māori change agent working to improve Māori achievement.

4.4.1 Māori change agents' health – it makes you sick!

There is little doubt that stress contributes to the physical, mental and emotional health of people in general (Feuerhahn, Stamov-Roßnagel, Wolfram, Bellingrath, & Kudielka, 2013). Many members of the research whānau agreed that the role of Māori change agent can be a very stressful one and this has serious implications. One research whānau member recalled his own experiences of the impact stress had on the health of his colleagues:

> I saw people get sick, physical stressed, from constantly fighting the
> system. People were taking stress leave and had other health problems.
> People retired or left. In hindsight it was because of battling the elements
> of institutional racism, it was a constant battle.

One research whānau member shared how the role impacted her mentally and emotionally:

> *When you live in resistance like that every day, you know it took so much*
> *out of me and I was pretty lonely at that point because the other two*
> *people who were supporting me in the work there at that time when I first*
> *started were both external to the school.*

Improving Māori achievement is such a strong motivator for many Māori change agents. One whānau member related that she was so driven by this issue that her work and private life balance was affected to the extent where she became physically, emotionally and spiritually drained:

> *I have a tendency to work too much you know like yeah, it's very typical*
> *of us isn't it, I just keep going because I feel so strongly about what I'm*
> *doing and I just think what I keep doing is isolate myself because I spend*
> *all my time working and thinking about work and dreaming about work*
> *and working out ways to do it better and then before I know I haven't*
> *spoken to people who have my back and of course what I've been doing*
> *is giving out, giving out, giving out and nothing's been coming back in.*

Some of the key signs of depression are constantly feeling down or hopeless, having little interest or pleasure in doing things you used to enjoy, irritability, feelings of emptiness or loneliness, not being interested in favourite activities, weight gain and low self-esteem (NZ HPA, 2014). One member of the research whānau suggested that he experienced some very challenging times as a Māori change agent and that on reflection he was experiencing some of the symptoms of depression.

> *I hit a really flat spot because I was dealing with those people in the last*
> *cohort who were strongly resistant, but also recognised that some of the*
> *things that I normally do for my resilience weren't happening at that*
> *time, like I wasn't interested in exercising much.*

Managing the internal responses to the stressful situations that arise from challenging others to make significant change can be very difficult and perhaps the most important to monitor and manage is the impact on health and well-being.

4.4.2 its personal – I'm thinking about my mokopuna (grandchildren).

Several members of the research whānau acknowledged that depth of feeling and motivation that they have for the issue of raising Māori student achievement can be a challenge when doing this type of work. They said this is because when something means so much to a person, when they have a high personal investment in the issue, it is sometimes difficult to keep perspective and remain resourceful. This is particularly true when others do not share the same level of concern or commitment.

To illustrate this point, one whānau member shared that when doing her work, she was mindful that she wanted to make improvements for her own Māori grandchildren:

> So I'm thinking about my mokos now, whenever they're going to come,
> and how things can be better for them.

Another whānau member shared that their own experiences of injustice and the emotion that was related to her past was driving her communications in a way that was not effective.

> Looking back on it now I can see that I brought a bit much of myself to it,
> it was all about my issues and my stress around why we were not given
> a fair deal at school and so I was coming across in that way to people so
> they felt very much under attack when I was working.

A third member of the research whānau gave an example of an experience that was difficult to reconcile because of the personal connection that he made with his own children and the conversation.

I had a situation where I was listening to a person who wasn't keen on
being involved so I just actively listened to her so she was heard and she
felt good and at the end of that she said ' Look it's not personal, it's not
about you.' And I'm thinking 'It's all about me, because its personal,
those are my kids you're talking about.'

On review of impact that personal motivation can have on stress and health, whānau members agreed that it is a very real challenge for change agents to be motivated but not to personalise the interactions to the point that the change agent compromises their ability to influence. One person noted that:

Not everybody can step into the space of being a change agent, have the
difficult conversations required without taking it personally. I'm not
helping anyone when I'm feeling hurt.

Another added the following observation:

It's kind of my contention, and I may be wrong, that when initiatives use
Māori people to kind of champion the cause as change agents, because
of the nature of what we are trying to do and the emotion and what is
often racism and ignorance - it's difficult not to personalise it.

Change agents dealing with over personalising and having the ability to protect themselves from what can be very hurtful situations is a significant internal challenge that they need to overcome.

4.4.3 Emotional states – the vulnerability is in the middle.

As a result of the challenging nature of the type of work that Māori change agents are required to do, the research whānau acknowledged that they were often in unfamiliar

situations that pushed them outside their comfort zones and into personally challenging situations that they didn't always have the confidence to deal with.

One whānau member used the metaphor of a harakeke or flax plant. The plant grows from the inside out and is often used by Māori as a metaphor for the family with the most vulnerable growth on the inside representing the child and the outer shoots representing parents and grandparents. In this comment the research member acknowledged the exposure that she experienced in this type of work.

> *When you're talking about the harakeke and the vulnerability is in the middle, I get to that place from time to time and that's when I start to feel doubtful of my ability and it's often in a place of new experience and I don't know how to deal with it.*

Another whānau member shared his experience of anxiety and pressure when he was dealing with resistance and unsuccessfully overcoming it. He expressed the stress he felt when caught between the moral purpose of improving Māori student achievement and the reluctance of others to change.

> *We were told 'When you're dealing with that resistant teacher, think of all the Māori kids who they're impacting.' But for me that just made it worse, because I wasn't being successful with trying to change this person's way of thinking but there was this critical reason that I must. I felt ineffective, so it caused quite a lot of anxiety and stress.*

Māori facilitators working in this role need to find ways to reconcile their own new understandings with acceptance and patience of the position of others. At the same time they must hold on to the belief that although it may take some time, they can help to catalyse the desired changes in Māori student achievement. One of the challenges that an additional research whānau member spoke about was an experience she had when she was relatively new to the role of change agent.

> *So I was the only one there, and I found because I was so heightened*
> *around deficit theory I found it very unpleasant to go into the staff room*
> *because all I could hear was deficit around me and I just went down this*
> *whole spiral place and it was very difficult.*

The Māori change agent also faces the challenge of coming to terms with the unexpected responses of others who they are trying to influence. It can be a very difficult thing to reconcile the negative responses of others when the change agent has acted in way that they thought was fair, just and in good faith. In spite of the best intentions messages are not always effective in their results and the change agent has to come to terms with making mistakes. A research member shared their experience of this:

> *He walked out, and it was really shocking for me, I was devastated and it*
> *really upset me because I was just doing what I thought was the best*
> *thing.*

4.4.4 Creating respectful relationships – when did a thick ear work for me?

Discussions with the research whānau included an acknowledgement that it was very important for change agents to be respectful with the teachers that they were dealing with. This wasn't always easy.

One whānau member asked the question:

> *Why would we go out there and kneecap people simply because we can?*
> *When did giving us a thick ear work? So why would we assume that*
> *when we're in a position of power and authority that going out and*
> *slapping them around the ears would somehow have a different result.*

Another comment that gained universal support from the research whānau was this:

The thing with this work is that people need to trust you that when you see all the bits and pieces and things that maybe they're not so proud of, that you're not going to tell that to everybody - that they are protected and supported by you while they are making these changes and that their mana [dignity] is still intact.

The research whānau agreed that when presenting to groups of teachers and challenging their ways of operating for Māori students, it is important to get an appropriate balance of challenge and patience. Often what is required is for teachers to be invited to do something different, outside the familiar and comfortable. When this happens, it is normal to get some resistance, reluctance and challenge (Goodman, 2011). It is critical in these situations for facilitators to keep a level head and not be carried away by the emotion that commonly emerges. This reflection from one research whānau member illustrates the risk of being seduced by emotions:

So I was presenting and talking about these issues and it was very personal so I was passionate and if people asked questions I was responding to the emotions, I think looking back now that didn't help things it didn't help people move past those things it sort of got people stuck.

The preceding reflections show that the research whānau acknowledged that being able to manage emotional states like vulnerability, maintaining respectful ways of being, managing personal passion and looking after health are all internal challenges that face the Māori change agent. The following sections consider strategies that the research whānau recommended to deal with identified internal and external challenges.

4.5 Strategies to deal with resistance.

When considering responses that members of the research whānau shared to their experiences of resistance there are three main categories. There are strategies that facilitators have used to manage their ways of thinking, there are actions that they have

taken to manage themselves and finally there are actions that they have taken to influence others they have been working with.

4.5.1 Developing thinking.

4.5.1.1 Focusing on moral purpose – it's all about the kids.

A common strategy that members of the research whānau used to overcome challenges, particularly at the motivational level was to always bring themselves back to why they were involved in the change programmes. Usually a commitment to making things better for Māori children and therefore making improvements for all Māori was what drove change agents to keep going through challenging times. One whānau member said:

> *I was there for the kids, and everything I had to do for the teachers and*
> *make sure they had resources to make things happen for the children,*
> *was what I was there for, to make sure they got them. That's what I did.*

For one whānau member there is a sense of obligation to be involved in work that improves Māori student achievement and this imperative is what keeps them going when facing difficulty. This person made the following observation:

> *Knowing who I am and having this certain knowledge base means I have*
> *to step up and fill the gap. The mahi* (work) *I'm doing, all of us involved*
> *in education, with parents, want our tamariki* (children) *to be successful.*

Members of the research whānau acknowledged that focusing on the importance of the work that they are doing to address inequities in the education system helped them to keep going when they were facing tough times as a result of resistance.

4.5.1.2 A sense of destiny and obligation to whānau – mum's secret weapon.

Two members of the research whānau in particular spoke about how working as a Māori change agent to redress imbalance has been a role taken by people in our tribes for generations. Since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed and not fully honoured (Consedine & Consedine, 2005), our ancestors have been challenging Government entities to redress inequities. This need to challenge imbalances has been passed down from preceding generations and for several of the research whānau spoke about this as being a source of motivation for them.

One whānau member shared that her mother had said to her:

> *'You're my secret weapon because people look at you and think you're not Māori. So I'm going to get you to infiltrate all these little organisations and the government.'*

She added that the model her mother had been for her increased her sense of obligation to her family. There was almost a sense that because of the stance that her mother had taken, she was obliged to follow that model and reciprocate:

> *When I think of agency, I probably think of mum and acknowledge that I come from this whakapapa of strong female voices I guess.*

Another acknowledged that the work of the Māori change agent is simply a continuation of what has happened in the past:

> *Our ancestors were doing things because they were looking forward for their mokopuna* (grandchildren) *and Māoridom as well.*

To illustrate the depth of feeling that one member of the research had about the work of the change agent, I was interested to note that he used a war metaphor for this type of work:

> *Life used to revolve around warfare and the cultivation of crops, today*
> *the warfare is this battle of treaty, and my vocation is within education.*

When and if motivation for the work of a change agent begins to wane, a number of the research whānau shared that recalling that this is ancestral work helped them to be resolute in the face of resistance.

4.5.1.3 Learning and self-awareness – the constant learning curve.

A further commonality for all members of the research whānau was the importance that learning played in the process of overcoming resistance. From an internal perspective this learning could be characterised as awareness and understanding of self in order that the change agent was able to think about the resistance in different ways. This sometimes helped them to be more resourceful internally.

Often when new in the role of Māori change agent, the things that are said or done by others can be upsetting. Over time, whānau members recognised that they learned effective ways to deal with these kinds of situations:

> *I haven't been that way for a long time, though sometimes I do feel*
> *surprised or shocked by a few things but much less than what I used to.*

There were comments also from a number of the research whānau about the inevitability of making mistakes, how important it is to be gentle with oneself, learn from them and move on.

> *I think this is pretty much a learning curve all the time no matter how*
> *you overcome it because you're dealing with human beings and the first*
> *human being you're dealing with is yourself, so it's very possible for you*
> *to make mistakes but it's important not to worry about it.*

Several of the research whānau emphasised the importance of not beating ourselves up as we take part in this journey which requires the change agent to learn and grow just as it requires others to learn and grow. Because of the serious implications for the learning and futures of Māori students if their achievement is not improved, there are times when the change agent can feel intense pressure to fix things quickly. Unfortunately, there are few quick fixes to this complex issue and Māori change agents must learn to accept that change is a process.

> *Sometimes you have to not take yourself too seriously. One of the issues is accepting actually in this that we're human. Sometimes we're going to fall over and that doesn't make us bad people. It gives you the courage to recognise that like everyone there are things you can't solve alone.*

There is no substitute for experience. One whānau member who has worked in various institutions for more than thirty years and has worked as a Māori change agent for much of that time was able to share that there comes a time when the issues being faced are not new. His breadth of experience meant that he had a certain confidence that he could bring to situations.

