Te Toka Whakaea: Co-governance Education in Aotearoa – New Zealand

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Abstract

An interface of settler colonial governance relationships with Indigenous peoples is never neutral. Nations subjected to the expansion of the British Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries continue to respond to ongoing impacts of colonisation and racism that persist in the design and delivery of public and private services. These are a dynamic form of politics that are relational, structural and always in flux. Debates are on-going about the recognition of Indigenous authority and self-determination and shifts towards collaborative and integrated decision-making with settler institutions. Adaptive governance approaches have strengthened the basis of potential power-sharing between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples over areas of common concern, especially during times of environmental, social, and economic crises.

In Aotearoa Te Tiriti o Waitangi – a political power-sharing agreement between Māori chiefs and the British Crown – has long been advocated for as a vessel to mitigate and disrupt the intergenerational negative impacts of colonisation. Te Tiriti is positioned as a foundational agreement that holds the potential to (re)create politically, culturally and economically just relations that are mutually beneficial and reinforcing for Māori and settler groups. Based on the foundations of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, "co-governance" is currently being framed as a way to interrupt asymmetrical power relations, and restore relational and structural justice between Māori and non-Māori. However, public questions and debates remain about how Te Tiriti-based co-governance is conceptualised and put into practice.

I suggest co-governance is an expression of relational power-sharing, and therefore a distinguishing feature of political theory in settler colonised lands. Co-governance can be described as a set of situated theories and practices that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people draw on in order to (re)negotiate, implement, and test their relational and structural capacities and capabilities. It is a profoundly adaptive way of addressing complex relational and structural questions of concern.

My research explores why and how a Te Tiriti-based co-governance secondary school is organised and to what effect. I use a case study method to explore the "why, what, and how" of a co-governance approach in Western Springs College - Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. This setting was the first secondary school in Aotearoa with a Te Tiriti o Waitangi co-governance and co-curricular arrangement. Based on the diverse narratives of Māori and non-Māori educational leaders, teachers and families this study inquires into the expected and unexpected obstructions, tensions, and positive potential

that can arise when two forms of authority are conceptualised and imperfectly put into practice. I examine the systemic and relational conditions required to create and sustain and change these relations. I discuss what a potential vision of Te Tiriti-honouring co-governance could “look and feel like” in similar educational settings.

My research applies four related ontological and epistemological bodies of theory and practice to guide my qualitative interpretative approach: 1. Indigenisation; 2. settler-colonial change; 3. institutional change and praxis; and 4. relational justice. This study contributes to knowledge and experience on why and how adaptive and shared-governance formations, of which co-governance is apart, can challenge asymmetrical power relations between individuals and groups. It illustrates creative responses to the ongoing impacts of colonialism and racism, and the search to develop – albeit imperfect – relations that are autonomous *and* partnered between Indigenous and settler groups and institutions. This research is significant because it extends why and how Te Tiriti o Waitangi-based leadership theory is contemplated and put into practice in education.

In dedication

He maimai aroha: A poem in loving memory

(From left: Uncle Ross, Uncle Warwick, and my mother Mary Broadhead).

Haere rā ngā uri o te matua i kī whakatetehia koutou: “Nā te whakamahara noa ka pahore mai.” Mō tō hāhi tao huata i whano i te ara. He iwi marae koutou, he kauhau huritao i te kupu, i te tikanga. Ka huna katoa koutou i te ara a Ihoa, i awhi rā i tō whaea me koutou, i tangongi i te ao o te oha a Meri. I te aroha ō tō whānau pani, haere rā.

Go onwards, the progeny of the farther who said in a chastising way “Thinking makes it so.” For your church was the spear of reckoning on your path. You were beautiful people, a lineage that considered the word and ethic. You will all be placed in the path of Jehovah, who embraces your mother and you, a people that diverted from the sentiment of Mary. From your bereaved family go onward (Barnes, 2023b).

My mother Mary and her brothers Ross and Warwick nurtured in me an appreciation of acting with heart, spirit, intellect, fun, humility and creativity. These virtues are powerful ways to enact justice and positive peace. Thank you.

He kupu whakatītina mō Te Hautonga Mary: A poem in dedication to Te Hautonga Mary

(Above: Me and Hautonga Mary Hotere-Barnes).

Tapuae ara e hine nā ō mātua nā ō awe tūpuna ka pūtiki ō uru ki Hangatiki, ko te Kauae o Niu Tirini te Tuarua, mātika ki Hokianga ko Tūmoana. Ka whārona ō ringa ki te atamai ō Niu Tireni i tō ara tāne mai. Taku pōtiki matapopore ka tāwhio i te ara kawea iho kawea ake pai mārire.

The path oh my daughter, through your elders your inspiration tupuna, you tie your hair at Hangatiki, Te Kauae o Niu Tirini te Tuarua is your marae, then you raise up at Hokianga there is Tūmoana. You stretch your arms to the analysis of New Zealand through the pathway of your father. My cherished child who travels along on the path, encompass to and throw good peace (Barnes, 2023a).

To my daughter Hautonga Mary, thank you for the gift of fatherhood. All I do is in honour of your lineages and your future. Me pēnei te kōrero: “He ao rua, he ao puāwai.” E kore e ārikarika ngā tai o Aroha ki a koe. Kāti rā e ngā iwi. Tēnā koutou katoa.

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Part One

1.1 Introduction

If the impacts of colonisation persists in our current schooling system and sustains negative outcomes for Māori students, whānau and teachers, how can Māori and non-Māori (re)imagine and (re)create conditions that disrupt this oppressive trend? Te Tiriti o Waitangi has long been advocated as a vessel to achieve this aim: to create just political relationships that are mutually beneficial for all (Came, 2011; Jackson & Mutu, 2016; Margaret, 2016; Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011). However, Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce (2018b) found that "we are largely failing to put into practice the guarantees made by Te Tiriti o Waitangi of equal participation in governance, access to benefits, and protection and retention of cultural resources for Māori and Pākehā and Tauiwi alike" (p. 29). My research explores why and how a te Tiriti-based co-governance secondary is organised and to what effect. This research is important because it extends why and how Te Tiriti o Waitangi-based leadership theory is contemplated and put into practice as a form of relational and structural justice between Māori and non-Māori. I present my inquiry in five parts, which are briefly described next.

Part two is my literature review. Chapter 2 examines the conceptual backdrop of "governance" from Indigenous and then classical liberal traditions, and contemporary theories and practices of Indigenous and liberal governance in settler states. I review literature that explores how co-governance is contemplated, embodied, and imperfectly put into practice in environmental management and education. Chapter 3 addresses macro and meso level questions regarding the complex interplay of neoliberalism, educational governance and bilingual education in settler states. I canvas recent educational reforms in Aotearoa that are amenable to reordering relations of power between the settler state and Māori language revitalisation initiatives.

I have a deliberate focus on an unsettled convergence and divergence of two knowledge and practice traditions - Indigenous and Western - in institutions and life. Both chapters are not exhaustive, however they offer insights into why and how monologic-monocultural discourses of governance effect and affect relationships

between Indigenous and settler peoples generally, and bilingual education specifically.

In **part three** I share my own shifting research position within complex Indigenous-settler power relations. I call on philosophical insights of Arendt (Arendt, 1958, 1961; Arendt, 1968, 1978; Arendt, 1998; Arendt, 2009), Levinas (Levinas, 1969; Lévinas, 1998), Foucault (Foucault, 1980, 2000), and institutional theorists Smith (D. E. Smith, 1999) and Seo & Creed (Seo & Creed, 2002). These philosophies and theories have contributed to my ontological and epistemological research trajectory. I discuss the interpretive tools, research values, and processes I used to apply Māori centred research as a non-Māori activist scholar. I contemplate persistent questions and responses regarding Indigenous and non-Indigenous educational research collaboration, and provide examples of this in my practices. I disclose the flux of doing ethical research with Māori and non-Māori, and outline my case study method and forms of analysis.

Part four introduces the case study, Western Springs College – Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. This section will explore the "why, what, and how" of its co-governance approach. Here I examine the systemic and relational conditions required to create and sustain it amongst 1. mana whakahaere-school leaders; 2. kaiako-teachers; 3. and whānau-family. I discuss what a potential vision of te Tiriti-honouring co-governance could "look and feel like" in similar settings and examine the systemic and relational conditions required to create and sustain it.

Finally **part five** explores the epistemological implications of the research findings for Aotearoa and globally. I discuss what the findings and related discourses illustrate about co-governance as an approach to shared decision-making power for mutual benefit. To this end, I critically contemplate the avenues that can sustain complex power-relationships in the face of possibilities, challenge and ambiguity. I am driven by what people can learn and do about different forms of responsibility and accountability in order to counter oppression and suffering in the face of on-going colonisation.

To situate the work outlined above, next I give more background to the research by discussing three key elements:

(1) Locating myself;
(2) Explaining key terms; and
(3) Discussing what the study contributes to Aotearoa and internationally.

1.2 Locating myself: Pākehā pepeha problematics and potential

Political, cultural, social and economic influences continue to inform my changing identity and relationships with others. These forces coalesce to create my interest and commitment to uncovering what we can learn from Māori and non-Māori relationships generally, and in education specifically.

Below I offer a necessarily brief glimpse into my bias for action to undertake this study. As I discuss further in part 1 of my activist methodology, a critical ontology implores me to locate myself and introduce the ever-shifting positionalities, identities, beliefs and power-relationships that influence me as a person, and shape my becoming as a researcher, and those that underpin this inquiry. Locating myself is a deliberate act to elucidate the various influences that have shaped my praxis – my growing theoretical and practice orientations towards social and cultural justice. I aim to be transparent about the various assumptions that underpin my theories of knowledge and methodological approach, and how these relate to my inquiry.

1.2.1 Te toka whakaea – A rock that stays above the surface

Like my Master of Arts thesis in Education, *Taku Ara, Taku Mahara: Pākehā family experiences of kaupapa Māori and bilingual education* (Barnes, 2006), the title of my PhD arose out of deliberations with my twin brother James. For this research I invited James to compose dedications to parts of my Broadhead family (my late mother Mary, and uncles Ross and Warwick) and my daughter Hautonga Mary. Being a twin, our connection is very close and we continue to meditate and share our perspectives about the positions of non-Māori in te ao Māori.

In searching for an apt title James suggested “Te toka whakaea: A rock that stays above the surface.” In te ao Māori significant landmarks and features of the environment are a key way of and situating Māori political identities and cultural connection to place (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2001). In this vein, James provided the following interpretation of the name, its significance to my scholarship, and the cultural politics of Te Tiriti o Waitangi generally

> *Ko te rite o Te Tiriti o Waitangi kei "Te toka whakaea." Arā ahakoa ākina e te tai, ka ea anō, ka ea ano ia hei kāmaka tikanga whakahaere ki te motu nei e kore e hemo, pēnei i te "Te toka whakaea."* "A rock that stays above the surface" is a

> metaphor that relates to a significant landmark – in this instance a rock – that endures the high and low tides of the ocean. Even with ebb of and flow of waves and currents it stays above the surface. This is the way Te Tiriti has been interpreted by our community. Te Tiriti remains a foundational way forward for us all (Barnes, 2023c).

Next I describe elements that influence my changing sense of self and position. I suggest this is a form of "storying myself into being." These stories continue to shape my sense of identity, politics and positionality. By briefly recounting these narratives and how they influence my scholarship I do not intend to generate a self-indulgent or privileged self-analysis. In contrast my purpose of its inclusion is to position the why, what and how I became curious about, and committed to, issues of justice between Indigenous and settler groups.

1.2.2 Formative influences

I call these lands of Aotearoa home. There's nowhere else in the world I can be Pākehā and have a relationship with Māori. This realisation, and my orientation towards becoming socially and culturally just, is one response to the question that pioneer anti-racist and te Tiriti educationalist Mitizi Nairn asks: How can I be the Pākehā that Māori who signed te Tiriti thought or hoped we were or would be?

I identify as a Pākehā middle-class heterosexual male. For me Pākehā means a person of European heritage that immigrated to Aotearoa as a result of the British imperial project to colonise Indigenous lands, resources and peoples in order to benefit the "Commonwealth." As a Māori word, the term "Pākehā" is a relational identity. It is based on my daily recognition and affirmation of my relationships with diverse Māori people – the Indigenous peoples of these lands. I provide theoretical discussion of the terms "Pākehā" and "Māori" later in this chapter.

I understand that my family are of English, Irish, German and French descent. My dad's side, the Barnes family, are thought to have arrived in between the 1880s and early 1900s and settled in the lands of Ngāti Kahungunu people in the Wairarapa. My mother's side, the Broadhead family, are believed to have arrived in the 1880s and settled in the wider Ngāti Whātua area, now known as Auckland. My hunch is that like many Pākehā, my understanding of my colonial family heritage is superficial and full of unearthed and rich clues about why and how my family came to Aotearoa. Even less known by me and my family is what this arrival meant for the contours of my ancestors relationships with Māori.

I was born in 1981 in Palmerston North to Graham Barnes and Mary Broadhead. I am a twin brother to James, and a younger brother to Annah and Matthew. Annah has a different biological father, as does Matthew. Matthew was adopted out of the family before my fellow siblings were born. I also have a younger sister Elise who died in utero as a result of my mother's suicide. I was 5 years old at the time. Unfortunately my mother's suicide was part of an intergenerational pattern of mental health problems and sexual abuse. My mother and grandmother Eileen both died this way, and both were victims of sexual abuse by the same Catholic priest in Auckland.

The loss and severance of a primary maternal line left a complex legacy of grief for my immediate family. We all acknowledge and work with this sadness in different ways. For me, it resulted in a lifelong commitment to understand and alleviate human suffering – how it arises in my own life, and in others.

During her short time on earth my mum was involved in the social movements of the 1970s. She was active in the women's liberation movement, explored and experimented with her sexual identity, and became active in the Māori sovereignty/anti-racism movements. Based on family accounts my mum was known as a creative, spiritually engaged, sharp tongued, fierce and quick-minded woman.

My father Graham was also attracted to social movements. Five years younger than mum, dad resisted what he called his "own stiflingly narrow upbringing", and has always been interested in ideas and practices that challenge the status quo. He became active in the anti-racism and stopping violence against women movements in the mid 1980s. This led him to establish, and get involved in, a number of related community development projects in Aotearoa and the United States. After mum died, dad raised me, James and Annah as a solo-parent in a working class area of Tauranga Moana, on the lands and authority of three Māori waka: Mātaatua, Takitimu and Te Arawa.

I grew up in a household infused with political activism. My parents could be described as social and cultural fringe dwellers. They rejected parts of their own upbringing, middle-class, often insular, and monocultural. They wanted to create a new way of living in Aotearoa based on non-violence, justice and activism. Importantly, these movements were local manifestations of wider international efforts to counter an intersection of oppression - racism, sexism, homophobia and ableism. More recently my dad has also become involved in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer rights.

After living in the United States for nearly 20 years, in 2015 he married Randy Pollard, an African American man from Alabama.

Because of his interest in community development in the mid 1980s Dad started to work at Tahuwhakatiki marae (Ngāi Te Rangi iwi) on the outskirts of Tauranga Moana with young people needing social and employment support. At this time Te Kōhanga Reo (kōhanga), pre-schools that privilege Māori language and learning philosophies, was just beginning. Kōhanga are responses to a Eurocentric and monocultural learning system that fails Māori children and families.

Based on the strength of his relationships with local whānau, and his own moral and political ideologies of human liberation, my dad sent my twin brother James and I to kōhanga. I believe my mum supported this decision, but she also wanted to be sure no Māori children were being displaced by my brother and I. At the time my dad had a discussion about this with some kuia at the kōhanga. They dismissed any concerns about displacement and said there was no waiting list. Kōhanga immersion education was a good fit with my parents moral and political commitments to address injustice in these lands, broaden our worldviews and become bilingual.

Kōhanga was followed by going to a local kura kaupapa Māori, the primary equivalent of kōhanga. Later we went to the bilingual unit at Mt Maunganui college. It was when I hit the awkward age of 12 that I remember realising that apart from my cousins and a few Pākehā down the road, I didn't have Pākehā friends. I was going to high school the following year, and I started to feel really anxious about being this "freaky Pākehā-Māori kid." I remember asking dad at that time, "Why did you do this, send us to a Māori school?" He replied, "You'll thank me when you're older, Al." Being a self-centred and anxious pre-teen, those words didn't help me much then! But I understand them now.

My anxiety about not quite fitting in with Māori or Pākehā continued during my teenage years. When I was 16 I remember naively interviewing one of our late elders, Koro Monty Ohia. At the end of our interview I felt my anxiety rise again. I sought reassurance about belonging, language and culture: "E koro, will I ever lose my reo and tikanga?" On reflection this was a veiled way of asking if I belonged. Was I just a Pākehā freak? He looked out to Kairua Road and the mudflats of Rangataua and replied "No. You were raised by us with te reo and tikanga. You cannot lose it; it belongs to you, and you belong to it."

1.2.3 Present realities

> Age 17: Cuz you ain't like them atha Pākehāz, them ballheadz (Tamahau Tawa, high school friend).
>
> Age 27: "I don't want to hear you say you're Pākehā again. You're not. You're Ngāti Pūkenga." (Te Awanuiārangi Black, kaiako).
>
> Age 32: "We were reminded during the pōwhiri yesterday of the complications and contradictions inherent within our daily practices of tikanga. We heard challenges to the notion that there is a space for Māori women to stand, we heard kōrero of kawa ā-iwi, tikanga ā-iwi. It was emphasised that what is the way for some iwi is not necessarily the way for others. Whatarangi Winiata emphasised yesterday that all tikanga happens within context. The discussion within the whaikōrero that raised the positioning of Māori women as kaikōrero occurred in a context where a Pākehā man was actively supported to speak… If within a ritual context of pōwhiri, Pākehā men can be provided space to have voice, why then are our women so fervently denied that space?" (Pihama, 2013, p. 51, Māori activist researcher).
>
> Age 38: "Ahakoa he Pākehā koe, he ngākau Māori tōu." (Kingi Kiriona, Māori educational leader, advocate and composer).

I purposefully subtitled this section of my report "Pākehā Pepeha Problematics and Potential" because of the above anecdotes and formal quote. Pākehā pepeha problematics and potential contributes to the invitation from poet Glen Colquhoun (1999) to contemplate "the art of walking upright" as Pākehā. As more Pākehā begin to learn te reo and tikanga Māori, pepeha can throw up a conundrum about how to articulate who they are, and their relationships to others and their environment. Pākehā can have understandable questions about how they compose and articulate their pepeha in ways that respect and emulate the Māori form *and* hold relevance to their day-to-day lives. It is not uncommon to hear Pākehā say: "I have been given this rote pepeha. It has a this sequence of Māori sentences that describes ones connection to a mountain, lake, ocean, and locality… But does this *really* represent 'me', my family and professional life?" A confusion arises about how to traverse positions in-between Māori and Pākehā worlds. In response to these nuances, Māori language leaders and advocates such as Paraone Gloyne (Gloyne, 2021) and Keri Opai (Opai, 2022) have composed pepeha for non-Māori that are structured differently but maintain multiple purposes and intentions.