> *I can assure anybody else, because I'm quite long in the tooth at this, that in the end it gets quite easy, people come in to my office weekly and they've got this huge issue – I've seen it so many times and you've been there and you know the most effective way to deal with this issue so you breathe, just listen to the different nuances about the detail and then you're able to just ease somebody out of their act into something a bit more ongoing and positive and something that will help them make a step forward.*

What these observations from the research whānau reveal is that over time they have learned to be more effective. This is the result of making mistakes and learning from

experience. Thinking about learning as a process allows change agents to resourcefully move through resistance and challenging times.

4.5.1.4 Managing personal emotion – hiding the hurt.

There was a consensus among the research whānau that managing personal emotion was a challenge that all had faced at one time or another. Usually the personal emotion emanated from hurt feelings in response comments or actions of teachers or leaders who were taking part in an initiative. The hurt feelings often manifested as frustration, anger, discouragement and sometimes resulted in tears. To learn to overcome this challenge, the change agents had to develop strategies to maintain a resourceful state. One of the whānau shared this realisation:

> *I learned pretty quickly from that unpleasant experience and similar ones*
> *that weren't so much in my face that the goal is the point. So I took a step*
> *back and thought well it's not actually about me, it's about the issues and*
> *what I want is for people to understand and be better at this and that's*
> *what they want too, so how do I help them to do that?*

The following observation from another whānau member gives an insight into how gaining perspective can be achieved:

> *I think that the way I think about things is really important, so I have to be*
> *clear about what I'm trying to achieve - not get lost in the detail. So I lift*
> *myself out when I feel myself getting angry or upset or shocked with*
> *everything. I can mentally take a step back and go "Now what am I trying*
> *to achieve here? And is this going to help me or not?"*

The following comment is a revealing one because it illustrates how a heightened emotional approach from a change agent is likely to promote a similar response in others. This tends to

undermine progress because outcomes can become lost unless one of the stakeholders is able to maintain perspective. One member of the research whānau shared this experience:

> *Resistance has changed and I think it was because of me. When I first started I got very hot and bothered about Māori achievement. It was all very personal and so the resistance was very angry and very much in my face. I remember at one hui one particular guy got up, told me to 'shove it up my arse' and left.*

4.5.1.5 Focusing on possibility – don't deficit theorise about my colleagues.

One of the problems that programmes about Māori student achievement have highlighted is that teachers tend to deficit theorise about Māori students – they view Māori students' learning potential negatively and blame them for their lack of performance. One of the traps that a Māori change agent may fall into is deficit theorising about teachers – blaming them for the poor performance of Māori students. Most members of the research whānau agreed that this is a problematic way of thinking – blaming is unlikely to motivate or influence others to change. Instead Māori change agents must focus on possibility, be positive and supportive of those who resist changing. One whānau member said:

> *Just like we say that it's no longer acceptable to deficit theorise Māori students, then why would we deficit theorise our colleagues because all that we're doing there is becoming the very pathology that we've said is problematic. Just as we want them to focus on our rangatahi (youth) potential, we've got to believe that same thing with our audience.*

Whether working one on one or in groups with teachers, it is important for facilitators and change agents to challenge their own negative thinking about their colleagues. One whānau member has challenged others who are working in the role of Māori change agent:

> *One of the things that I challenged them about was how they go into running a workshop. What they're already thinking about their colleagues*

and that they take that with them. They'll expect that there will be
resistance, they'll expect that they won't want to do this and that, and
they have got to realise that the exact expectation that they have will
happen.

One of the research whānau shared that one of the challenges she makes for herself is to focus on the possibility that each teacher represents. Not matter how resistant or negative they seem, it is critical that the change agent thinks of them positively.

So it [the conversation] has to be potentially focused and as dormant as
that potential might be in some instances, the question then becomes
how does one ignite it?

4.5.1.6 Understanding the change process – fill the petrol tank.

Five members of the research whānau agreed that an effective Māori change agent is someone who understands the change process. They understand the need to use data to quantify gaps in performance, the usefulness of goals to address the gaps, the importance of knowing and understanding the people they are working with, the value of reflecting on actions, the importance of reviewing and celebrating success and the need of having someone who can make connections between all of these things.

After a 5 year period you sit back, after at least 3, better at 5 and 7
definitely you sit down and say okay what have we achieved?

On the need to celebrate success, one whānau member commented:

People fall away because they forget to celebrate the incremental steps in
the journey. It's not because you say 'Wow, we've arrived' but it's
acknowledging progress that fills up the gas tank. That's what gives
people the courage to step outside their comfort zone and take the next
risk in doing something different.

Another whānau member noted that having this type of understanding was critical for a successful change agent because it would help them maintain perspective. They extended the petrol tank metaphor by saying:

> *It's important to have a change management strategy because if all you're doing is pointing out what's wrong all the time you're actually siphoning the gas out of the tank.*

One person made the comment that the change agent plays an important role in the change process by making links between theory and practice. When elements of teaching practice are connected to the theory of good practice this can be an affirming experience that teachers need in order to gain a sense of making progress.

> *When you point out too what they're doing right already, it's more likely that they're going to replicate it. Because they're hearing you espouse it and value it and it gives them the 'aha' moment. At that point it's gas filling. They're at the pump and the tank is being filled.*

These observations illustrate that a successful change agent must be able to develop a good understanding of the change process because this will give them a useful perspective when dealing with resistance or challenges as they arise.

This section has focused on ways of thinking about the role of the change agent, the process of change and the people who the change agent is trying to influence to make changes. I am very aware as I reflect on this section that the research whānau have not spoken about the role of the Māori change agent in this process. There is a danger that some might perceive that the success or otherwise of the change process rests on the shoulders of the change agent. It should be emphasised that the change agent is a part of a team which is led by the school leadership to bring about change. School leaders need to champion the change and reinforce the vision to make the role of the Māori change agent easier.

The following section will explore suggestions about actions that change agents can take to overcome or deal with resistance.

4.5.2 Taking Action.

4.5.2.1 Keeping safe – He toka tūmoana, a rock standing in the ocean.

Research whānau members have found dealing with resistance difficult. In response some used the strategy of creating safe places for themselves. In some cases the safe space was a private office or meeting room where fellow change agents would meet and sound off and gain support from each other.

> *Sometimes you need to have safe spaces where you can share your hurt*
> *so that you can go back out stronger and refreshed to be able to take that*
> *again.*

In another case, one of the research whānau talked about how the school marae became a safe space where they were able to isolate themselves from the pressures of the institution.

> *At times we became quite insular. We just kind of slowly closed things off*
> *around us so that we had this really nice little space, this toka tūmoana.*

In the Māori language a toka tūmoana is a rock standing in the ocean and it conjures up imagery of an outcrop that withstands a pounding from the ocean waves. For this particular whānau member the school marae where Māori ways of doing and being were the norm, provided a safe haven for her.

One of the research whānau member shared that she takes a very active approach to keeping herself safe and it relates to the fact that the more she learned and the more she understood about something, the better she was prepared.

I am voracious in looking for stuff that will help me be better at what I do.

That is direct action that I take to keep me safe.

4.5.2.2 Prioritisation – where can I get the greatest leverage?

Members of the research whānau shared their thoughts on the need to be well planned and prioritise those things that are most important. Planning is critical because teachers are very busy meeting the varied and many requirements of their jobs. A programme that seems ad hoc will soon frustrate teachers and add to the reasons that people will resist change.

One person commented that:

An effective change agent is someone who can connect the big vision to

the small steps, because often the people who are in the process are

buried in it.

One member shared her experience of working as a Māori teacher. Because of the enormity of the job she faced, she tended to focus mainly on those Māori students who were actively involved in the school's Māori programme.

As a younger teacher I realised that I was going to burn out and be no use

to anybody, so I certainly noticed I became a lot more insular, and it was

about the kids that participated at the marae, who took Māori, who were

in the bilingual unit and I was often criticised for that too.

The parallel was drawn between this approach and the temptation for change agents to focus on those teachers who are more receptive to making changes to improve Māori student achievement.

It's about putting your energy in where it's going to make the most

difference because you've got this other lot here, the other end who have

only come on board because they have to and you could spend a lot of

> *time working on them to get them to come on board, but really it's a*
> *waste of energy.*

This is a dilemma that Māori change agents face. Emotionally it is easier to work with those who are receptive, but at the same time there is a moral obligation to continue to challenge those who are resistant to change. Prioritising input levels with those who are receptive makes sense, but the change agent still needs to make time for the challenging teachers. Recalling a discussion with other change agents, one whānau member said:

> *What we were saying in terms of energies for overcoming resistance is*
> *recognising that there's a percentage who we might not be able to get a*
> *lot of leverage from, and accepting that, it's still about having challenging*
> *conversations.*

When it comes to taking action, being well prepared and prioritising those actions is critical. With experience and wisdom Māori change agents learn which actions will have the greatest impact. Which approaches will result in the greatest leverage. One experienced member of the research whānau commented that:

> *It's about knowing where to tap. And so, one of the things I was thinking*
> *about this morning when I was in the shower was you know, are we*
> *tapping in the right place? That's my question.*

4.5.2.3 Key support relationships – who can I count on?

Members of the research whānau highlighted five main groups of people that they could turn to for support when times were tough. The five groups were whānau (immediate and wider family), work colleagues and teams, work leaders, community people and professionals.

One whānau member commented that his spouse gave tremendous support and at least two others shared the experience of patient spouses who support through difficult times:

My wife contributes to my resilience through her reliability; she is a pou
(pillar) of support, mental emotional and physical support. She makes my
wairua (spirit) happy. She creates, provides, and makes up the balance
when it is needed.

Most of the research whānau acknowledged the importance of working with other team members to resolve challenges and avoid the loneliness that can result from constant problems being dealt with in isolation.

Ways to gain support are to look to your team – have regular staff hui to
raise concerns about work.

A critical observation was made by several of the research whānau that having a strong relationship that is built on trust between the school leader and Māori change agents is vital. Sometimes school leaders do not fully appreciate how difficult and complex this work is. By having an open working relationship the change agent often gains the support they require to keep doing the work, but the institutional leader also develops an understanding of the challenge and this tends to solidify their commitment to the goals of an equity initiative for their Māori students.

The great thing that came out of it though is that the principal really
made our relationship change quite dramatically in a short space of time.
Initially he was quiet - very professional. A sort of a distant professional
friendly manner changed to one where we became quite close in a way
that helped me deal with the stuff that I was facing and it was private and
it stayed in the room.

Another whānau member said that without a trusting work relationship with the institution leader, their role would be untenable:

> *I would resign tomorrow if somebody changed that, I'm not interested in working through a third party because your top person has got to be determinant in the way in which you run things, style is an important aspect, it has to do with the culture of the institution and you've got to work with that.*

School communities were also a source of support for some members of the research whānau. One person related an experience in which Māori families within the school community came to the school to support her through an issue that was race related.

> *Because it had been such a controversy, the community thought they'd better support. Not me, but because I was a Māori. There were just so many people there, not for me personally, but for what was going on.*

Professional support was the final type of support that was identified by a research member. As already highlighted, the role of a Māori change agent in non-Māori educational institutions can be emotionally demanding. For their own emotional safety many professionals are required to use a supervision programme. This is seen as a requirement of a good employer.

> *I got some supervision, which was really important for me and I was thinking that people who are running these programmes ought to be making sure these things are in place so that people are looked after. Guidance counsellors and doctors are obliged to get supervision – we should too.*

Several research members agreed that having some sort of professional support was important whether it be a form of regular or occasional supervision, formal or informal.

> *I organised some people outside of the school who had nothing really to do with it but I could just go and download stuff and it stayed private.*

The key message from the comments made by the research whānau is that because of the sometimes quite traumatic experiences that Māori change agents have in their line of work, employers are obliged to offer emotional support if they wish to be fulfilling the requirements of a safe workplace. It is not enough to wait for Māori working in these types of role to begin to show the signs of emotional stress – employers must be proactive in establishing support networks. This will support the well-being of change agents and is also likely to enhance the effectiveness of programmes. Keeping safe and prioritising are important for change agents, however the creation and use of support networks is an absolute must in terms of actions that can be taken to be effective.

This highlights the importance of having a shared vision that is understood by all, with a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities. Leadership and change agents need to be clear about what they are responsible for and recognise that there is a responsibility to provide collaborative support for each other.

4.5.3 Influencing Others.

4.5.3.1 Respect - Strong relationships will survive difficult conversations.

A significant skill in the repertoire of the Māori change agent is the ability to influence others. The most important aspect of this, and members of the research whānau were unanimous about this, is the need to create respectful relationships that allow all parties to be challenged but still maintain their dignity. Creating these respectful relationships is not necessarily easy, especially with people who have already taken a resistant position about the goals of a programme or have already made personal judgements about the Māori change agents themselves. One whānau member shared that starting small is important:

> I assume people don't just want to be fearful or afraid or ignorant and
> that they like talk positively. I don't dwell on the negatives. I find the
> positives and build on those. So building people up is what I do, somebody
> might be quite negative but I can find something they do really well; I can
> build on that, and then by building on that, it builds the trust and then I

> *can go a little bit more challenging for some other things once they feel*
> *it's a safe relationship.*

As already identified, being a Māori change agent is demanding and emotionally tiring kind of work. Congruence is of the utmost importance. Change agents cannot be challenging teachers to show more respect for Māori students if the change agents themselves are not modelling that respect. It may not be reciprocated in the short term, however, in the medium to long term as trust is won and respectful relationships developed, people begin to be influenced and make changes.