The anecdotes and quotes above are problematic and offer the potential to strengthen ones cultural and political identities. I don't mean 'problematic' in a negative sense, or 'potential' in a naïve sense. Pepeha is one way to deliberately articulate and position relational identities. Who am I, and why am I here? Who am I speaking for and with? More broadly, it edges towards critical questions about power and place: When do I

stand and speak up? When do I shut up and get out of the way? If I stuff it up, how to I get back up? I've found that this is contradictory, decentring, and awe-inspiring work. For me Pākehā Pepeha Problematics and Potential means I belong to some: I have a 'Māori ngākau'; I am 'Ngāti Pūkenga'. At the same time, I don't belong to others: I'm not like 'them atha Pākehāz'; space is made for me to speak at/in Māori ceremonial spaces, while Māori women are 'denied this space'.

As I've gotten older this rupture has created a mix of emotions, intellectual challenge and a positive charge. From Pākehā paralysis: I'm afraid to take a leap of faith and walk in te ao Māori because I might I'll stuff "it" up, or perpetuate cultural tokenism. To the prospect of relational justice: I am aware that that this is an imperfect situation, I'll make mistakes but I'll also continue to walk the peaks and troughs with you. Why and how I examine such schisms, and the ever-present and changing power-relationships at play, opens up new possibilities for learning between worlds. This is much bigger than intellectual and physical work. It's also spiritual soul work, which has always excited, scared and provoked me. I imperfectly aspire to walk up-right with those who are willing to join me.

Mid way through the writing of this thesis, and shortly after the birth of our first and only child Hautonga Mary Hotere-Barnes (Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Wai and European), our marriage ended. The parallels of researching co-governance, going through a marriage separation, and learning to become a co-parent is not lost on me. I discuss some of the implications and relevance of these reflections on my personal and scholarly work in my final chapter.

To finish this brief attempt to situate myself, I want to introduce another influence on my thinking and doing, that's hip hop culture. Hip hop has been a cornerstone of my identity and self-expression. It's creative expression – linked to social movements about the everyday realities of oppression and liberation – has been powerfully transformative for me and my peers (Alim et al., 2023). I can trace its influence on me and my family back to when dad and his friends blasting politically conscious lyrics and beats in the 80s and early 90s, such as Public Enemy, Jungle Brothers, and Brand Nubian (just to name a few). For this reason I have included the following hip hop lyrics from Dam Native, an influential hip hop crew in Aotearoa. Their first album, *K.D.R.U: Kaupapa Driven Rhymes Uplifted* (Dam Native, 1997), was a formative hip hop album in my life. It inspired me and my friends. It spoke to and represented our realities; who we perceived we were, and how others located us. It has a political and unapologetic Māori foundation, mixed with classic 1990s boom bap beats indicative of

the East Coast USA hip hop sound. Here's a taste of one of my favourite tracks, "The Horrified One" featuring Teremoana Rapley:

> End topic
> None of that stuff that sounds American
> Or the cliché of the typical Māori rock band
> I'll take every opportunity to talk some sense
> A Māori frame of mind
> Adding my own heritage to this music I know as hip hop
> Waiata o Parihaka goes a lot deeper than Tim Finn
> Never forget the shame of the day that happened at the Point of Bastion
> Why would I get involved in a something designed to destroy me?
> You can't expect a system built to destroy you to save you
> Classified as a hori as far as my head can remember back
> Have to grab my patu deeehhaaaa have to send you back! (Dam Native, 1997).

1.3 Key terms

Here I provide brief descriptions of the key terms used throughout my inquiry. I draw on the theorising activist scholarship of Frances Hancock (2018) to situate my use of terms, and their implications for my project. Part three goes into depth about the key theories and practices that inform my positionality and interpretations, and should be read in concert with this subsection.

I have chosen not to include a glossary of Māori terms for two primary reasons:

1. I aim to normalise te reo and tikanga Māori in my writing. A glossary of Māori terms has the potential to re-emphasise the "Otherness" of the Māori language and detach it from its context. For this reason I have taken care to ensure Māori concepts are explained in English with relevance to their appropriate context(s); and
2. Where te reo Māori is used by participants I have had these translated by a registered te reo Māori translator.

For further clarification, definition and description of individual te reo Māori words I suggest accessing www.maoridictionary.co.nz (Te Aka Māori dictionary).

1.3.1 Māori, tangata whenua, Indigenous peoples

To borrow from Hancock (2018), I describe these broad categories in relation to their plurality and diversity. "Māori", "tangata whenua" and "Indigenous" generally refer to the first peoples of a geographic location who have, over centuries, developed their own governance and set of values based on their own conceptions of reality.

1.3.2 Pākehā, non-Māori, Tauiwi, settler

“Pākehā” is a singular and collective term used to describe people of European descent who call Aotearoa home. “Non-Māori” and “Tauiwi” refer to diverse populations from around the globe who have settled in Aotearoa. “Settler” originates from the colonial settlement process driven by white settlers. Early or recent arrivals, “settlers” denotes a political category that “remain the political forebears, if not the biological ones, and privileged beneficiaries of the dominant [British] structures (Hancock, 2018, p. 14). I discuss the intersection of these identities further in chapter 4, section 4.3.

1.3.3 Social and cultural justice, mana relations

Social and cultural norms are produced in context and always subject to change. I use the term “social and cultural justice” to embody Te Tiriti o Waitangi responsibilities. This denotes the process of becoming an agent of justice. I draw on a range of theories and strategies – some transformative, others pragmatic – to cultivate relational justice that counters racism and reinforces old and new forms of “mana relations” Hoskins & Bell (2021) describe “mana relations” as those relational dynamics that deliberately “interrupt particular flows of power”, “ignite commitments to justice”, and are “intergenerational and distributed, but also crucially embodied” (p. 520).

1.3.4 Decolonisation, Indigenisation and co-governance

For the purpose of this research I suggest that decolonisation and Indigenisation are two important processes that inform and/or advance co-governance power-relations. I draw on Smith (2012) who describes “decolonisation” as “a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power” (p. 101). A corollary to decolonisation is “Indigenisation”, described by Hoskins and Jones (2022) as a process of “normalisation of indigenous ways of being and knowing”, based on a “relational way of doing things based in whakapapa (history, place and relationships) and social justice” (p. 3). When taken seriously, these critical features can ensure Indigenous and settler forms of governing authority can draw on their respective political, intellectual, economic and cultural capabilities to understand complex questions, and (re)create just resolutions. They enable the relational sphere to be vital meeting places, where valuable and powerful contributions to a range of co-governance arrangements can be theorised, tested and practiced. I discuss the intersection of these ideas in more depth in chapter 4, section 4.2, and in chapter 9 section 9.2.

1.4 Aotearoa and international contributions

Interpreting the contours and changing nature of co-governance education in Aotearoa holds international significance. Naming why, who and how aspirations of power-sharing between Indigenous and settler groups are imperfectly applied contributes to international questions about the relational ethics and justice between these groups. As a productive site of research this thesis extends on related scholarship that explore diverse conditions that promote embodied dialogue between Indigenous peoples and settler colonial groups (see Asch et al., 2018; Davis, 2010; Davis et al., 2022; Glynn, 2021; Healy, 2019). Drawing on Paolo Freire (1972b), my research posits that such conditions are never neutral or settled. Hoskins and Jones (2022) argue these conditions are permeated with nuanced power relationships socially, culturally and institutionally. My research on co-governance matters internationally because it adds to the various ways shared-governance can challenge asymmetrical power relations between individuals and groups. It illustrates creative responses to colonialism, and the search to develop – albeit imperfect – relations that are autonomous *and* partnered. In this sense, I contribute to growing theories and practices of adaptive co-governance.

My research holds specific relevance for how dual language and curricular education is conceptualised and put into practice. I have not focused on the linguistic and cultural benefits of these approaches per se; rather my focus is on responding to on-going questions about how sharing dual authority in education can encourage, protect, and inspire alternate perspectives about the purpose of teaching and learning. This study contributes to educational theories and practises about why and how Indigenous and settler educationalists consider ways of thinking and being together that counter uniformity, and embrace relational and structural plurality. This holds significance given the thinking and practices required to creatively respond to the wicked problems and opportunities humans face at the moment, and into the future. This research is significant because it responds to why and how Te Tiriti o Waitangi-based leadership theory is contemplated and put into practice in education.

Methodologically my research advances reflexive forms of qualitative research. As a non-Indigenous person I critically reflect on the implications of applying Māori research ethics, its influence on methods and my story about engagement with, and contemplation of Māori ethical research. My methodologies and methods add to forms of scholarship that explore how power-relationships are expressed and change form in diverse linguistic, community, cultural and political contexts (Paris, 2019; Tuck, 2009).

Part two: The unsettled convergence of Indigenous and Western politics

In this section I explore the unsettled convergence of two knowledge and practice traditions - Indigenous and Western - in educational institutions and life. In chapter 2 I discuss current themes in literature about the possibilities and complexities of "co-governance" between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. I review literature that explores how co-governance is contemplated, embodied, and imperfectly put into practice in environmental management and education. I examine the conceptual backdrop of "governance" from Indigenous and then classical liberal traditions, and contemporary theories and practices of Indigenous and liberal governance in settler states. This literature is not exhaustive, however it does offer insights into why and how monologic-monocultural discourses of governance effect and affect relationships between Indigenous and settler peoples.

Chapter 3 of my literature review discusses co-governance and its potential implications for the compulsory education sector in Aotearoa. I focus on macro and meso level questions regarding the complex interplay of neoliberalism, educational governance and bilingual education in settler states. I canvas recent educational reforms in Aotearoa that are amenable to reordering relations of power between the settler state and Māori language revitalisation initiatives. I do not provide an in-depth history of Māori educational advancement in Aotearoa; however I recognise its importance in understanding and addressing persistent challenges and opportunities (Hoskins et al., 2020; Jones & Jenkins, 2011; Simon & Smith, 1998; Walker, 1990). Similarly, I do not provide a discourse analysis of the debates regarding co-governance, however I recognise the powerful impacts of discourse on establishing and/or oppressive racist power relations (Nairn & McCreanor, 2022; Stewart, 2020; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Chapter 2: Governance traditions, ontological pluralism and co-governance

> Public institutions and public policies are not culturally neutral. They are influenced by the values and aspirations of those who create them (O'Sullivan, 2021, p. 129)

2.1 Introduction

An interface of governance relationships between Indigenous and settler colonial institutions are never static. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2018) offers critical insights into the complexity of this interface by describing it as a "a wild space; by definition it is untamed, and the rules of encounter need to be negotiated at every step" (p. 48). In this sense, Indigenous-settler relationships are always politically charged, never neutral, and always in a state of becoming. Carroll, Fouche & Curtin (2020) provide critical insights into the complexity of these boundaries. They argue that the contours of Indigenous and settler governance relationships are contemporary manifestations of ongoing Indigenous and settler colonial governance. They invite governance researchers to critically reflect on the need to negotiate these complexities in their scholarship

> Traditional western concepts of governance have long been contested by Indigenous scholars both in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world. Processes of colonization imposed on Indigenous peoples resulted in a model and practice of governance that has proved enduring in its harm. Moreover, as researchers we need to become more engaged with Indigenous models of governance which are dynamic and involve consensual discussion, respectful deliberation, and are mana-enhancing. What all share is a commitment to bringing *bottom up* and *top down* governance processes into more of a duality or even dialogue with each other (original emphasis, Carroll et al., 2020, p. 3).

My focus in this section takes heed of Smith's (2018) cautionary warning about the political nature of relationship rebuilding between Indigenous and settler decision making in governance; while also being a response to Carroll et al. (2020) call for a scholarly engagement in these charged spaces. Hopson and Cram (2018) describe the field of inquiry into decision-making relationships as a "complex ecology" of relationships and a "wicked problem." They describe wicked problems as "socially complex, multicausal, and highly resistant to resolution" (p. 5). The need to rethink governance relationships as a "wicked problem", entangled in a field of unsettled power-relationships in colonised states is a central concern of this thesis. In framing these issues as a 'wicked problem', I do not aim to simply describe the deficits of the current governance imbalances. Rather, as explained in my introduction I have deliberately sought out a range of literature that offers alternatives to unilateral colonial approaches to discussions of settler colonial governance relationships with Indigenous

peoples. I posit that the naming and description of a 'wicked problem' also gives rise to a range of 'wicked opportunities.' I position my research within fields of scholarship that are concerned with why and how Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples negotiate governance decision-making. My experience of working at the interface of Māori and non-Māori education has unveiled a critical awareness of the political dynamism of governance when working across worldviews.

Three broad and overlapping themes emerged from my reflections on co-governance. My reflection on these themes constitute this section. The first two themes summarise the conceptual backdrop of "governance" from Indigenous and then classical liberal traditions. In introducing the conceptual context for governance from these two worldviews, my third theme explores contemporary theories and practices of Indigenous and liberal governance in settler colonial states. I suggest that ontological pluralism and neoliberalism creates nuanced and critical insights into the position and practice of "co-governance" internationally and in Aotearoa. Here I highlight literature on environmental governance as an example of co-governance in position and practice. The separation of all three themes is an artificial one, invited by the desire for a closer look at each in a way consistent with Western analytics. To finish, I provide a brief summation of what can be learnt from these disputes before introducing section two of my literature review: co-governance and its potential implications for the compulsory education sector in Aotearoa.

I generally limit my literature review by sourcing relevant governance research from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. I selected these settler-colonial states based on the recognition that each have historically violated the minority Indigenous populations of their region, and all are being challenged "to abandon fundamentally assimilationist policy agendas and support Indigenous visions of their desired relations" (Cornell, 2019, pp. 15-16). This hegemonic focus necessarily limits analysis of Indigenous self-determination and state relations in other parts of the world (Kuokkanen, 2019). Indeed, Indigenous peoples have multiple approaches to development, governance and self-determination domestically and internationally (Durie, 2003; Hokowhitu et al., 2022; Kuokkanen, 2019).

2.2 Themes in Indigenous governance

In a comparative study of Indigenous world-views Royal (2002) describes 'Indigenous' as

> those cultures whose worldviews place special significance or weight behind the idea of the unification of the human community with the natural world. I believe that whilst colonisation is a reality for so-called 'Indigenous' peoples, the

> ontological and epistemological concern of unification with the world is a better place for us to meet. There seems to be a general agreement among 'Indigenous' peoples the world over, whether Māori, Hawaiian, African, Native American and so on, that unification with the world is the primary concern of the worldviews contained within their traditional knowledge (Royal, 2002).

Indigenous cultural and relational conceptions of reality provide a foundation for Indigenous forms of governance. To understand and engage with Indigenous governance, it is vital to appreciate a diversity of world-views of within and between Indigenous peoples exists (Royal, 2002). Moreton-Robinson (2022) explains how the recognition of, and responsibility towards, multidimensional relationships is the basis of Indigenous sovereignties and governance and that

> The origins of Indigenous sovereignties are in and of the earth. We draw on and exert the lifeforce we share with and derive from our creators, ancestors and relatives that inextricably unite us with the earth and to our respective shared territories. We have origin stories that emanate from and connect us as humans and non-humans through relations and kin to all that Mother Earth and our creators made. I use the term non-human to refer to all things that do not have human form. Our ontologies, our ways of being Indigenous are inextricably connected to being in and of our lands. This is an inherent sovereignty not temporally constrained. It functions through the logics of relativity finding expression in kin relations, respect, responsibility and obligation that exist outside the logic of capital and familial ties to private property and nation states (p. 259).

Mikaere (2016) and Moreton-Robinson (2022) document that Indigenous peoples have advanced theories of governance based on a complex nexus of spirituality, genealogy, a reverence for mother earth, and the advancement of esoteric and practical knowledge. Nikolakis et al. (2019) and Hokowhitu et al. (2022) draw attention to overlapping and intertwined dimensions that appear consistently in Indigenous governance literature. In her comparative analysis of Māori concepts and practices of sovereignty with Indigenous populations elsewhere, Mutu (2022) argues that the Māori concept of *mana* - ultimate power and authority derived from the gods - holds similar meanings amongst Indigenous communities throughout the Pacific, Australia and North America. If, as Royal (2002) and Moreton-Robinson (2022) suggest, recognition of and responsibility towards Indigenous sovereignties is based on a respect of their world-views, Mutu's (2022) brief articulation of the different types of mana, and how they describe Indigenous decision-making is generally instructive:

- *Mana atua* is the very sacred power of the gods which is given to those persons who conform to sacred ritual and principles
- *Mana tūpuna* is authority and power handed down through the lineage of leaders
- *Mana whenua* is the mana that the gods planted within Papa-tūā-nuku (Mother Earth) to give her the power to produce the bounties of nature. A person or hapū (grouping of extended families) that belongs to a particular area is said to hold or be the mana whenua of that area and hence has the power and authority to

> produce a livelihood for the whānau (extended family) and the hapū from this land and its natural resources
> - *Mana tangata* is the power acquired by an individual according to his or her ability and effort to develop skills and to gain knowledge in particular areas and includes the spiritual and physical aspects of those skills and knowledge; and
> - *Mana moana* is the equivalent of mana whenua as it applies to the sea and its resources. The two forms of mana overlap considerably since the land extends well into the sea, while the sea's effects impinge some distance inland (pp. 270-71).

'Indigenous governance' has been conceptualised by Grey and Kuokkanen (2020) as

> autonomous authority and decision-making power over their own affairs. It is the right to and practice of self-determination that enables Indigenous peoples to remain distinct, by practicing their own laws, customs, and land tenure systems through their own institutions, in accordance with their traditions (p. 926).

A common feature of Indigenous governance is a recognition of interdependence and interrelationships between people, the cosmos, and the natural world. These overlapping dimensions provide spiritual, genealogical, and collective concerns about the well-being of people and their environment (Alfred, 2009; Marsden, 2003). However, to recognise commonalities between Indigenous nations is not an invitation to homogenise and essentialise respective Indigenous world-views and governance approaches (Kuokkanen, 2019; Smith, 2018). To do so would undermine differentiated Indigenous decision-making approaches at local, regional, national and international levels (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020). In this regard, Indigenous scholars have consistently expressed their inalienable and multiple approaches to sustaining their own forms of sovereignty (Barker, 2005; Hokowhitu et al., 2022; Jackson & Mutu, 2016; Kuokkanen, 2019; Nikolakis et al., 2019).