> *If I want people to engage in open and respectful discussion with me, I*
> *must do that too.*

Another whānau member emphasised the need for the others you are trying to influence that you have their best interests in mind. They must trust that you want the best for them, even when it's not comfortable.

> *I think that it's like a Māori kid; they'll take a tough conversation with you*
> *if they know that they're in your heart. So it's about a purposeful*
> *relationship. It's not an anything goes mate and that's actually the same*
> *for schools. You know they'll take the difficult conversation if they know*
> *that actually you've got in your heart an utter belief in their potential.*

It was also noted that the people who are most openly resistant are often the ones who it is possible to engage with and influence their thinking. Those who keep their thoughts to themselves were less likely to be influenced.

> *Looking back at the groups I've worked with I think of the people who*
> *were strongly out there and resistant. Probably the majority of them*
> *changed, whereas the people who just quietly went along I didn't see*
> *much change at all. I rather deal with the overt than the subversive.*

The importance of keeping a level head when dealing with people in emotional situations was stressed by one whānau member. Teachers can be a little fearful of changing the way they approach students and it is important to be supportive when they are in that space.

> *I guess we're leading people, we may ask them to step in a place they've never been before and so we're showing what that looks like so if I'm getting all nasty and twisted then I don't think anybody would want to follow that.*

At the same time as being supportive and encouraging, members of the research whānau also acknowledged the need to have the courage and conviction to challenge the people they were working with.

> *I realised then that I needed to mitigate the challenge with support - to find that balance where I was challenging people but not so much that they got all defensive and it was all too much for them and so they came out fighting. But not too much support and awhi [cuddling] and understanding so that there was no need to be changing. So over time I learnt to walk that fine balance between the two.*

The key concept behind this model of influencing others is change through conversation. Deep and insightful conversations rarely occur when there is no relationship. The premise is that by having discussion you can move people. One whānau member highlighted these points:

> *It's about the power of change through conversation and discussion and how important it is to have a context and a relationship that we can engage in that will have a challenging conversation and still be respectful.*

Creating a safe environment that allows people to change goes hand in hand with building strong relationships and challenging with respect. One research whānau member shared feedback from teachers that she had worked with. They said to her:

> *You didn't lecture it to us, you showed us, you kind of took us gently by*
> *the hand and you walked us through and you opened up a safe space*
> *where we could ask questions that we've always wondered about Māori.*

Preserving the mana [dignity] of each individual is something that members of the research whānau underlined as being important to them. One whānau member explained that she has worked very hard on creating safe and respectful relationships with teachers with the result being that they begin to think along these lines:

> *'Ok, I don't have to be so fearful about this and she's not talking about*
> *anything that's going to mean that I'm totally exposed as somebody bad*
> *or somebody incompetent.' That's basically what people are fearful of at*
> *the end of the day.*

Dealing with fears was an important feature of an effective approach. One whānau research member shared her approach:

> *If I'm working with the staff or a group, I might get them to make lists of*
> *things and discuss things, what are their fears around this or it might be*
> *what are the issues from their point of view that they see and then we go*
> *through and say well what do we have control over, what don't we have*
> *control over that's a really good one.*

These types of group approaches allow individuals to share their beliefs in an anonymous way that maintains their safety. It does, more importantly, create a context that the Māori change agent can speak to and plant seeds to begin to grow alternative possibilities.

I get them to work in groups and they talk together, so they can say those things like 'Māori are lazy.' They're reasonably safe and it's better for it to be out and open. It's actually one of their beliefs, so they can safely put it on the table, and through conversation I can help them to see whether these things are true or not.

Through these learning conversations and discussions the research whānau explained that they help teachers to grow. They agreed that overwhelming teachers is something to avoid but at the same time, there is a continual need to consider what the next step is. One whānau member said:

You're still pushing them to name the next place too aren't you; you're not accepting that this is ok, what's the next place?

The strong message that the research whānau have given when considering strategies to overcome resistance, is that influencing others through discussions which are based on respect are the most effective approaches. These conversations are best when they are built on relationships that have trust and support as the foundations. This does not mean that Māori change agents should be nice all the time – there are times when it is appropriate to challenge, but there are ways to make those challenges without destroying relationships and undermining the goal of change. This element of Māori change agent work again highlight the complexities of their role – maintaining a delicate balance between professional challenge and relationships.

4.6 Resilience – What resources do Māori change agents draw on?

I have already highlighted the assertion that the types of resistance that Māori change agent's experience and the strategies that they use to overcome the resistance are complex, varied and very much interlinked. The same is true when considering the resources that Māori change agent's draw on for their resilience – using these resources could be considered a response that is used to overcome resistance. One of the strategies that has already been documented in this chapter is the use of support networks to overcome

resistance – these same networks contribute to the change agent's resilience. Because of the interrelatedness of challenge, response and resilience it is difficult to compartmentalise these three areas.

This section documents three key concepts about resilience – the self-awareness of Māori change agents, the connections they maintain to others, the value of spirituality and having a higher purpose.

4.6.1 Awareness.

4.6.1.1 Learning – it's human to err.

As stated earlier research whānau members agreed that one of the things that help to keep them resilient is being gentle with themselves. They acknowledged that sometimes they have such high expectations of themselves and it is not helpful to criticise themselves when expectations are not realised for whatever reason. It's ironic that as teachers, the change agents understand the learning process with children, yet don't always apply that process to themselves. If a child is struggling to learn to read, the teacher will look for strategies to help the child overcome the challenge, take incrementally successful steps, plus use feedback and feed forward with praise and encouragement when it is appropriate. The teacher never makes personal judgements about the learner. As change agents it can be a challenge to remember to use these strategies with their own performance.

> *That first year was a real trial for me and other people who were in the programme – we learned a lot of lessons along the way. It was important to remember our humanity and that actually, it's human to err.*

This way of thinking should never be used as an excuse for complacency, poor preparation or arrogance. Māori change agents need to have high expectations of themselves, but they must also be realistic about what is possible.

4.6.1.2 Good for the soul activities – keep in balance.

Life balance was an area that all members of the research whānau agreed is very important for the sanity of the Māori change agent and ultimately their effectiveness. Being buried in work at the expense of family and self is unsustainable. A Māori change agent is unlikely to meet long term goals without maintaining balance in their lives. One whānau member shared her strategy:

> *Every Kapa haka[10] group that was going - I joined it because I found singing was very spiritual and healing.*

Another member of the research whānau shared his experience of being out of balance, the understanding that he gained about it and steps he took to maintain equilibrium:

> *I went to see a supervisor and had a chat about that and got clearer about what it means to be resilient and my understanding was that a ratio of one negative to four positive things in our lives is really important to maintain resilience. If we get out of balance with that then we can spiral downwards and so I recognise that one of the important things for me is my exercise - that I keep that up. And eating well, staying in regular communication with my Dad and having fun with my kids. There are a number of things that I need to do to make sure that I can be feeling good.*

One whānau member shared the value to them of having fulfilling social times and staying connected to friends.

> *I think too that you can have one on one with people, just like having coffee with people helps to keep you in balance.*

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[10] A Kapa haka group is Māori performing arts groups. Neo-traditional and traditional songs and dance are performed according to set choreographies.

Three of the whānau are artists of one form or another and they acknowledged the happiness they gain from losing themselves in their artistic pursuits from time to time.

> *I'm a practicing artist and what I've realised is that this is absolutely*
> *critical to my mental health, so I do as much as I can and try not to let*
> *that slide. So I've got this whole other world that's got nothing to do*
> *with helping people to move along the continuum, it's just pleasure*
> *and enjoyment and fun.*

Being effective in our work environments was a strong driver for members of the research whānau, particularly with such an important issue, however it was also acknowledged that having a balanced and well-rounded life with family and friends is equally as important.

4.6.1.3 Self-empowering beliefs – when it feels like I'm going nowhere.

Adopting empowering ways of thinking is an area that was covered in the section about responses Māori change agents have used to overcome resistance. It is not surprising that this strategy is one that the research whānau revisited when thinking about resources and resilience.

Thinking of other people, the work being done and challenging situations as potentialities is an approach that some of the research whānau found useful when thinking about their resourcefulness.

> *My metaphor is the creation story about Te Pō[11] being the place of*
> *unrealised potential. We don't know what's just waiting to be*
> *nurtured.*

Staying with the use of metaphor, a number of the research whānau talked about their work as seed planting. When trying to influence the thinking of teachers about Māori student

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[11] In the beginning of the Māori creation story there was Te Pō (the night), where nothing but unrealised potential existed.

achievement, the Māori change agents often referred to themselves as planting the seed of an idea and then trying to nurture the seed into growing alternative approaches for teachers to use.

> *Unfortunately we have to be prepared to hear the most racist of things and when you hear those things you have to picture a Māori baby and know that every time you hear that, you have the opportunity to offer an alternative seed so that they [the Māori child] don't have to hear that.*

Another metaphor that was used was one from the field of physics.

> *You know when is the most energy expended, it's on the inert object to actually move it. So it's like the feed in, feed in, feed in, and you start thinking 'I'm going nowhere'. But once it starts moving the momentum picks up.*

Transferring resourcefulness is a technique that one of the research whānau shared. When a person finds themselves in a challenging situation it can be useful to recall that there have been times in past when they have faced many challenging situations and successfully overcome difficulties (Seligman M. , 2011). Reminding ourselves that 'I've done it before, so I can do it again' is a helpful strategy because it builds on resourcefulness developed in the past.

> *What helps is acknowledging that I've probably been in a similar situation, which I will inevitably have been, which I've had resources that I've drawn on to deal successfully in the past. So that I can start to do the little things that build my confidence that generate small successes that lead to bigger successes.*

One of the research whānau shared the sense of uplift that she experienced when she was able to focus on possibility and potentiality. It's the feeling of success that builds resilience and keeps the change agent positive.

> *There's something very beautiful about watching someone who came out with something distressing, a week or a month later have that 'aha' moment and they move into a much nicer space. You think 'I was part of that and that was because I didn't take offense. I saw beyond what they were saying and saw what was possible.'*

Counter to these positive ways of thinking, the research whānau also acknowledged that there are times when the seed falls on infertile ground for reasons that are outside the sphere of influence of the Māori change agent. Members of the research whānau agreed that there are times when nothing more can be done to influence the thinking and approaches of some teachers. At times such as these, acceptance is the best avenue. As one of the whānau commented:

> *You can't save the world.*

The essence of these observations from the research whānau is that it's critical for Māori change agents to be able to stay positive, or return to positivity from low points relatively quickly. When times are difficult, as they often are in this type of work, the way that Māori change agents think about the challenge needs to be empowering. There are other ways of turning around difficult situations, but a key skill is the ability to reframe a negative situation into a positive. For example thinking of a situation as a challenge rather than a problem is likely to support a change agent to be more resourceful and find a way to work through it.

4.6.2 Connection.

Maintaining connection is a theme that has already been highlighted in the strategies that Māori change agents use to overcome resistance. However, it is also a key element of creating and building resilience.

4.6.2.1 Support networks – don't get isolated!

The fact that connection and support has been raised again as an important facet of maintaining resilience, underlines the importance of support networks to Māori change agents. In some cases the support networks were personal – friends and family and at times bore the brunt of the stress and pressures associated with the work of a change agent:

> *I've got to mihi* [acknowledge] *to my tāne* [man] *because he's the one kei te mura o te ahi, he's in front of that fire, so he gets that when the balance goes out.*

One of the women from the research whānau made the comment that having other women to draw on for support was important for her:

> *I was very lucky to have a number of incredible wāhine Māori* [Māori women] *around and wāhine Tauiwi* [non-Māori women] *as well who supported me in that endeavour.*

A further observation was shared by one of the research whānau that shows a preference for working within teams of other Māori people:

> *What I've learnt is that it's best for me to be in a Māori environment, if I'm not with other Māori it's really challenging and you can construct that nearby you or you can go back home, but keeping in contact with other Māori is important to me.*

Whether support is from team members, managers, professionals or other sources, all of the research whānau acknowledged the importance of the support that family and friends provide.

> *Probably the biggest thing is having family and friends, having really*
> *strong networks and not letting myself get isolated.*

Whakatauki are proverbs that are used daily within Māori culture. They provide lessons in life and give guidance about appropriate ways of living for Māori. There are many whakatauki [proverbs] that relate to the importance of support and working together. The following whakatauki can be translated to mean my success is not individual, it is collective.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi. Engari, he toa takitini.