With echoes of Foucault's (1980, 2000) work, Sefa Dei (2019) states that Indigenous forms of governance "sees power as fluid in that everyone has the capacity to exercise such power" (p. 5). The flow of power between human and non-human worlds creates relational accountability across dimensions of interdependence and interrelationships (Dennison, 2022). This cultural construct is the foundation of Indigenous peoples exercising their authority (Mutu, 2022). That is, for Indigenous groups to carry out their "own affairs according to their own values and designs to determine their own futures" (Cornell, 2019, p. 16), thereby affirming and securing enduring rights.

O'Sullivan (2017) argues that Indigeneity is framed not by "class nor ethnic minority politics"; rather it "challenges and transforms postcolonial understandings of power, politics and justice to take an expansive view of what counts as fair and reasonable" in settler societies (p. 1). Cornell (2018) questions the romantic idea that if colonial settler

states can succeed in “closing the gaps" of social and economic determinants then justice will be restored. While breaking down barriers of differential life outcomes is important, Cornell (2018) argues that it risks erasing Indigenous difference, and alternative metrics are required

> Indigenous politics - at least the politics that I most often encounter - is not a *distributional* politics, organised around obtaining equal access to socioeconomic opportunities and benefits. It is, first of all, a *positional* politics that has to do with the position of collectives - peoples, nations, communities - within the encompassing political system and, secondarily, within the encompassing economy. It is not a politics about Indigenous people and their access, as individuals, to opportunities and benefits; it is instead a politics about Indigenous *peoples* and their access to the freedom and power to shape their own futures according to their own designs (original emphasis, p. 14).

Next I turn to tenets of classical liberal governance, with a particular focus on the nexus between individual liberties and political pluralism in settler colonial states. How modern liberal governance adapts and responds to a variety of evolving individual and collective demands are key to understanding the confluence of Indigenous and settler colonial power-sharing dynamics.

2.3 Themes in classical Liberal governance

Liberal theories and practice of governance include a complex variety of discourses. Many of its key elements have been widely documented and discussed elsewhere (Aligică et al., 2019; Egeberg & Trondal, 2018; Heywood, 1998; Martin et al., 2019). Given this breadth of scholarship I limit my focus to relevant constructions and discourses of modern liberal governance or “Western” settler governance: individualism and political pluralism.

Heywood (1998) argues that liberalism brings into focus the relationship between the individual, freedom, reason, justice and toleration (p. 27). At its base, classical Liberal governance begins with the absolute importance of the individual (Morgan, 2019; Ward, 2010). The articulation of individual rights reaches back to philosophies and political theories of John Locke. Lee Ward’s (2010) treatise on the broad philosophy of Locke maintains that he is a “seminal thinker in the making of modernity” (p. 3). Ward (2010) suggests that Locke’s ideas about human liberty originate from “self-directed mental activity of rational individuals” (p. 10). With the individual at the centre of political and social examination, Locke theorised that individuals hold a natural capacity “to exercise judgment in relative freedom from the influence of ephemeral desires or prescribed mental habits” (Ward, 2010, p. 10).

Locke questioned the common belief in providence of his era and the foundational idea that there exists a "natural sociability and organic society" (Ward, 2010, p. 10). Instead, he drew attention to "the relationship between the individual and community and the community's relation to government", which became "one of the defining features of modernity" (Ward, 2010, p. 11). A key feature of Locke's social and political analysis of the individual is his articulation of individual property rights (Heywood, 1998; Martin, 2019). He theorised that individuals had the inherent right to acquire and protect property. The implication of this key insight went on to reconstruct

> the philosophic understanding of what it means to be a rights-bearing individual capable of conceiving of oneself as a self-owning being with property in one's rights. Locke transforms the idea of property, traditionally one of the key grounds for natural and civil inequality, into a basis for an understanding of moral relations rooted in equality and accessible to the human mind through a kind of moral reasoning leading to sensitive knowledge about the rights of other individuals whose claims of right are, in principle, equal to one's own. From the rights of individuals in the state of nature, Locke deduced the conceptual and normative building blocks for the reformed institutions of modern life (Ward, 2010, p. 11).

With its concern for the freedom of an individual and property rights, modern liberalism draws attention to how individual freedoms need to be moderated. A core mediating theme has been the evolution of the liberal state and social contract theory (Danaher et al., 2000; Heywood, 1998). These political and cultural constructions aim to protect against individual greed and power seeking. Locke and other modern political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, theorised that the construct of a social contract would enable the establishment of a "neutral arbiter" among competitive individuals and groups

> The social contract argument embodies several important liberal attitudes towards the state in particular and political authority in general. In the first place, it suggests that in a sense political authority comes 'from below'. The state is created by individuals and for individuals; it exists in order to serve *their* needs and interests. Government arises out of the agreement or consent of the governed (original emphasis, Heywood, 1998, p. 39).

The tensions between individual freedoms and the exercise of a central sovereign power, or constitutional government, are a key focus of contemporary political liberal theories (Aligică et al., 2019). Modern liberal political values and visions are "checked" by internal and external controls on government power (Heywood, 1998, p. 41). In this sense liberal notions of democracy have developed, however the social contract maintains a government by consent. In this sense, three key foundations of liberal democracy characterise its present shape

> First, liberal democracy is an indirect and representative form of democracy. Political office is gained through success in regular elections, conducted on the

> basis of formal political equality - 'one person, one vote; one vote, one value'. Second, it is based upon competition and electoral choice. This is ensured by political pluralism, a tolerance of a wide range of contending beliefs, conflicting social philosophies and rival political movements and parties. Third, liberal democracy is characterised by a clear distinction between the state and civil society. This is maintained by both internal and external checks on government power and the existence of autonomous groups and interests, and by the market or capitalist organisation of economic life (Heywood, 1998, p. 46).

Overall, classical liberal politics reconceptualised power relations between people, institutions and the natural world. It focused on individual liberty, property rights and to a lesser degree gender relations (Butler, 1978). Twentieth century liberal political theorists such as Robert Dahl (1998) have provided analyses of the contours of how liberal political structures and societies have been sustained and challenged over time. Of particular relevance to this study is Dahl's question about how to mediate tensions between individual agency and collective governance

> to live in association with others necessarily requires that [one] must sometimes obey collective decisions that are binding on all members of the association. The problem, then, is to discover a way by which the members of an association may make decisions binding on all and still govern themselves (Dahl, cited in Aligică et al., 2019, p. 22).

In this sense, liberal political theory has been described by Ludwig von Mises not as a "doctrine or a fixed dogma", but rather, "the application of the teaching of science to the social life of man [sic]" (Aligică et al., 2019, p. 38). Because liberal regimes aim to recognise the primacy of individualism and association, it strives to hold in tension a "peaceful coexistence" with a "governance structure for partially conflicting and partially complementary interests or goals" (Aligică et al., 2019, p. 23). For example, Aligică et al. (2019) describe classical liberalism as

> geared toward change, deliberation, and choice in a world of ongoing ideas and beliefs in systems-driven transformation. Classical liberalism's response to that reality is a governance structure that is organized for resilience and adaptability; for learning and coordination; and for the collective management of continuity and change in societies and communities in which the heterogeneous and dynamic individual preferences, knowledge, and beliefs play a major role as drivers of social transformation (p. 39).

If liberal approaches to human diversity are founded on the primacy of individualism and free association, how are questions of justice arrived at for Indigenous nations in settler colonial states? With reference to Indigenous nations in settler colonial settings, Neveu (2010) identifies modern liberal philosophers John Rawls and Jūrgen Habermas as being prominent in determining "contemporary normative theories of recognition" of Indigenous groups (p. 235). Neveu (2010) surmises that the ideal of democratic citizenship and justice are arrived at through 'public reason' (Rawls) and 'rational

discussion' (Habermas) (pp. 235-236). For Neveu (2010) these conceptions contribute to a situation where "a just norm exists when everyone agrees to conform to it in comparable situations" (p. 236). However, a simple comparison between liberal and Indigenous knowledge claims demonstrate how such worldviews can be at odds. For example seminal liberal philosopher and economist Freidrich Hayek identifies that the main challenge for designing and running liberal governance is

> the fact that knowledge of the circumstances of which we must make use never exists in concentrated or integrated form, but solely as the dispersed bits of incomplete and frequently contradictory knowledge which all the separate individuals possess. . . It is rather a problem of how to secure the best use of resources known to any of the members of society, for ends whose relative importance only these individuals know. Or, to put it briefly, it is a problem of the utilization of knowledge (Hayek, cited in Aligică et al., 2019, p. 25).

Based on Hayek's conception the primary responsibility of governance is to bring "incomplete and frequently contradictory" fragments of knowledge together for collective use and benefit. In contrast the late Māori public intellectual Te Moananui Jackson (1987) describes how Māori social order and law is not fragmented within separate individuals, but inextricably woven together through spirituality. Based on Jackson's thesis and indicated earlier in this chapter, for Māori and Indigenous peoples generally, the rigid distinction between physical, political and spiritual realms is a redundant one. To explicate this point further, Ani Mikaere (2016) explains that Māori knowledge about oneself and the world is interwoven through spiritual connection to place and people

> With this knowledge of interconnection comes an acute awareness of the interdependence and of the fact that what affects one will ultimately affect all. This in turn impresses upon humans the need to fulfil our role on the planet in a responsible and thoughtful manner. The wider implications of every decision should be explored. The long-term effects of our actions must be considered. While it may be tempting to romanticise this approach to life it is, in fact, profoundly pragmatic, reflecting the realisation on the part of our tūpuna that their survival was utterly dependent upon the care with which they interacted with the world around them. They understand that a lack of vigilance on their part could have dire consequences for their non-human relations, for themselves and for the generations to follow (p. 76).

Mikaere and Jackson's analysis of Māori social and cultural foundations is a radical departure from normative liberal political theories of citizenship that posit spiritual beliefs, religions or distinctive cultures be "kept in the private sphere when justifying collective decisions" (Neveu, 2010, p. 236). Such critical differences in epistemic knowledge and ontological being is not new and are well documented elsewhere (see Davis, 2010; Denzin et al., 2008; Kincheloe, 2011; Martins & Santos, 2021a). Of concern to this study is what happens when these divergent governance traditions

come together and what their implications are for social purposes (Carroll et al., 2020; O'Sullivan, 2021). In this paradigm, political ideologies and philosophies become contested. For example, can co-governance arrangements realistically create the groundwork for social orders that privilege relational ethics, accountability and justice between Indigenous and settler-colonial states (Fisher & Parsons, 2020; Parsons et al., 2021)? Or are concepts like "co-governance" the latest shape-shifting phase of a Eurocentric colonising gaze that continues to erase and assimilate Indigenous governance norms and authority into the colonial settler state (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020; Kuokkanen, 2019; Martins & Santos, 2021b; Simpson, 2017)? This binary provokes me to dig deeper into the conditions - structural and relational - required for Indigenous and settler colonial governance traditions to exist and work in tandem. This is a necessarily complex, dynamic and unsettling question when considering how institutions - in this instance schools - can position and practise alternative governance arrangements that respond to incommensurable political and cultural demands.

Next I focus on "ontological pluralism" as an aesthetic that can guide examinations into collaborative and co-governance between Indigenous and settler colonial institutions. Ontological pluralism is an analytical approach used to understand how different socio-political decision-making traditions converge and diverge in contemporary settler colonised lands, and to what effect and affect. I am inspired by Hoskins et al. (2011) who argue for approaches to governance that "share social space but who want to organize social space differently" (p. 26). Following a brief introduction of ontological pluralism, I borrow from Stephen Cornell's (2018) schema of Indigenous governance as *a boundary setting exercise*. Here I explore two interrelated dimensions of ontological pluralism with reference to Indigenous and settler colonial power relationships and co-governance specifically: Co-governance *as position and practice.*

2.4 Ontological pluralism

> …every constitution, every way of governing, every concept and site of power, is based upon and gives expression to the values of the people from which it comes and which in turn it is designed to serve. Like the law of any society, a constitution is a cultural creation (Jackson & Mutu, 2016, p. 31).

Political philosopher Irena Rosenthal (2018) describes *ontology* as literally meaning "a theory of being: the etymological roots come from the Greek words for 'being' (*onta*) and 'study' or 'theory' (*logos*)" (original emphasis, p. 7). Drawing on the philosophy of Martin Heidegger, Rosenthal (2018) goes on to explain that ontology can be understood as an interpretation of how humans are situated in the world. She writes

> human beings are, in some sense, always handed over to and concerned with the world, such as by making something, or by taking care of something, discussing or questioning the world, and so on. The things in the world that human beings encounter are bound up with these involvements: we understand and relate to things in light of the worldly practices that we are immersed in (p. 8).

Johnson and Larsen (2017) describe ontology in a similar way to Rosenthal (2018), but expand its focus to include the nonhuman: “a way of seeing the situated and interdependent particularities of our own worlds, of engaging the unknown in encounters with human and nonhuman others in the places we share” (p. 186). They go on to explain that interwoven ways of seeing and being in the world creates a “pluriverse”; spheres that comprise “many distinct and incommensurate worlds with evolving boundary conditions, and yet the concatenated spirals of worlding are also open, porous, and relationally constituted” (Johnson & Larsen, 2017, p. 186). Williams (2022) complicates normative liberal principles when considering what she terms “indigenous-led intergenerational resilience”, which requires the “development of critical awareness regarding our beliefs and assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology) and how we live and therefore come to know (epistemology)” (p. 71). For Williams the assumptions about reality and knowledge create a “onto-epistemology” (Williams, 2022) that is inclusive of “the reflexive and bidirectional relationship between what we know about reality and action” (p. 71). Based on this holistic positioning, an onto-epistemology “informs our beliefs about the nature of human and more-than-human agencies, and therefore every aspect of our relationships with all life forms” (Williams, 2022, p. 71).

Given these descriptions, ontological pluralism concerns how a wide variety of ways of seeing and being in the world encounter each other, and what the implications of these encounters are for society. Chin (2021) calls this “the ontological turn in political theory”, which is located in the “space between mainstream liberal-democratic theory, and post-structuralist critical social theory” (p. 773). Chin (2021) argues that ontological political theories are concerned with

> the problem of organizing democratic engagement across substantive cultural-political differences where fundamental values, norms and modes of speaking are not shared. It is a problem of power in relation to the goals of equality and popular sovereignty in the Western liberal-democratic tradition (p. 773).

With a responsibility towards reflexivity and the role of social power in constructing political life, ontological pluralism inquires into the contestable nature of decision-making (O'Sullivan, 2021). Such theories share a concern with social and critical constructivists and political agonism, which challenge the preconception that there

exists a universal truth that can be reduced to fundamental principles at all times (see Danaher et al., 2000; Kincheloe, 2011; Martin, 2013; Tully, 1995). In this way, "neutral" or "objective" political perspectives become expendable (Martin, 2013; Rosenthal, 2018). Chin (2021) surmises that an ontological turn in political theory does not

> seek more true or rational models of social criticism or internormative engagement, but more reflexive forms of political theorizing and practical interaction. These include reciprocal logics of interaction, exchange and learning which can increase the responsiveness of dialogical partners. They are thus part of what James Tully has termed the 'dialogical turn' (Tully, 2004). (p. 773)

Dialogic exchanges across worldviews throw into sharp relief normative principles of liberal politics and settler colonial power-relations (Maddison & Nakata, 2020; O'Sullivan, 2021; Salvatore & Kaul, 2020). An ontological and dialogic turn renders singular interpretations of political theories contestable and contingent. This unpredictability in decision-making creates tensions about what "factors of the political world we need to take into account", which can then "structure the normative outlook or proposals that we tend to adopt" (Rosenthal, 2018, p. 2).

Overall, liberal governance theories embrace forms of ontological pluralism - how modern liberal governance adapts and responds to a variety of competing cultural and political demands, values, interests, and preferences. These processes of adaptation are especially pertinent to my inquiry. I suggest that "co-governance" is located within this broad umbrella of social pluralism. O'Sullivan (2021) suggests that a pluralistic paradigm "tests liberalism" because it "draws out the breadth of liberal possibility" (p. 132). Ontological pluralism is productive because it creates the opportunity to test human liberty, and as part of this, pluralism "cannot foreclose arguments for self-determination" (O'Sullivan, 2021, p. 132). With its allowance for contrasting social philosophies and political movements, ontological pluralism raises critical questions about how modern liberal governments attempt to reconcile competing claims to decision-making authority between groups (Danaher et al., 2000; Kymlicka, 1995; Rosenthal, 2018; Salvatore & Kaul, 2020; Tully, 1995).

2.5 Governance at the boundaries

Challenges to the status quo of unequal power-relations between settler governments and Indigenous nations often emerge when a conflict or crisis takes place (Davis, 2010; Hokowhitu et al., 2022; Hoskins, 2018; Maddison, 2022). Contemporary examples of these conflicts include colonial state responses to the climate crisis (Martin et al., 2019; Williams, 2022), the COVID 19 pandemic (Spence & Sekercioglu, 2023; Waitangi Tribunal, 2021), and the failure of public institutions to provide equitable

access to, and outcomes from, public services (H. Came et al., 2020; Cornell, 2018; Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). A consistent claim amongst Indigenous leaders and scholars is that unjust responses to these cumulative crises arise out of breaches from historic and contemporary agreements - such as Treaties - between colonial authorities and Indigenous nations (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020; Hokowhitu et al., 2022; O'Sullivan, 2021). Correspondingly, Indigenous leaders argue that a responsible and just response to these failures include recognition of breaches, and the honouring of political agreements between sovereign nations (Durie, 1998; Jackson & Mutu, 2016; Martins & Santos, 2021b; Winiata & Luke, 2021b). In the face of mounting social, environmental and economic crises, the irony of re-ordering relations of power between settler colonial states and Indigenous nations should not be lost. As Martins and Santos (2021b) point out, at a time when

> democratic, economic and ecological challenges call for renewed politics of existence and grammars of good living, the vitality of anticolonial, anti-patriarchal and anti-capitalist struggles nowadays offers Western modernity the only opportunity to reinvent itself, ironically on the basis of forms of humanity which it has so eagerly subjugated (Martins & Santos, 2021b, p. 11).

Given these political power-sharing controversies, I have found Stephen Cornell's (2018) *Justice as Position, Justice as Practice: Indigenous Governance at the Boundary* useful in examining such conflicts. Cornell (2018) examines two key and interrelated challenges facing Indigenous governance in settler colonial states

> *Justice as position focuses outward* on 'them', the colonial power. It is their assumptions and behaviours and practices that are at issue; the task is to obtain justice through the restoration of self-governing power. *Justice as practice focuses inward* on Indigenous peoples themselves; the task is to resuscitate, develop, borrow, or invent practices that provide effective justice to their own peoples and others, on the ground (my emphasis, p. 16).