This emphasises the importance of family, friends and support in the context of Māori culture. Māori recognise that working individually is not a generally held cultural preference. That is not to say that Māori cannot work individually – but it is important to recognise that in challenging situations, many Māori prefer to share the load. Given that this is the case, it is to be expected that Māori change agents will struggle to work alone in their endeavours to bring about change in Māori student achievement. Therefore it is beholden on those who are in charge of funding, planning and managing programmes that use Māori as change agents, to ensure that adequate formal and informal support is available to them to promote resilience. The success of a programme will be impacted by the level of support provided.

4.6.2.2 Staying connected to home - Hoki ki te haukāinga.

One of the strategies that many of the research whānau identified as being important for their resilience was returning to their tribal homes. There is another well-known whakatauki that illustrates the value that Māori place on their tūrangawaewae [tribal lands]. The whakatauki is 'E hoki ki ō maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tāwhiri-matea' and the

translation commands Māori to "Return to your mountains that you may be cleansed by the winds of Tāwhiri-matea". Tāwhiri-matea is the Māori God of the weather. Most Māori will identify their tribal links to local landmarks so when talking about where they are from, Māori will identify the names of the mountains that are in proximity to their marae [village], plus the name of the river, lake or sea that is close by. This whakatauki is admonishing Māori to return to their mountains to be cleansed by the winds. It is easy to imagine climbing to the peak of an ancestral mountain in a strong wind and literally having the 'cobwebs blown away'. It is a physically and spiritually uplifting experience for Māori who bring to mind ancestors who have done the same. Returning home figuratively has a similar affect for Māori.

This comment from a research whānau member highlighted this whakatauki:

> *Ina hiahia te tangata ki te hoki atu, he aha te kī 'E purea ai ngā*
> *maunga e ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea' ko taku 'Me hoki atu koe, ka*
> *haere au ki Porangahou[12] ki te kai pāua.'* (If a person wants to return
> home, what's the saying, 'The mountains are cleansed by the winds of
> Tāwhirimātea', I say 'You should return. I go to Porangahou to eat
> pāua[13].')

This reflection hints at returning to a simpler way of living where the pressures of the workplace are absent and Māori are able to rest, relax and recharge themselves. This illustrates the value that many Māori place on being able to return home to enjoy the experiences that are unique and normal to Māori. One of the research whānau made the following observation:

> *How to maintain your resilience? Well for me it's going back home,*
> *making sure I get back home enough to plug in to the old wairuatanga*

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[12] Porangahou is a small village in Central Hawke's Bay, New Zealand. This is where the speakers' ancestral home.
[13] Pāua is known in other parts of the world as 'Abalone'. It is a seafood delicacy for Māori people in New Zealand.

> [spirituality] *and reconnect with my tūpuna* [ancestors] *and stand on*
> *my own land and get the energy from that.*

This comment from another research whānau member illustrates the effect that Māori returning to their homes can have on resilience:

> *I go back to Ahipara*[14] *once a month to a weaving wānanga*
> [workshop] *up there. We sit there from early Saturday morning until*
> *Sunday afternoon, sometimes all through the night and you've got the*
> *Nannies* [grandmothers] *sitting around and it's incredibly*
> *rejuvenating.*

This reflection from a member of the research whānau gives a hint of the physical, emotional and spiritual impact returning home can have for Māori change agents:

> *In May I was really low and I remember going up there and it was*
> *bloody freezing cold and there was a massive storm but I just knew I*
> *had to go down to the beach and I went in up to my waist. There was*
> *something, the physical experience of having the moana* [ocean] *there*
> *and cleansing myself, that's something that's really held me together*
> *this year I think.*

For one member of the research whānau using technology to reconnect with his home was sufficient if he wasn't physically able to be there. The following comment illustrates this and the importance that being able to maintain a connection to home plays for some Māori change agents.

> *In my day quite regularly if I can't get away I'll ring up people and*
> *have a yarn. 'How are you going?' and they say 'Isn't that a personal*

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[14] Ahipara is a small coastal town on the West Coast at the top of the North Island of New Zealand. It is the speakers' ancestral home.

call?' and I say 'No It's a professional call, it's part of my need to get

myself as resilient as a Māori, just being in touch.' At home they say

'That sounds like a personal call to me.' I say 'You know nothing about

the profession, the requirement upon me to be deeply Māori in the job

that I'm doing and not to be totally absorbed by the energies and the

pressures and the imperatives of the institution that are non-Māori,

that makes me a non-Māori at the end of the day if I'm not in sync

with my own being.'

This reflection really highlights the danger for Māori change agents of being immersed in non-Māori contexts. They run the risk of losing their Māoritanga [Māoriness], their uniqueness in the face of pressures to assimilate to non-Māori ways of thinking and doing things.

An element of returning home can be connecting to children and grandchildren. One whānau member shared that having the opportunity to spend time with grandchildren can be grounding. A practice that is good for the soul.

Kids are pretty good - and moko [grandchildren] rather than your own

children. You can just go down and be with them. Kids are healing too

aye? They are.

Whether returning home physically or figuratively to partake in kai Māori [Māori food], tikanga Māori [Māori practices] or whānau Māori [Māori family], taking time out from the pressures and stress of the workplace in this way is often a necessary and refreshing experience - physically, mentally, emotionally and spirituality. It should also be noted however, that for some Māori returning to ancestral homes is not always an option. Some Māori have been raised in urban contexts and although they strongly identify as being Māori, they may not have the same connection to ancestral places. Home for people in these contexts may be the family home they grew up in in the city. Therefore it is important to be mindful that while returning to ancestral homelands is very important for some, this is

not the case for all. It is critical to remember that the Māori experience is not homogenous. It is varied, diverse and complex.

4.6.2.3 Marae as bastions of resilience - being and doing Māori is normal.

As highlighted in the previous section, a number of the research whānau identified the strength they gained from being able to return to their marae. While this is not always possible, the marae established in non-Māori institutions have often become bastions of tikanga Māori [Māori practices]. They are places where some who identify as being Māori come together to celebrate their culture. Often, it is in these places that the Māori language will be heard and Māori cultural practices will be the norm.

One research whānau member highlighted the role that being able to use te reo Māori [Māori language] and tikanga Māori [Māori practices] played in his resilience:

It's one of the most important parts of what you're asking me about, about how you keep resilient, strong. Because again, I've learnt how to do that and that's mā te reo, mā te whakapapa, mā tōku taha Māori [through the language, through genealogy, through my Māori side].

Marae in schools play a very important role for many Māori students, teachers and parents. One research whānau member shared her experience of marae-ā-kura [school marae] and related them to being the toka tūmoana, the rock standing in the ocean:

It's almost this refuge within the school that the kids come back to, they get strong and they go back out into the mainstream, literally the mainstream, the sea and they kind of battle around and then they come back. It's this space that has been constructed both physically and spiritually for them.

The word 'māori' actually means 'normal' and it is ironic for many who live in communities where Māori people are a minority, being Māori is not normal! Urban marae and marae within education institutions are places where Māori is normal. It is normal to hear the language in these places and it is normal to see and participate in Māori cultural practices. The experience of this normalcy can be affirming for Māori change agents who are otherwise immersed in an environment where being and doing Māori is not the norm. Being able to return to Māori environments can counter what can otherwise be a spiritually draining experience that undermines resilience.

4.6.3 Mission – we're on a mission from the Gods.

One research whānau member commented that he saw himself as taking up the mantle that his ancestors had carried to create a better existence for Māori children. Another spoke about her mother raising her with a consciousness of equity issues. The work of the Māori change agents is intergenerational; it is ancestral, vocational and spiritual work.

4.6.3.1 A sense of purpose – it's about whakapapa.

If being a Māori change agent working to improve Māori student achievement is such a difficult job, if it can be emotionally and spiritually draining and if people can get sick as a result of the stress and pressure the role entails, why would anyone want to do it? For all of the members of the research whānau there was a sense of purpose that was driving them to keep going.

Reflecting on the reasons that members of the research whānau have been involved in this type of work one person shared the following:

> *It's important, I found for me to be reminded of why I'm doing what I'm doing. Why it's important, the moral purpose - you know reconnecting with that.*

When Māori change agents are feeling the pressure of working in this area of education, reflecting on the purpose of the programmes that they are involved in can help with resilience. For one of the research whānau this was emphasised when she personalised the purpose of the work she was doing to herself, her children and grandchildren:

> So for me it's that very strong feeling that there is a whakapapa
> [genealogy] behind me and also what I'm doing now and anything I do,
> contributes to the whakapapa that carries on, not just through my
> children but through my grandchildren as well. So there's a past and
> there's a future as well that goes with that. That's what keeps me going.

The fact that the importance of purpose was highlighted as a strategy that members of the research whānau used to develop their thinking when overcoming resistance (as referred to earlier in this chapter) as well as a factor that contributes to resilience illustrates the interwoven nature of experiences. In fact it is fair to say that the strategies that the research whānau have used to overcome difficulties are also strategies that contribute to their resilience. They are opposite sides of the same coin because resilience supports problem-solving and good decision-making plus the exploration and discovery of new successful strategies and new successful strategies in turn develop and strengthen resilience (Beltman, Mansfield, & Price, 2011).

4.6.3.2 Higher power – my tūpuna wouldn't give me anything I'm not ready for.

Māori spirituality is a vast topic that I couldn't begin to do justice to in this writing. However, one of the themes touched upon a number of times was that of a higher power influencing the life of a Māori change agent in the earthly realm. As a generalisation, Māori are comfortable with the belief that traditional Gods and the God that Christian religions refer to, exist and play a role in day-to-day life (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004). As do ancestors who have passed to heavenly realms. Several members of the research whānau shared a belief that something greater than themselves was influencing their lives and the events that they have to face.

I think that things happen for a reason –they happen when you're ready.

Several people were more specific in sharing their belief that their ancestors have an influence in the challenges that they have faced and this gives them comfort to keep going:

> *When our last baby was born, it was a difficult birth and I remember a*
> *moment of clarity, this powerful sense that I wasn't alone that I had all of*
> *these people around me and from that point I felt that whatever I'm doing*
> *and wherever I am there's a whole whakapapa behind me. There's always*
> *somebody there and there's just this real trust that my tūpuna (ancestors)*
> *will never give me more than I can handle. Once I accepted that it's like*
> *well, I can do pretty much anything.*

A further member commented about the intelligence and resourcefulness of ancestors who were proactive in many ways in their interactions with Pākehā when they began colonising our country. She felt that it was a powerful example given to us by our ancestors and we should have the courage and confidence to emulate that example.

> *Our tūpuna were not fools. They lived in the context in which they walked.*
> *They were active agents in that and they saw themselves as having the*
> *ability to attempt to negotiate and affect change.*

For all of the research whānau, their spirituality was an aspect of their lives that they acknowledge and value. Maintaining a healthy connection to their spirituality plays an important role in the resilience of a Māori change agent. Whether reciting karakia [prayer] and seeking divine guidance or intercession through the recently departed and other ancestors, most of the research whānau attributed an element of their resilience to their spirituality. This then, is an element that those who are dealing with Māori change agents must understand and accept if well-being is to be valued.

4.7 Summary.

The data gathered from those who have worked in roles as Māori change agents in non-Māori institutions is highly complex, multi-faceted and multi-dimensional. In the following chapter I have created a diagram to illustrate the complexity of the challenges faced by Māori change agents. This diagram incorporates the overlap between external and internal challenges. The importance of a shared vision is highlighted and the interrelated, interdependent nature of these elements is illustrated.

The interview data shows interrelated themes that cross over between experiences and responses. For example, maintaining a positive frame of mind is both an experience and a response. To be successful in the role of Māori change agent, there is a delicate balance that needs to be achieved and maintained to sustain emotional and spiritual equilibrium.

There is no doubt from the interview data that this role is an extremely difficult one. It is a role that tests the change agents' knowledge, skills and resilience. A very strong conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that it is imperative to put people in the field who are adequately prepared to deal with the challenges that they are likely to face. This preparedness includes building their understanding of physical, mental, emotional and spiritual resources. They also need to understand that some of these challenges are likely to originate from other Māori teachers or possibly whānau as well as non-Māori who resist change. This issue will be explored in the next chapter because it relates to the question of what type of professional development do Māori change agents require to be effective in their role?

The need for shared vision is explored in the following chapter. There are issues to consider about what counts as success for Māori students and how this should be achieved. Is there a common understanding of what this means? Some will say that the goal is to improve the achievement rates of Māori in the schooling system – however, that prompts the question of what represents success? Is it the pass rates for academic subjects such as Mathematics, English and Science? Or is it the ability to participate in and show leadership in the cultural pursuits that are uniquely Māori? Is success a combination of these and other elements? Is

this the moral purpose that Māori change agents have spoken about? How can progress be monitored if there is no agreement on the goal and therefore no standardised measurement made by schools, the Government and parents?

This highlights the need for a collective response and shared vision that connects to te ao Māori [the Māori world] while recognising the heterogeneous nature of what it is to be Māori. It also raises the question of who owns the change? Who should be involved in the response and the creation of a shared vision? This in turn highlights the question what is the role of the Māori change agent and the other stakeholders in our schools? Is this a Māori problem or something that Māori and non-Māori need to work on in partnership to resolve? These questions will be further explored in the coming chapter.

This chapter has highlighted from the participants perspectives the external and internal dimensions of the challenges faced by Māori change agents. The responses of Māori change agents to these challenges have also been reflected on. The interviews reveal that the challenges and responses are multi-dimensional and complex. They are interwoven and interrelated and this is what makes the role of the Māori change agent such a difficult task. One key issue that is explored in depth in the next chapter is the impact of the political context that this work exists in.

Chapter 5 – Discussion.

5.0 Introduction – The complexity of challenges.

Writing this chapter has proved to be challenging because of the difficulty of explaining the complexities faced by Māori change agents in a clear and logical way. The variables are many and they are interwoven in different ways for different individuals. They are interdependent and interrelated.

Subsequently, this chapter provides an account of the learning I have gained through this research process about the complexity of the challenges facing Māori change agents. The challenges for Māori change agents are documented in this chapter as internal and external challenges as well as the interplay between these components. In regard to these challenges I critically analyse the key research results and make recommendations that would support Māori change agents in their practice. I also highlight areas for further research.

As highlighted earlier, I have used the wero (challenge) as a metaphor to guide the development of my research story. The wero is a part of the pōwhiri process in a formal Māori welcome (Tauroa, 1986). When visitors to a marae (traditional Māori complex including a meeting house with a grassed area in front, a kitchen, ablutions and dining room) first gather at the waharoa (gateway) of the marae in some situations the tangata whenua (hosts) will send a kaiwero (warrior challenger) out to meet them to determine whether the intentions of the manuhiri (visitors) are peaceful. The kaiwero is armed with a taiaha (spear) and he goes through a series of predetermined fighting moves with his taiaha as he moves across the marae ātea (grassed area) to the manuhiri. Typically there are two or more kaiwero who perform this ritual – in a full ceremonial occasion there are three. The lead kaiwero is called the rākau whakaara (warning challenger) and he approaches the manuhiri and lays a taki (usually a small carved dart or leafy branch) on the ground in front of the manuhiri. He moves off and waits for the taki to be taken up by one of the manuhiri. This symbolises an acceptance and demonstrates the good intentions of the manuhiri. The rākau whakaara returns to report to the leader of the tangata whenua that the visitors have good

intentions. At that point the kaiwero return across the marae ātea to the tangata whenua and the rituals of the pōwhiri proceed.

Although it seems that the kaiwero being sent out to determine the intentions of the manuhiri are undertaking a very risky endeavour, the person charged with this role has been well prepared with many hours in training, knows what to do in every eventuality, has the full support of the tangata whenua and his skill and expertise are highly regarded by the tangata whenua and manuhiri alike. It is assumed that he has the support of one or two other kaiwero, so he is never really alone. The kaiwero are a source of pride for the tangata whenua and everyone knows what their roles and goals are.   I parallel the work of the Māori change agent to that of the kaiwero. It is important that Māori change agents are highly trained, prepared for all eventualities, have the full support of the people in the institution they are a part of and are highly regarded for their skills and abilities. They need others in the institution to help them and should be seen as sources of pride. Their roles and goals need to be clear. Māori change agents are not always supported to be the kind of kaiwero that is effective in effecting change in Māori educational achievement.

Complexity of Challenges

Kaupapa

Interdependant

Interrelated

External

Dealing with resistance

Pākehātanga

What counts as authentic
Māori identity

Support from others

Overlap

Facilitator Role

Professional Development

Internal

Emotions
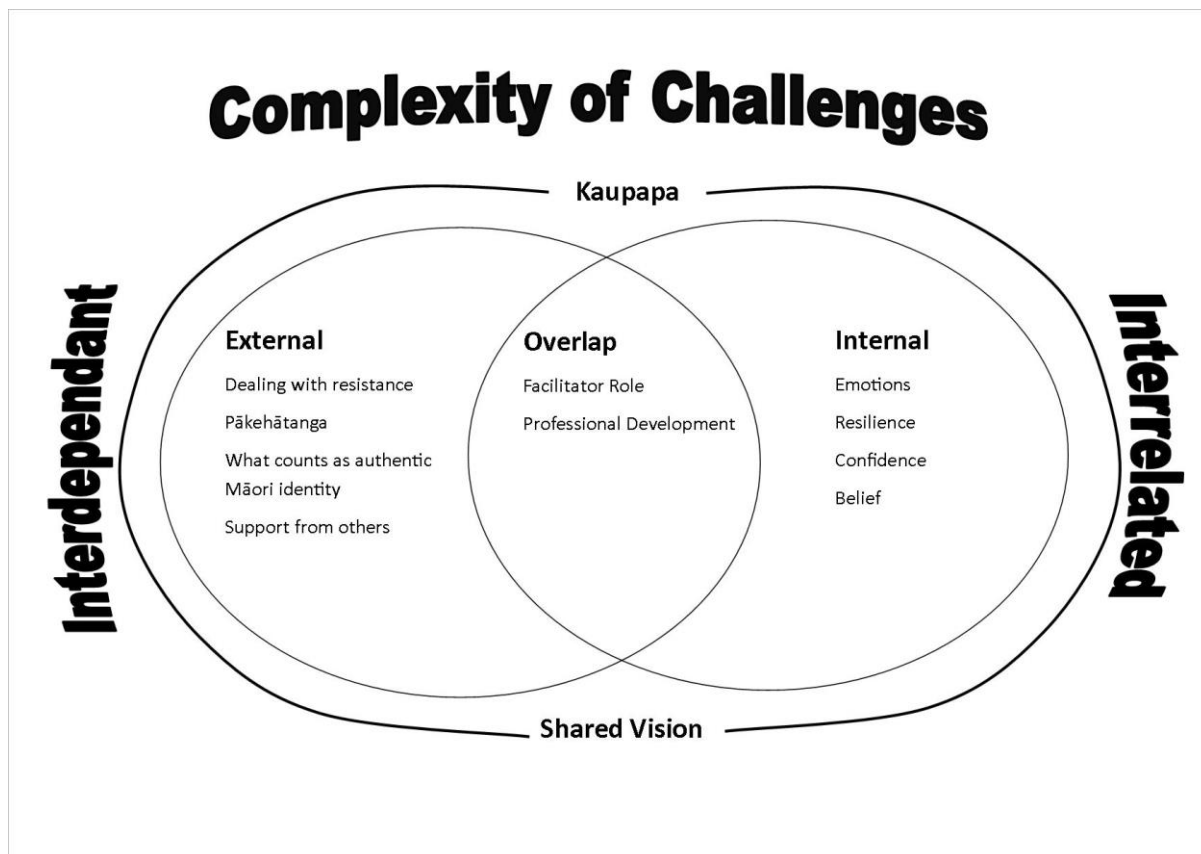
Resilience

Confidence

Belief

Shared Vision

Figure 1

This diagram represents two significant dimensions of the challenge faced by Māori change agents as they work to facilitate change in Māori student achievement in mainstream educational institutions. The external challenges are those faced from outside sources, the internal challenges are those of the change agent personally and the interface is the interplay between these two dimensions. The kaupapa or shared vision represents the need for a common understanding of the goal as well as an understanding of the roles and responsibilities of Māori change agents in working towards that. All of the elements are interdependent and interrelated because they have an impact on the other elements.

5.1 External challenges.

The circle in figure one that is labelled 'External Challenges' lists the different features associated with this dimension, that Māori change agents are faced with. These are: Dealing with Resistance; Pākehātanga; What counts as authentic Māori identity; and the Need for Support from Others. The following sections critically discuss these challenges.

5.1.1 Dealing with resistance.

As a result of this research process I was frustrated that it was difficult to find literature about resistance that related to my own experience. There was nothing written from the perspective of a Māori change agent. Within this research the voices of the research whānau begin to fill this gap that exists in the literature.

My literature review cited Hynds (2010) who has written that resistance to change is a normal and integral part of any change process. She also wrote that her analysis of results from the first phase of Te Kauhua revealed the complexity of resistance both as a construct and as a developmental process. This statement is supported by the experiences of the research whānau. Not only is resistance complex, but the responses that change agents have in dealing with resistance are also complex – no one approach works every time.

Goodman (2011) unpacks resistance further. People resist when they are unable to seriously engage with material, when they refuse to consider alternatives to a dominant ideology and when information or experiences cause them to question their worldview. This resistance can stem from fear and discomfort. The defensiveness that typically arises is a way to mitigate anxiety, assuage guilt or protect against painful feelings. This means that they must be given the opportunity to ask questions even if they seem on the surface ignorant or racist. Considering this statement I question how many Māori change agents have the understanding and skills to help others move through resistance. Goodman says that sometimes, engaging with an issue and grappling to come to terms with it can seem like resistance, but it is not. It is a sign of critical thinking. She adds that facilitators frequently feel angry with behaviour they perceive as resistance and become frustrated by it. They often find it hard to connect with people and like people who are being resistant. She suggests that seeing people who are behaving with resistance as people who are in pain or fearful, might help change agents to be more empathetic and resourceful as helpers. I can recall instances in my own experience where it was very important to provide a safe forum for teachers to discuss concepts about race that they were grappling with in order to help them to make sense of the challenges that were being made to their beliefs. There have also been instances where I have mistaken people debating an issue to deepen their

understanding with resistance. I believe this kind of awareness would be helpful for change agents and would be useful learning as part of a professional development skill development process.

Goodman offers other useful insights from her own experience. She writes that people from privileged groups often perceive that *they* are disadvantaged because they are not privy to the financial support that indigenous or some low income people get. There is strong resistance by people who think like this to align themselves with the oppressor group when they feel victimised themselves. In another insight, Goodman gives examples of typical reactions to cognitive dissonance (the experience of receiving information that is contrary to what is believed to be true). Sometimes people from privileged groups will seek out information to reduce the inconsistency: discounting or explaining away a discrepancy, finding counter examples or blaming the victim to justify an inequity. Others may try to trivialise situations by claiming they are not that bad or things are much better than they used to be. Others may withdraw and try to avoid the issue.

I believe these kinds of insight that Goodman has shared are invaluable in the lessons that change agents could learn as part of their training in preparation for their role. Goodman's perspectives also hint at the importance that identity plays as a factor in resistance. What this means is that programmes which challenge privileged and inequity, are likely to create resistance. This is because they challenge teachers to consider their own identities and beliefs about themselves and others.

5.1.2 Pākehātanga.

Notions regarding resistance can be linked to racism. Penetito (2001) wrote that

> *The Pākehā education system has always operated as if all its clients were*
> *either Pākehā or wanted to become Pākehā. Māori had much to learn*
> *from Pākehā but Pākehā had little to learn from Māori (p.18).*

Since the middle of the 1800s Governments supported the increased settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand by British subjects. Over a period of time Māori became marginalised in a systemic process that portrayed Europeans and European practices as superior and normal. Māori were expected to learn the Pākehā way of life but Pākehā were not expected to learn the Māori way of life (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). Put in other ways what Penetito and the Consedines are saying is that the veneration of a Pākehā way of life, or Pākehātanga is commonplace in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is this that has contributed to the marginalisation of many Māori and resulted in the situation where the majority of Māori students, no matter where they are, experience formal education as frustrating and unhappy experiences (Penetito, 2008).

There are significant power issues impacting on Māori educational achievement that must be addressed by programmes aimed at improving Māori educational achievement. Sleeter (2011) writes that many culturally responsive approaches fail to address the central problem of power imbalances that are present in the everyday lives of indigenous people. They are marginalised through a range of politically, socially and economically racist practises by those in positions of power. The goal of culturally responsive programmes must be informed by these issues of power relations, racism and colonisation (Penetito, 2010) (Bishop, 2003) (Ballard, 2008) (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2008). This is because according to Penetito (2008) the power of veto will always be exercised so that compromises will be one-sided in favour of the dominant group.

There are approximately 85% (Collins, 2013) of Māori students who are educated in what are commonly called mainstream schools. Milne (2013) challenges the use of the term mainstream to describe the majority of schools in Aotearoa suggesting that the label centralises western culture while marginalising Māori and Pasifika (people from the Pacific Islands) children. She suggests that a more truthful descriptor for 'mainstream' is whitestream and adds that it is important that discussions about Māori student achievement take into account white privilege and white supremacy without taking these terms personally. Milne also writes that the hidden and unacknowledged nature of whiteness and power is a fundamental cause of the apparent inability to make change in our schools that

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will benefit indigenous students. Only when race is placed at the centre of the debate will inequality and injustice begin to be addressed.