While Cornell is concerned with *Indigenous* justice as position and practise, I take the lead of scholars Martin (2019), O'Sullivan (2021), Tully (2014) and Hoskins and Bell (2021) who suggest that the relationship between justice positions and processes are also shaped to varying degrees by forms of settler colonial state responses, recognition and engagements. I posit that theories and practices of ontological pluralism offer a useful guide to explore these contingent justice positions and practices.

Next I locate debates about these new approaches with specific reference to co-governance. I suggest co-governance is an expression of relational power-sharing, and therefore a distinguishing feature of political theory in settler colonised lands. Co-governance can be described as a set of situated theories and practices that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people draw on in order to (re)negotiate, implement,

and test their relational and structural capacities and capabilities. It is a profoundly adaptive way of addressing complex relational and structural issues of concern. Three subsections are included here. First I summarise literature on the emergence of co-governance internationally. Secondly, I explore its understandings and implications for Aotearoa. Third, I canvas Indigenous scholar critique of co-governance as being linked to their critique of neoliberalism. All three subsections examine the changing implications of exercising co-governance responsibilities for Indigenous people and settler colonial states. I highlight environmental governance as a salient site for examining these responsibilities in practice. I conclude by providing a brief summation of what can be learnt from these controversies before introducing section two of my literature review: co-governance and its potential implications for the compulsory education sector in Aotearoa.

2.6 Co-governance internationally

> Ontological and epistemological exclusions extend to the dismissal of Indigenous knowledge, social values, governance, and legal systems. Addressing these injustices requires giving attention to avenues that allow for the inclusion of Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies; one way to do this is through legal reforms that embrace pluralism (legal and ontological) and the establishment of Indigenous-state co-governance arrangements that similarly are pluralistic (Fisher & Parsons, 2020, p. 458).

The increasing prominence of Indigenous political recognition has complex implications for settler colonial state consolidation and political representation (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; McMurry et al., 2021). Internationally McMurry et al. (2021) describe an evolving approach to settler colonial state recognition of Indigenous self-determination. 19th and 20th century imperialism, buttressed by policies and practices of assimilation of Indigenous peoples - settler state enforced prohibition of languages and cultural practices, and the banning of collective land trusteeship - were underpinned by state denial of Indigenous collective claims to self-determination and political authority (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; McCormack, 2018; McMurry et al., 2021; O'Sullivan, 2021). Post-World War Two international human rights regimes, combined with Indigenous political movements and leadership, culminated in international law "accepting the existence of multiple forms of political authority and culturally distinct sub-state collectives (including nations) within the borders of a single state" (McMurry et al., 2021, p. 95). The ratification of the United Nations Declaration of Independence (UNDRIP) is an example of the affirmation of Indigenous forms of political authority, while contributing to evolving understandings of modern liberalism, human rights, and the politics of decolonisation and sovereignty (Charters et al., 2019; Howard-Wagner et

al., 2018; Lindroth & Sinevaara-Niskanen, 2022; Maddison & Nakata, 2020; O'Sullivan, 2021).

The recognition of Indigenous authority and self-determination, alongside shifts towards collaborative and integrated decision-making, has strengthened the basis for potential sharing of political authority in settler colonial lands. As part of this evolving recognition, the terms “co-governance” and “co-management” have emerged in public and political discourse as a possible way to put this recognition into action. Co-governance and co-management is understood and expressed differently because of heterogeneous socio-cultural, political and legal traditions of each place (Arngna’naaq et al., 2020; Colfer et al., 2022; Lu et al., 2012; Reo et al., 2017). While this heterogeneity is omnipresent, common themes describing co-governance are emerging in the scholarly and grey literature. In their summary of co-management literature regarding settler states and Indigenous peoples, Grey and Kuokkanen (2020) describe co-management as being “a sharing of rights and responsibilities by the government and civil society” (p. 924). However, they point out that “there is little consistency, beyond this, in terminology, conceptual underpinnings, measures, or outcomes” (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 924). In its current manifestation, they posit that co-management can be broadly understood as

> solving resource problems and promoting conservation by harnessing local knowledge in a process that reduces the vulnerability and builds the internal capacity of resource-dependent communities, while improving state-Indigenous relations (Colfer 2005; Lu, Chueh, and Kao 2012). Benefits to the state include gains in perceived legitimacy and a considerable reduction in management costs (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 923).

Grey and Kuokkanen (2020) argue that “co-management” has its history in 19th century legal agreements between colonial states and Indigenous nations. They posit that a “spectrum” of co-management - and I would suggest subsequently co-governance - exists. Similarly, Dodson (2014) explains that co-management and co-governance is best described as existing on “a continuum along which both particular and local expressions of partnership can be located” (p. 525). On one end co-management has been described as an “defensibly imperfect, ‘tweakable’ system that provides important dividends to both Indigenous and state parties, while additionally building a more productive and respectful relationship between the two” (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 919). On the other end of the spectrum are advocates who claim that “co-management is, or can be, a stepping stone to Indigenous self-determination” (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 919).

In a review of Canadian environmental co-management, Arngna'naaq et al. (2020) explain that co-management Boards were created by "federal legislation and Comprehensive Land Claim Agreements to create local decision-making authorities and councils for aspects of natural resource management, land use, and wildlife" (p. 9). As "quasi-judicial bodies" often made up of equal representation of Indigenous nations and government officials, the Boards are subject to judicial review and are "directly tied to aspects of Indigenous culture and values that are important to Indigenous life and prosperity" (Arngna'naaq et al., 2020, p. 9). These examples support Grey and Kuokkanen (2020), who argue that collaborative arrangements between settler colonial states and Indigenous peoples can be "initiated from above", that is, at the discretion of the state. In these instances they posit that such arrangements are created because of three key interests: 1. in order to "defuse political conflict, often as a response to high-profile activism"; 2. as "a state response to successful land claims challenges from Indigenous nations; and 3. as "a way for states to resolve Native title issues short of Indigenous self-determination" (p. 924).

Alternatively co-governance can be instigated ''from below', by local communities, in response to a variety of stresses, not all of them negative" (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020, p. 924). Reo et al. (2017) undertook a study of thirty nine regional partnerships involving Indigenous nations in the Great Lakes region in order to understand and share what factors motivate or enable Indigenous nations and their partners to engage in, and remain invested in multi-actor environmental initiatives. Their research analysis found that six key primary themes constituted successful Indigenous-state relationships (p. 62):

Table 1: Key factors that sustain Indigenous engagement in partnerships

Theme	Key factors that sustain Indigenous engagement in partnerships
Respect for Indigenous knowledges (IK)	Acknowledging that IK comes in many different forms and is dispersed widely within a community Acknowledging the importance of all knowledges and not looking down on a collaborators way of seeing the world Viewing cultural protocols as an expression of IK
Control of knowledge mobilization	Reflexivity about how science, IK and technical work are used for purposes of planning, policy formation, and decision making Using science and technical work to support Indigenous priorities and self-determination, alongside other goals of partnership Recognizing that Indigenous partners may want to take charge of data collection and analyses
Intergenerational involvement	Holding broad views about what constitutes youth and elders Involving youth in partnerships in multiple ways, from internships to participation in cultural protocols to engaging their vision for the future in your project
Self-determination	Recognizing cultural, jurisdictional and economic dimensions of self-determination Co-authoring language in formal agreements, such as memoranda of understanding, that articulates respect for Indigenous autonomy and authority Involving Indigenous members in leadership and advisory roles
Continuous cross-cultural education	Developing an understanding of one another's cultural traditions, histories, values, priorities, and aspirations Including cultural practices in partner activities opens door to learning Open-mindedness Seeing cross-cultural education as an ongoing process
Early involvement	Involving Indigenous partners in framing the vision and structure of institution, that is, at inception Involving Indigenous partners in advisory boards Drafting memoranda of understanding to articulate roles and expectations of each partner

What is notable is that the six elements are a mix of structural and relational dimensions. While they are not prioritised in any specific order, based on Indigenous research into political power-sharing, the theme of self-determination would underpin the recognition, legitimacy and enactment of each themes (Bargh & Tapsell, 2021; Hokowhitu et al., 2022; Mikaere, 2016; Nikolakis et al., 2019).

2.7 Co-governance in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa, Chief Justice Winkelmann (2022) argues that public law has been shaped by "the power of narrative" embedded in "historical and social forces" (p. 1). Winkelmann identifies Te Tiriti o Waitangi, tikanga, and the bill of rights as three pertinent examples of such narratives. She argues that the cumulative impact of each of these phenomena have had, and continue to have, bold implications for the evolution of public law and institutions in Aotearoa (Winkelmann, 2022, p. 2). In relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tikanga, for generations Māori leaders have been deliberating and advocating for constitutional transformation as a pathway towards relational justice. The Waitangi Tribunal (2014) concluded that "the rangatira consented to the treaty on the basis that they and the Governor were to be equals, though they were to have different roles and different spheres of influence. Details of how this relationship would work in practice, especially where the Māori and European populations intermingled, remained to be negotiated over time on a case-by-case basis" (p. 529). Bringing these historic understandings into present constitutional relationships, the National Iwi Chairs Forum commissioned the report *Matike Mai* (Jackson & Mutu, 2016) in order to consider what a constitution based on tikanga, kawa, He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tīreni (1835), te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840), and international human rights instruments might look like. Exploring Western, Indigenous and Māori concepts of power, it found a range of values that can inform the transformation of the current constitutional order (Jackson & Mutu, 2016, pp. 68-97). The values underpinned a restructuring of governance relationships between Māori and the Crown by proposing three spheres of influence: 1. Kāwanatanga sphere (Crown governance); 2. Rangatiratanga sphere (Māori self-determination); 3. Relational sphere (conciliatory and consensual democracy). Jackson and Mutu (2016) describe the spheres in the following way

> Te Tiriti envisaged the continuing exercise of rangatiratanga while granting a place for kāwanatanga. It provided for what the Waitangi Tribunal recently described as "different spheres of influence" which allowed for both the independent exercise of rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga and the expectation that there would also be an interdependent sphere where they might make joint decisions.