Hynds and Sheehan (2010) have written that the education system in Aotearoa was developed to reflect British origins while Māori culture and language was viewed as inferior and/or irrelevant. They acknowledge that this is one of the political contexts that frame the underachievement of Māori students. They suggest that a series of critical and public investigations is required to honestly explore the unexamined and ongoing issues of racism that impact on student achievement.

Sleeter (2011) recommends that programmes created to improve Māori achievement must consider power imbalances and racism. Milne (2013) adds that discussion must include the issues of white privilege and white supremacy. Hynds and Sheehan agree that racism inside and outside schools needs to be examined because otherwise schools who implement programmes that target indigenous achievement are vulnerable to racism and racist beliefs within the school community and wider New Zealand society.

Hynds and Sheehan highlight a significant problem – there is little within the professional development literature to prepare teachers, school leaders and change agents for the difficulties of dealing with white privilege and Pākehātanga in Aotearoa New Zealand. This raises some very important questions. As I write this I wonder whether issues of race, privilege and power are being adequately addressed within change initiatives that attempt to address inequities. Do Māori change agents have the understanding and skills needed to be able to facilitate discussions about such emotionally charged subjects? Hynds (2008) highlights the experience of school principals who were unwilling to engage in emotionally charged public conversations about race with culturally diverse members of their school communities because they felt underprepared for this challenge. Therefore, I wonder if is it reasonable to expect Māori change agents to work with teachers to bring about change in practice if the bigger societal issues that inform poor Māori achievement are not being addressed? Hynds writes that school reform literature generally neglects socio-political issues and as a result change agents have been unprepared for resistance about race. She

recommends further investigation into the type of support that would enable all change agents and school leaders to engage in open, critical communication with culturally diverse stakeholders about these issues.

5.1.3 What counts as authentic Māori identity?

When considering experiences of resistance members of the research whānau shared their negative experiences of criticisms of authentic Māoriness. They spoke of some Māori teachers being resistant to changing their teaching practice and questioned the authenticity of the Māori change agent as a resistance strategy. There has been little written about this in school reform literature, yet Māori change agents and programme leaders must be aware of the possibility that it can arise and how to deal with this type of situation. As I write I am aware of these identity issues and the interplay between the external challenges and the responses of internal dilemmas faced by Māori change agents.

Borell (2005) writes that the identity markers that have commonly been used as criteria for who is Māori are problematic. The markers are often ability to use Māori language, understanding of Māori protocols, knowledge of the marae and genealogy. Using these markers can lead to double marginalisation for people who don't fit these criteria but identify themselves as being Māori. They are marginalised firstly by a society that emphasised the superiority of western civilisation (Smith L. , 1999) and secondly by those who are saying they are not Māori enough. There is little written about other markers, particularly that of self-identification. McIntosh (2007) adds that there is not a homogenous Māori identity. Māori identity is a complex matter that is impacted by issues of multiple identities, politics, notions of traditional and fluid identities and the power that is associated with being able to claim certain identities. Penetito's (2008) perspective on identity is that it is about who we are, where we are, how we fit in, what the place means to us and what we mean to the place. He suggests that indigenous people have a well-rehearsed customary practice that gives some advantage in this area. The various views listed here only begin to touch on the complexity of identity.

These issues are important for Māori change agents to be aware of because it helps them to understand the position of other Māori teachers on their identity and it also prepares them for criticisms that may be levelled against them from other Māori. One of the markers that McIntosh and Borell have written about is the ability to converse in te reo Māori (Māori language). As McIntosh (2007) has identified, the inability to use te reo Māori can be a source of embarrassment for Māori and it can also be a reason for other Māori to question the authenticity of the identity of Māori change agents.

For the sake of health and wellbeing of Māori change agents, professional development programmes must prepare them for the possibility of this type of issue arising. As one of the research whānau commented:

> *Sometimes we Māori assume that there is only one way to be*
> *authentically Māori and others get shut out. It's a whole new way of*
> *beating ourselves up and excluding people. It's an elitism of Māori.*

This raises a concern about what kind of support is being provided to those Māori change agents who may be vulnerable because of their inability to speak te reo Māori or may have their identity authenticity questioned in situations that are driven by power relationships and politics within Māori communities.

5.1.4 Support from others.

I have already made the point that kaiwero usually operate in partnership with others when they lay down the taki in a pōwhiri. The internal confidence and resilience of the Māori change agent to do their job is impacted by the external support that they receive. The five groups that the research whānau identified as sources of support for them were whānau (immediate and wider family), work colleagues and teams, work leaders, community people and professionals.

One of the key groups that are sources of support are middle and senior managers within the school that the Māori change agent is working in. Sleeter, Bishop and Meyer (2011) have emphasised the importance of having the whole school's leadership team working in concert to support changes to achieve the implementation of culturally responsive pedagogies in classrooms. They highlight the need for a vision and goals in relation to Māori achievement, organisational structural change, the need for reform spread to all stakeholders, and ownership. The support a Māori change agent derives from the existence of a shared vision is critical and will be explored later in this chapter.

In terms of support another important factor is the need for partnership approaches (Hynds & Sleeter, 2011). Māori change agents cannot make non-Māori change their teaching practice for the benefit of their Māori students. I have a suspicion that in some situations non-Māori are better placed to work with non-Māori teachers, than Māori change agents to raise awareness that might bring about change.

Since 1991 Waitangi Associates have been conducting treaty education workshops that examine the background to the Treaty of Waitangi (a partnership treaty that was signed by Māori and British representatives of the Queen in 1840 at Waitangi in Aotearoa New Zealand) and the racist events that have followed since it's signing (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). The workshops are run in a partnership between Māori and Pākehā presenters. At an introductory level Māori and Pākehā participants in these workshops are separated otherwise blaming can result. Without this separation, the Consedines write, Pākehā are seen as privileged, Māori as speaking for all Māori, in a Pākehā setting the dominant culture prevails while in a Māori setting Pākehā become overly sensitive and inarticulate. Māori participants work through the programme with a Māori facilitator, while Pākehā work with a Pākehā facilitator.

The Consedines write that a Māori facilitated workshop run for Pākehā participants is ineffective in addressing the issues of race, power and privilege because a culturally safe environment is not provided. There are two issues that are highlighted here that are relevant for Māori change agents. The first is the importance of Māori and Pākehā change agents

working together in partnership and a shared understanding of the vision or goal that the organisation is attempting to achieve in the work of change. The second is the importance of providing culturally safe environments for both Māori and Pākehā change agents and Māori and Pākehā teachers. At least in the early stages of a programme the Consedines are suggesting that it is safer and more effective for like ethnicities to work together. While this is a perspective worthy of further exploration in relation to the work of Māori change agents in educational institutions, programme designers must still be conscious of the heterogeneity of what it means to be Māori and also the power, privilege and elitism that exists in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds.

Penetito (2008) also highlights the importance of community support and involvement in any change initiative targeted at Māori children. My thinking is that the wider community in the form of whānau (families), hapū (subtribes) and iwi (tribes) need to be included in the change process in the creation of a shared vision of change and that Māori change agents have a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities in achieving this. Bishop and Glynn (1999) have written that using a strategy that leaves the community out repeats the pattern of dominance and subordination that has characterised relationships in our country for too long. My thinking is that having a supportive whānau community, plus the strategic and active support of Pākehā colleagues and school leaders, encouraging the work of Māori change agents could be a significant source of resilience for the Māori change agent.

Comments were made by members of the research whānau about the need for support. For many this came from colleagues, friends, family and for some from their organisational leader. The emphasis that was placed on this area by research whānau members indicates how critical it is and perhaps the amount of time spent discussing support suggests that there have been times when organisational support has been deficient. Getting support from outside the organisation may be a sign that it is lacking in schools and this could be a matter to be addressed by organisations who want to be fair and ethical employers.

5.2 Internal challenges.

The internal challenges are highlighted in figure 1. The internal challenges listed include Dealing with Emotions, Maintaining Individual Resilience, Developing Understanding of the Process and Skills Required and Confidence or Self-belief.

The research whānau responses to external challenges are sometimes external and other times are internal. Some of the internal responses included finding ways to deal with the effects of the stress that comes from the complexity of external challenges. The research whānau spoke of some people who had become physically sick as a result of their stress while others had shown signs of depression which suggests mental wellness can be undermined. Theoharis (2007) wrote about school leaders working in the field of social justice using alcohol as a coping mechanism. This raises the question about the possibility that some Māori change agents also may be using unhealthy coping strategies to deal with the internal challenges that arise. Further questions that arise are; What has written about dealing with the pain of indigenous struggle? What are healthy ways to manage the internal challenges? These elements might be part of a training and development programme to support Māori change agents.

The research whānau used words such as loneliness, vulnerability and anxiety to describe their experiences at times. They spoke of the depth of feeling that they have for this type of work – a real passion to improve the educational experience of Māori students. There is a sense of desperation about the work because the longer it takes to change the practice of teachers, the more Māori students who are at risk of leaving school with experiences of failure. I suspect this is felt most keenly because, as the research whānau have indicated, there is a tendency for Māori change agents to personalise this type of work. They are thinking of their own children and grandchildren when they talk about Māori students and this creates a genuine and heartfelt commitment and obligation to making a positive difference.

I have highlighted developing understanding of the change process and skills required to be effective for Māori change agents as a key internal challenge. The research whānau also emphasised this element. Coming to terms with the theory and practice of culturally

responsive pedagogy was a challenge. Gay (2010) explains this as teaching "to and through [students] personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual capabilities, and their prior accomplishments." Understanding what this looks like and how to coach others to do it was a journey of discovery for me as a change agent and it represent one of many internal challenges that I faced.

Prior to this research project I had not deeply considered the importance of understanding and appreciating the change process. This became an element of internal challenge because of my lack of understanding. I now see it is an area that is integral for Māori change agents to be effective. Fullan (2011) shares a change or improvement model that is very simple, yet embodies the essence of the process. His first step requires an examination of practice and results to identify gaps. In the second step Fullan recommends finding others who are succeeding in the desired area. In the third step the identified gap and strategy borrowed from another are used to implement a new approach. The fourth step evaluates whether the new approach has worked, if it has, Fullan says, keep doing it and if it doesn't then change leaders are encouraged to return to step two to identify a new strategy to use.

I was interested to read that Fullan cautioned against spending too much time creating a vision and trying to enrol people into a theoretical notion. He has written that being able to motivate others is critical and by creating situations where staff experience new ways of doing things positively they create new beliefs which are often motivating. This contrasts somewhat with some of the views published in the literature about collective vision that I will explore later in this chapter.

On reflection, I did not have a model of the change process that I could use as a frame work for my experiences as a Māori change agent. I think in hindsight, Fullan's model could have helped me to create a context for some of the experiences that emerged from my role. However, I am also mindful that Fullan has not written about creating a vision and effecting change when issues of power, privilege, elitism, racism and colonisation are underpinning the context. Neither is Fullan writing from the perspective of a minority change agent, his writing is based on change championed by Western organisational leaders. This suggests

that Fullans model lacks the depth to manage the complexities that are faced by Māori change agents. Therefore, other perspectives about change and vision will be explored later in this chapter.

Resilience and management strategies that the research whānau identified cross over to some of their strategies for overcoming resistance. This makes sense because as Fletcher and Sarkar (2013) have written it is the positive experience of overcoming adversity that builds resilience. They add that exposure to adversity in moderation can mobilise previously untapped resources and create a sense of mastery for future adversities. This means that when change agents can successfully navigate through difficulties their resources increase and their ability to work through future challenges can be enhanced. Perhaps this implies that it is important not to be overprotective of Māori change agents because growth and development is a potential from the experience of adversity. Without some experience of difficulty, learning opportunities may be missed.

Resilience strategies identified by the research whānau included the change agent developing self-awareness and understanding about what things trigger emotions, why this happens and how to effectively deal with these situations. This again illustrates the external impacting on the internal dimension of this work. Ways of thinking such as allowing oneself to make mistakes and focusing on possibility were strategies that developed resilience. The research whānau also stressed that resilience was developed by being in physical contexts that affirmed connection and being Māori. Whether this was a tribal home, a marae, or another Māori environment, immersion in a context where Māori was normal helped to build resilience. My assumption about why this is the case is that normalcy promotes acceptance and belonging and these have been identified as key elements of indigenous well-being (Hill, 2005).

Maintaining life balance and connection with support networks was very important to the research whānau. I understood the importance of support before I began this project, however, this process has emphasised to me just how important support is, and that support must come from external sources in order to support that internal resilience. For some

individuals it was important to be connected to a collective identity (Penetito, 2008) and this illustrates how the internal element of identity for some is affected by the external challenge of maintaining connection to the support networks of the collective. For example, one of the research whānau placed a high emphasis on using te reo Māori, being in Māori spaces, talking regularly with Māori whānau and returning to ancestral places to feel connected and maintain his resilience. These strategies are informed by his identity as a Māori and the context that he was raised in which dictates to him what it means to be Māori.

5.3 The interface.

At the intersection of the external challenges and internal challenges represented by the two circles in figure one is what I call the interface. At the interface of the challenges is the need for clarity of the facilitator role and the need for professional development to enhance skills.

5.3.1 The facilitators' role.

Fullan (2011) speaks about the role of the change leader. In the context of his writing he is often referring to the school leader as the change leader. The Māori change agent is also a leader and has a great deal to offer to the process. In my experience they typically support and provide guidance for the school leader, but they must not usurp or allow themselves to be put into the position that the school leader must take. Conversely school leaders must not abdicate their responsibilities to the Māori change agent simply because they show a passion for or have a deeper understanding of the issues. It is important that the principal be seen to leading changes in the school (Hynds & Sleeter, 2011).

Bartunek (2014) writes that the experiences of groups of organisational members leading change efforts have received almost no scholarly attention which is problematic because there is little to guide change agents about what they are about, how they act, how they evolve and how others respond to their initiatives. This is a potential area of research that may assist change agents in their endeavours to successfully implement changes and achieve their outcomes.

Hynds and Sleeter write that effective culturally responsive change programmes depend on strong leadership across the leadership roles in the school that entails a vision, ownership and commitment to improving indigenous student achievement. What isn't written however is the importance of school leaders understanding the context of power relations and colonisation to inform the vision, ownership and commitment. I wonder how many school leaders have read, discussed and learned about colonisation and its impact on Māori educational outcomes. Effective school leaders need an expert knowledge of the history and values of the school community (Wearmouth, Berryman, & Glynn, 2009). I suspect that without a deeply embedded understanding by the school leaders, efforts to change Māori educational experiences and results will be fragile.

The evaluation of the He Kākano programme showed that the programme's flexibility was designed to respond to different school contexts, whilst adhering to kaupapa Māori principles. However, results from the evaluation indicated that individual school principals could pick and choose aspects of the programme they felt comfortable with, which could compromise the programme's effectiveness over time (Hynds, et al., 2013). Perhaps this illustrates a lack of deep understanding for the theorising that informs the practice of such initiatives. In my experience the change agent's role in this learning is to question and challenge the leaders learning in an effort to catalyse rich learning conversations. To do this they must have a relationship that is based on trust that will survive the difficult conversations that they may have. In this sense the change agent can become a mentor for the school leader (Robinson V. , 2011). Whether this is a responsibility that the Māori change agent needs in addition to the roles they have is a question that needs to be addressed.

All of the members of the research whānau have worked as change agents within organisations where they have reported to a leadership team internally and in some cases also externally. In most cases they were not working as the leaders of the organisations while they were change agents. One of the problems highlighted by working as a change agent to improve Māori achievement is that some senior leaders can be reluctant to lead the initiative. In some cases there have been disconnects between school principals and other

school leaders in the school who have not shared the same commitment to initiatives (Hynds & Sleeter, 2011) and this has undermined the role of the Māori change agent.

In the evaluation of the Te Kotahitanga programme Sleeter, Bishop and Meyer (2011) stated that nearly a quarter of the teachers involved in the programme remained at a low implementation level. The majority of these teachers were struggling with basic classroom management and lesson planning. The evaluators of the programme went on to say that it is not the role of the Māori change agent to address the performance of teachers who have competency issues. Situations such as these are often perceived to be the realm of senior managers (Hynds & Sleeter, 2011).

5.3.2 Professional development for skill development.

I have already referred to Hynd's (2008) observation that there had been little written about how to conduct open conversations dealing with emotionally charged issues such as race, privilege and educational achievement. In 2011, she and Sleeter make the point again that there is little within the professional development literature to prepare leaders and change agents (Hynds & Sleeter, 2011). My research indicates that this is still the case and this has implications for the preparedness of school leaders and change agents to effectively deal with the resistance and political pressures that arise from this type of work. These implications include high stress levels reflected by a lack of ability to facilitate these conversations, plus potential damage to relationships that result from poorly managed conversations.

In the evaluation of the He Kākano programme (Hynds, et al., 2013) one of the key findings was that facilitators or change agents needed advanced skills, knowledge and dispositions encompassing Māori cultural knowledge and educational expertise to support the implementation of culturally responsive leadership. The implications for Māori change agents is that they require a very specific skill set that relates to dealing with conflict about highly emotive issues, understanding Māori culture and being excellent teachers. This raises the question – do those who are employed in the role of change agent have the skills

necessary to deal with challenges they will face? Have these specific skills been identified? If facilitators and leaders do not have the necessary skills, what kinds of professional development programmes have been or should be established?

The dispositions, skills, understanding and credibility of the person in the role of change agent has been identified as potential areas of concern (Hynds & Sleeter, 2011). This is one of the reasons that I am beginning to think that it is unfair to inadequately prepare Māori change agents for the challenges that they will face in the field. My thinking is that prior to beginning their work, the change agent should be taught about the theory and process of change and resistance as well as the skills required to deal with challenging situations. In addition, it is critical that change agents are taught to understand themselves and learn about their own resilience. While there is only so much that is possible to learn prior to working in the role, an ongoing developmental plan that supports the learning, understanding and growth of change agents is critical to support them in being effective. This is just like the role of the kaiwero – performing the wero is not something that is learned on the job. Significant training needs to be undertaken to prepare the kaiwero prior to being exposed in the public arena. There is too much at stake to be experimenting with what works at that time.

When I undertook my literature review I wanted to find out about Māori models of conflict resolution and I was disappointed by the lack of material written about this topic. There was an article written by Walker (2004) which criticised the Western cultural bias of many conflict resolution models as being individualistic. Since that time I have become aware of Restorative Justice approaches which are more aligned with Māori conflict resolution models (Caruthers, 2013) (Wearmouth, Berryman, & Glynn, 2009) and through my own experiences of learning and using restorative justice approaches I understand why and how they are culturally appropriate. I can see the potential for Restorative Justice approaches to be used by Māori change agents, but research is required to explore the potential.

The Best Evidence Synthesis programme on School Leadership and Student outcomes (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009) has identified that many principals find conflict situations

difficult to deal with and many would rather delay or avoid them than risk conflict escalation. This is because they tend to give greater weight to adults emotional risk than students learning risk. I find it interesting that many principals, who you would expect have a mandate to raise concerns with staff, tend avoid conflict. Given this is that case, I wonder how fair and realistic it is for change agents to be required to conduct difficult conversations when school leaders, who have positional authority, would rather not. This suggests that further work needs to be done in this area.

In recognition of this issue for school leaders, Robinson, Hohepa and Lloyd (2009) suggest that principals need to firstly learn how to conduct 'open to learning' conversations or difficult conversations effectively and secondly; they need to develop emotional maturity. Emotional maturity is a long term development task that requires real life practise (Hackman & Wageman, 2007) and Robinson et al contend that principals need to be given formal learning opportunities and support to learn and develop these skills. It is my suggestion that Māori change agents would benefit from the same opportunity and level of support because in many cases they are being required to do what is probably the most difficult part of a principal's job.

The key message that I identified in my literature review, that working through conflict takes time and is complex (Achinstein, 2002) is certainly reflected in the data collected from the research whānau. Once again, I think it is critical to make the point that it is irresponsible to put Māori change agents into the field if they do not have a deep understanding of the nature of conflict and how to deal with it. This is akin to sending an untrained and ill prepared kaiwero out to challenge visiting dignitaries. Their poor skill and execution would cause them and the iwi shame (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004). This would not happen – the iwi would rather have no kaiwero than expose an inexperienced member of their whānau to ridicule.

5.4 What is the kaupapa? Shared vision.

The outer circle in figure one is labelled kaupapa and shared vision. I have used these terms to mean the same thing. In Māori 'kaupapa' means 'strategy, theme and plan' but it is often

used to mean 'topic' or 'subject'. For the purposes of this diagram I have used kaupapa to be the shared vision. The kaupapa or shared vision of Māori educational achievement surrounds and informs the external and internal challenges that the Māori change agent experiences, plus the overlap. The kaupapa is the central driver and purpose of the work that Māori change agents do in non-Māori educational institutions.

During a wero everyone at the pōwhiri knows what the goal of the kaiwero is. This is known and accepted. This practice needs to be the same for inducting Māori change agents, that is, all involved know the goals and processes. This research has emphasised the critical need for having a common vision that is co-constructed and agreed to by all stakeholders. This was not my experience of how schools were operating and subsequently significant levels of resistance were encountered. I offer that much energy was expended on overcoming resistance and recovering from the associated trauma and this could have been avoided by ensuring that stakeholders created and were enrolled in a common vision before undertaking the change process to improve Māori educational achievement.

The need for a common vision was something that was highlighted through research undertaken by Hynds (2010). She wrote that resistance to the first phase of Te Kauhua programme came from Māori and non-Māori teachers, students and parents/caregivers and that this resistance was the result of a lack in shared vision for the goals of the programme. A formal process for ongoing consultation would have helped to address this problem. Without everyone's agreement there is little hope of collective ownership and so the leadership and Māori change agent begin the difficult job of bringing about change when not everyone agrees that there is a need for change and/or they have different competing visions of 'what counts' as Māori student success (Hynds, 2007). Penetito (2010) writes that the construction of an authentic New Zealand identity and vision must look to Māori for its content. Not everyone would agree with this statement and this is consistent with the experiences of the research whānau. Resistance emerged as a result of people not being enrolled in a common vision and this made the job of change agents very difficult in some cases.

The creation of a vision is usually one of the first steps in the change process. After the readiness phase during which commitment from the principal and stakeholders is secured, comes the planning phase which includes a shared vision. This shared vision from the outset is paramount to the success of an intervention (Elbertson, Brackett, & Weissberg, 2010). During the readiness phase I was interested to read that much of the literature about creating a shared vision did not address power issues or give guidance on undertaking this process with marginalised indigenous groups. Self-determination is the right to determine one's own destiny, to define it and the means to achieve it (Sleeter, Bishop, & Meyer, 2011). This means that schools need to shift the power of who determines what is learned and how it is learned to their school communities. Therefore a key stakeholder in the process of creating a school vision for Māori students is the Māori community. These issues are not addressed in some of the literature about creating a common vision. The implication of that is that school leaders may be inclined to determine a school vision without the input of Māori communities which misses the point of what culturally responsive pedagogies are trying to achieve which is power sharing (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) . Interestingly, the Ministry of Education National Administrative Guidelines require schools to consult with their Māori community to develop goals and targets for the achievement of Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2001).

Mulford (2010)writes that the principals' core values and beliefs, together with the values and capacities of other members of the school community feed directly into the development of a shared school vision which shapes teaching and learning. The implication of this for social justice and equity, but more importantly for addressing systemic based Māori underachievement is that before change occurs; principals must value equity and social justice. The vision of a school will not address these issues if the school leadership does not see them as important.

According to Hopkins (2010) a school leader's vision is informed by a moral purpose which should encompass the desire to improve achievement and learning while decreasing gaps, improving teaching, developing relationships while striving for equity and inclusion. A leader should seek to empower teachers and others to make schools a critical force for improving

communities. Hopkins does not however address the challenge of enrolling others in the vision when the moral purpose challenges teachers to address issues of historical and ongoing racism as a means to improving learning for indigenous students.

A school vision must include a drive for equity, school leaders must champion the vision and teachers must also be enrolled by the vision (Yukl, 2002). For a vision to address the issue of marginalisation of Māori there must be a willingness to explore and possibly challenge the culture of the school. Many mainstream schools were established to promote colonial culture and they still largely reflect the British colonial model (Sleeter, Bishop, & Meyer, 2011). Many dimensions of conventional schooling become problematic when visions are broadened to include bicultural participation, issues of systemic oppression and self-determination of identity (Sleeter, Bishop, & Meyer, 2011). As I write this, I wonder how many school leaders have the understanding and skill to facilitate this kind of delicate and emotive process.

The resistance by teachers and leaders that the research whānau highlighted from their experiences of working within Non-Māori institutions might have been reduced if the overarching issue of equitable Māori student results was addressed by the school vision. It is likely that this process would have to address racism and involved some highly emotive discussion of the sort that the Waitangi Action group have experienced in their workshops. So it's easy to say that the job of the Māori change agent would have been made easier if the contextual issues for schools creation of Māori underachievement were addressed prior to them working with teachers to promote culturally responsive pedagogies. However, school leaders undertaking this type of challenge would face a very difficult task. How could they be supported to develop the skills and understanding necessary?

Māori are saying that being Māori does matter and that the education system must do a much better job of incorporating a Māori knowledge base through pedagogies based on Māori aspirations (Penetito, 2010). According to Penetito this is the goal for Māori - ensuring that Māori students are achieving what is important for Māori to be achieving. Exactly what Māori success is, needs to be defined by school communities. A report inquiring into the

level of understanding that stakeholders had about the Ministry of Education vision for Māori students to be achieving as Māori revealed that there was no common understanding of what the vision meant in any of the 80 schools studied (Averill, et al., 2014). Defining what this means needs to be collaborative process. It must account for the diversity of what it means to be Māori and it must involve school communities that include teachers, administrators, leaders, support staff, whānau, hapū, iwi and students. The communities would do well to discuss the issues of Māori achievement in their respective schools and agree to a vision and a set of goals that all will work towards for the realisation of the aspirations for and of Māori children. Issues to discuss might include: What might that vision look like? What is Māori success? Once defined do achievement criteria need to be developed to measure against? Does it require a change in the pedagogical approach so that teachers are more culturally responsive? Does it require a change in the curriculum so that subjects and skills that meet the goals of Māori whānau are on offer? Is it more of these things? What will best empower Māori students as we look to the future?

When looking for guidance on what a school vision might consider, Mason Durie (2006) has some suggestions. He writes that Māori wellbeing is measured by the capacity of Māori to participate in society generally and as Māori. He adds that it requires an ability to access te ao Māori (the Māori world) and participate in institutions, activities and systems that are Māori. This is strongly linked to the capacity and opportunity to use te reo Māori. Durie (2005) has also written that conveying a comprehensive profile of Māori success requires a combination of universal measures such as life expectancy, educational attainment and land rating values. In addition the use of Māori specific measures is necessary and these include Māori language fluency, marae participation and Māori land holdings. He adds that it is difficult to compare Māori and non-Māori in some aspects of well-being such as language fluency, however in the other areas such as educational attainment there should not be wide disparities between groups. Addressing these gaps should be a goal of a fair and just society.

Penetito (2010) adds to the discussion about what could be the goal for our schools and our Māori students. The vast majority of Māori students are schooled in the mainstream

education system and a small percentage of Māori attend Kura Kaupapa Māori schools which are Māori immersion schools teaching in the Māori language (Collins, 2013). Penetito (2010) writes that the problem with mainstream schools is that there is a perception that those who want Māori history, language, arts and crafts, knowledge and customs should go to Kura Kaupapa Māori schools. The mainstream schools take little responsibility for nurturing this learning, being Māori matters deeply to Māori and Penetito adds that the education system must do much better in incorporating a Māori knowledge base through pedagogies based on Māori aspirations. His suggestion is that New Zealanders should be able to walk confidently and competently in both the Māori and non-Māori worlds. In other words Māori and non-Māori should be able to interact in a Māori or non-Māori context. He adds that Māori parents want their children exposed to the best of all worlds. They want their children to inherit a rich spiritual, cultural and material world. They want an education for their children that enhances what it means to be Māori. Penetito says that this means that Māori education must involve the learning and use of te reo Māori (the Māori language), it needs to enhance and strengthen Māori identity, it will promote understanding of the relationship Māori have to the land and it must understand educational diversity. He adds that Māori actually want to be more Māori – they want to know their language, they want their traditional institutions (like marae, communal meeting places) to flourish, they want to learn the ancient history and colonial history. They want the benefits of a western society while retaining Māori aesthetics.

What I think this means is that Māori at iwi and hapū level need to get organised and work with schools to develop goals that whānau and students help to develop. A collaboratively constructed vision that encompasses what Māori success looks like at each school is necessary. The vision may include those things that have been outlined by Penetito and Durie but it must be based on a relationship that retains the integrity of Māori and non-Māori while seeking an education in the interests of all.

Critical in this process is the leadership of the school principal. Using visions to unlock intrinsic motivation to make change is a complex process that many leadership books have been written about. However, for the reasons I have already highlighted, creating a vision

that addresses these emotive and contentious issues will be a very complex process. In addition to having strong problem-solving skills and superlative relationship building skills, the principal will need a depth of personal understanding of the history of race-relations and education in Aotearoa New Zealand, the current issues and pitfalls (Wearmouth, Berryman, & Glynn, 2009). For example Robinson (2011) writes that in the past increased Māori student achievement has frequently meant a loss of language and culture because young people have been forced to choose between success in a Māori or non-Māori world. She adds that achievement goals for Māori are only attractive when they are explicitly linked to succeeding as Māori. Māori don't want to give up their identity to be academically successful and it has become clear to me that the school leader who is facilitating a collaborative goal-setting process needs to understand these dynamics. On reflection I also think they must be able to look at this issue from a social justice and moral purpose perspective, make a personal commitment to driving the issue and work to ensure that others are aligned, enrolled and supported. This is a difficult task that requires support and learning. Sometimes leaders will look to their change agents for support and this is appropriate, however, it is my contention that the Māori change agent must not be given the task of leading this process when the principal should be doing it. If the issue is really that important, the principal needs to be leading the change, not abdicating to the change agent. The question this raises is how do school leaders get the learning and support required to lead this complex and challenging process? Which books deal with this issue? Perhaps there is a need for further research to be done into the skills and knowledge that school leaders need in order to facilitate visioning processes that address Māori inequities in mainstream schools.

5.5 Interrelatedness and interdependence.

The two words interrelatedness and interdependence that are written on either side of figure 1 are there to recognise that all of the elements of the figure are interrelated and interdependent because they impact on each other. For example, having a shared vision that all are enrolled in impacts on the external challenges that the Māori change agent faces. The external factors such as resistance can impact on the confidence of the Māori change agent and this can highlight the need for further professional development.

5.6 Recommendations.

Throughout this chapter I have reflected on a number of questions that need further exploration. The following questions are possible areas for further research. What is effective Professional Development for Māori change agents working to improve Māori educational achievement? What is best practice for Māori change agents working in non-Māori educational institutions? What is the best way to support Māori change agents? What actually happens in the field? The reflections of the research whānau are unsubstantiated so research that takes place alongside implementation may be useful to evaluate what actually happens in the field and what is effective or not. Another area that could benefit from further research is the experience of non-Māori change agents in this type of work. It would be interesting to contrast and compare their experiences to that of the Māori change agents working in this field.

'Hikitia te taki' represents a call to take up the offering of the kaiwero at the beginning of the pōwhiri. Once that occurs, the manuhiri have declared their intentions are good and the partnership elements of the pōwhiri can begin – the interchange of karanga (women's calling), whaikōrero (formal speeches) and waiata (song) culminating with the hongi (physical and spiritual exchange) and then kai (food). At which point the manuhiri and tangata whenua become one. I liken the lifting up of the taki to the willingness of institutional leaders and teachers to engage in discussion about Māori achievement with good faith. This includes recognition of the issues that relate to power, race, colonisation and politics that inform the context of Māori achievement. And an understanding that a common vision that takes these issues into account is required. Once this understanding and willingness to engage are achieved, then stakeholders can begin the partnership with Māori change agents to develop the vision and work toward achieving it together. Hikitia te taki is a call to school communities to take up the challenge of the Māori change agent. This is the background for the title of this thesis.

When I started out on this research process I thought that finding ways to support Māori change agents with their resilience was the key to improving their effectiveness. I am still of the opinion that more work needs to be done to identify what kind of skills and knowledge

Māori change agents need to be effective in their role and what kind of professional development will assist with that. Resilience training might be part of that. However, I have also come to the realisation that the front end work of clarifying the vision for Māori educational achievement in the mainstream is critical.

When this is effectively done, the role of the Māori change agent is likely to become one where challenges fuelled by racism are diminished. To achieve this, Māori whānau and teachers need to join senior leaders and middle leaders in creating a common vision. The difficult issues of equity and power relations must be addressed. I suspect that many school leaders will need support with this process.

Part of the support that school leaders need relates to resourcing the expertise that they require. Penetito (2010) writes that education initiatives that support Māori achievement are being resourced inadequately, supported insufficiently, and sponsored imperfectly which adds up to a system of Māori medium education that is under severe stress despite the apparent positive overtures of the state.

There are powerful economic (McNaughton, 2011) human rights and political reasons for addressing issues of Māori being treated inequitably in Aotearoa New Zealand (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). No one benefits from a situation where some people are not able to contribute to the prosperity of the nation. Schooling that perpetuates Māori educational disparities must be eliminated and the initiatives used to do this must start with the understanding of colonisation, its historical and present day impacts. Once teachers understand the colonial roots of the context they are working in, then the Māori change agent can work with them to introduce pedagogies that are culturally responsive to address the classroom experiences of Māori students.

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TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Participant Information Letter

Date

Tihei mauri ora!

Ka whakawhetai atu ki te Atua – nāna ngā paemaunga katoa i hanga. Ko Ia te timatanga me te mutunga.

Ka huri ngā whakaaro ki ngā taonga kua pikingia ō rātou ake maunga tapu. Kua ngaro rātou i te tirohanga o te hunga ora, engari ka kore rātou e warewaretia. Ka noho rātou i roto i te ngākau o te tangata.

Ka tū ki te tihi o te maunga Taranaki. Titiro whakaterunga ka whai i te awa o Waitotoroa e rere ana ki Parihaka. Ka kitea te marae o Toroa-nui, te whare tipuna e kia nei ko Mahi Kuare me te wharekai, Te Rānui. Kei reira hoki ngā kōhatu whakamaumahara o ōku tīpuna nō Ngāti Maniapoto e takoto ana.

Nei te mihi o Parihaka e whakawhiti ana i ngā maungatapu o te motu.

Tēnā koe e te rangatira

As you may be aware I am undertaking a Master's thesis that researches the experiences of Māori change agents working to improve the results of Māori within non-Māori educational institutions.

I would like to invite you to join 8 others at a hui to be held at Ako Pai marae in Karori to discuss your thoughts and experiences relating to being a Māori change agent working to improve results for Māori in mainstream educational institutions. I expect the hui to take a maximum of three hours. I would like to electronically record and transcribe your responses. Possible discussion questions are listed below.

The research will look at answering questions such as:

- If you experienced resistance to change from others in the institution, what forms did resistance take?

- What strategies did you find useful in dealing with resistance?

- What resources did you draw on to remain positive in the face of resistance?

You will have the opportunity to comment on research findings through a series of member checks. This means that I will send you copies of transcripts, we will undertake a one hour individual interview and then we will meet as a whānau for a further 3 hour hui to co-construct research conclusions.

My practice as an emerging researcher based in Te Kura Māori, Ako Pai, is informed by the ethical guidelines developed in *Hei Korowai* (Taiwhati, Toia, Te Maro, McRae, & McKenzie, 2010).

This project will ensure that privacy and confidentiality of participants will be protected. All material collected will be safely stored and access to it will only be seen by the participants, the researcher and the researcher's supervisors. Information provided will be used for my Masters of Education thesis and for future publications (for example, journal articles and conferences).The ownership of the material and the final research outcome will be negotiated with you at the beginning of the project. All questionnaires, interview notes and similar materials will be destroyed 2 years after the conclusion of the research and any audio recordings will be returned to you or electronically wiped.

 As informed participants in this project it is your right to withdraw at any time, without fear of penalty.

Attached is a guide for anticipated dates of interviews; however these times are a guide only and interview times can be negotiated with you to suit. These will be discussed and confirmed at our initial planning meeting.

Ka mutu i konei i runga anō i te hiahia ka whai kiko te mahi nei mō ngā kura, arā ko ngā tamariki mokopuna, ngā mātua, ngā kaiako, me te whānau whānui. Tēnā anō tātou katoa.

Nāku noa

Robin Fabish

Kairangahau

Te Kura Māori, Ako Pai, Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington
(027) 439 5578 mobile, robinfabish@xtra.co.nz

Appendix 2 - Consent forms

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
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Participant Consent Form

HIKITIA TE TAKI: AN EXPLORATION OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CHALLENGES THAT MĀORI CHANGE AGENTS EXPERIENCE WITHIN SCHOOL REFORM.

Please read this. If there is anything you don't understand, please ask the person who gave you the form to explain. This form will be destroyed six months after research is completed.

If you consent to take part in this research please read and tick the appropriate boxes below:

- ☐ I understand that Robin Fabish is completing this research as part of his Master's of Education through Victoria University of Wellington, Faculty of Education.

- ☐ I have been given enough information about this research project, and about the purpose of these interviews.

- ☐ I consent to take part in this interview process.

- ☐ During the hui, I understand that I can choose which questions I want to answer. I don't have to answer any questions if I don't want to.

- ☐ I understand that I can withdraw my consent to participate in this research at any time.

- ☐ I understand that my name and other information that could identify me will **not** be included in the written report.

☐ I understand that the interview will be digitally recorded and I will receive a transcript of the audio tape of the hui that I am able to amend and/or make further comments on.

☐ I understand I will be invited to attend an individual interview and a feedback hui and will receive a copy of the findings of the research at its conclusion.

☐ I understand that this research has been given ethical approval by Victoria University of Wellington.

☐ I understand that this consent form is part of the research data and will therefore be destroyed along with other data at the completion of the project.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3 - Interview questions

1. What are the challenges that Māori change agents face when working in non-Māori educational institutions?
2. How do Māori change agents overcome or work with resistance?
3. What do Māori change agents do to maintain their resilience?