> We call those spheres of influence the "rangatiratanga sphere", where Māori make decisions for Māori and the "kāwanatanga sphere" where the Crown will make decisions for its people. The sphere where they will work together as equals we call the "relational sphere" because it is where the Tiriti relationship will operate. It is the sphere where a conciliatory and consensual democracy would be most needed (Jackson & Mutu, 2016, p. 9).

In their examination of structural racism in the health sector of Aotearoa Came et al. (2021) considered how the spheres of influence proposed by *Matike Mai* could be used and to what effect. They argue that ensuring the strength of each sphere would require a vast shift of new resources "in the form of tikanga or values to the ethical dimensions of the health sector that would ensure alignment and engagement with Māori needs, approaches, and aspirations", in turn this would "promote the emergence of an equitable, ethical, sustainable social order" (Came et al., 2021, p. 12). While the terminology differs, the "relational sphere" is similar to conceptualisations of "co-governance." Indeed, related public discourses are in abundance and often used interchangeably - "co-design", "biculturalism", "Treaty partnerships", "mana ōrite" – are just some examples used in professional practice and institutional positions (Education Council, 2017; Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2021b). In general each rhetorical device has been used with direct reference to the importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the "founding document of New Zealand." In sum, relational practices of power-sharing are based on a recognition of interdependence and a shared sense of belonging to place. Jackson and Mutu (2016) describe the "relational sphere" in the following way

> They would govern the "rituals of encounter" between Māori and the Crown while recognising and respecting the integrity of both rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga. Without diminishing or detracting from the authority of the Crown in its own sphere of influence it would mark a return to tikanga as the first law and values-base of this land in regard to the implementation of the Tiriti relationship.
>
> That jurisdiction would also be the base for any resolution should Māori and the Crown need to seek re-conciliation when they are unable to agree on a matter of common interest. In a constitution which involves two distinct concepts and sites of power there will inevitably be tensions. No matter how sincere each sphere of influence might be in its good faith commitment to work in a Tiriti-based way there will be disagreements when the two come together in the relational sphere (p. 90).

In 2019 a government working group explored the findings of *Matike Mai* (2016) with an explicit focus on how the Crown can implement the UNDRIP (United Nations, 2007). The working groups report, known publicly as *He Puapua* (Charters et al., 2019), focuses on five key sections and actions that would ensure that by 2040 "rangatiratanga Māori is realised, Māori and the Crown enjoy a harmonious and

constructive relationship and work together to restore and uphold the wellbeing of ngā tangata, Papatūānuku and the natural environment" (p. iv). Taken as a whole this set of power-sharing conventions would have profound implications for governance approaches in Aotearoa and our international relations. Indeed, debate about the potential political implications of *He Puapua* is ongoing (Newsroom, 2022). Its five constituent themes include:

1. Rangatiratanga
2. Participation in kāwanatanga karauna
3. Lands, territories and resources
4. Culture; and
5. Equity (Charters et al., 2019, pp. iv-v).

In general, this literature demonstrates that working in relational spheres such as co-governance, groups lean into necessary political, social, cultural and spiritual capacities, both tangible and intangible, in order for relational justice to be present. These interfaces are complicated by the mix of potential, pitfalls, paralysis and associated tensions individually and institutionally. This complexity appears to be a necessary part of institutional development and critical praxis for social, cultural, economic and environmental justice (Hoskins & Jones, 2022; Mika et al., 2019; Seo & Creed, 2002). For example, in their re-examination of Indigenous and settler colonial governance arrangements, Carroll et al. (2020) locate emergent fields of "governance for social purpose" and "adaptive governance" as being linked to a move away from "decades of a largely corporate bias and an overwhelmingly regulatory focus", towards approaches that emphasise "greater complexity" and "heterogeneity" (pp. 3-4). They go on to suggest that

> The cumulative effect of such shifts reinforces the predominant research view that greater complexity and the proliferation of wicked problems call for very different processes than the top-down, hierarchical and instrumental approaches that have been at the mainstream of governance, leadership, and management to date (Carroll et al., 2020, p. 4).

Hoskins and Bell (2021) locate Māori relational ontologies such as "mana", "mana motuhake", and "kanohi ki te kanohi" as distinctive political ontologies that can have productive power-sharing implications. In contrast to political subservience, or a "turning away and refusal" for engagement with settler colonial regimes, these concepts and practices are "essentially relational where dependence and interdependence are inseparable and mutually constituting" (Hoskins & Bell, 2021, p. 515). Critically, Hoskins and Bell (2021) argue that these ontological positions do not hold a cure for current power-imbalances. However, they do epitomise

> the persistence of Māori modes of being and forms of political practice that hold further potential to develop mana relations, to interrupt particular flows of power, and to ignite commitments to justice. Face-to-face relations between Māori and the Crown are also calling into being an intergenerational and distributed, but also crucially embodied, Crown personhood. A Crown that talks about the need to restore its honour and to establish meaningful, embodied relations with iwi and hapū might just be a Crown Māori can work with (Hoskins & Bell, 2021, p. 520).

A codified recognition and incorporation of Māori principles "destabilizes the authority of western liberal modernist assumptions and ways of thinking about water as a resource and commodity to be owned, exploited, and controlled" (Fisher & Parsons, 2020, p. 479). This destabilisation converges with what Martin (2010) calls "an ethics of responsibility and integrated governance", with the aim to "chart a course towards re-balancing social, environmental and economic systems" (p. 10). This approach challenges atomised, siloed and separated forms of knowledge, policy and decision-making. Martin (2010) explains that environmental, economic and social uncertainty and complexity, demands decision-making approaches that link social, economic and environmental interests via a principle of "responsibility - response-ability" and a "duty to care"

> Responsibility is a concept with dynamic tensions which cross a spectrum of duty to care. The implications of duty and accountability are closely related to the exercise of authority and to governance. While responsibility is assumed by individuals, it is also collective and can serve to address the need to care for complex ecosystems, diverse social institutions and the impacts of globalized economic systems. We explore the ideas of response-ability, and responsiveness to emphasise the relational qualities of responsibility and work with a collective imperative to address future oriented challenges such as climate change (p. 12).

What follows are examples of environmental co-governance initiatives where these five interconnected themes are in a state of ongoing development. The complexity of these encounters, and associated tensions are explored in-depth in a range of disciplines with a range of associated implications. It is beyond the scope of my review or account for all of this literature, therefore I limit my focus to questions of environmental co-governance at community, voluntary and statutory levels (Controller and Auditor General, 2016a; Environment Canterbury Regional Council, 2023; Independent Māori statutory board, 2023; The Workshop, 2021).

2.7.1 Co-governance and environmental decision-making

In his examination of a conservation partnership involving a significant marine reserve, Dodson (2014) analysed the co-governance and management relationship between

the Department of Conservation and tangata whenua. In this study, Dodson (2014) distinguished “co–management” from “co-governance” in the following ways (p. 525):

Table 2: Distinguishing co-management from co-governance

Co-management	**Co-governance**
The collaborative process of decision-making and problem solving within the administration of conservation policy.	Arrangements in which ultimate decision-making authority resides with a collaborative body exercising devolved power - where power and responsibility are shared between government and local stakeholders.

There are a number of critically absent features related to these broad descriptions. First, there is no explicit recognition of sovereign Indigenous nations or groups such as hapū, iwi, tangata whenua, mana whenua or Māori. It can be deduced that Māori people, inclusive of their various political and cultural formations, is subsumed by the term “local stakeholders.” In this sense they become entangled in a “the collaborative process” and/or become part of a “collaborative body exercising devolved power.” Secondly, the term “Crown” - who tangata whenua are in power-sharing relationship with - is absent. However, references are made to “conservation policy” and the “government.” Overall, the descriptions adhere to Western norms of governance where “governance focuses on strategic matters, while management is concerned with day-to-day operational responsibilities” (Controller and Auditor General, 2016a, p. 8).

In a review of eight co-governance and co-management approaches to environmental planning between the Crown and tangata whenua the Controller and Auditor General (2016a) refined these descriptions further. In its report it explains that ““co-governance” and “co-management” were used to “describe negotiated arrangements between iwi, central government, local government, and/or local groups to achieve effective management of an environmental or conservation resource”, but that these terms are “sometimes used interchangeably because their definitions are not well understood” (Controller and Auditor General, 2016a, p. 8). Of the eight agreements the Auditor General arrived at five broad “principles that are helpful in setting up and operating co-governance arrangements”, which include:

- Build and maintain a shared understanding of what everyone is trying to achieve;
- Build the structures, processes, and understanding about how people will work together;
- Involve people who have the right experience and capacity;
- Be accountable and transparent about performance, achievements, and challenges; and
- Plan for financial sustainability and adapt as circumstances change (p. 14).

Descriptions of “why, what and how” of these collaborative agreements continue to take shape in a range of ways, and a plethora of arrangements are being considered, refined and tested (Bargh & Tapsell, 2021; Paterson-Shallard et al., 2022). For example, using the metaphor of a voyaging waka Maxwell et al. (2020) have developed and continue to refine the *He Waka Taurua* framework. This approach aims to inform how co-governance can be a platform for “different values and aspirations of Māori, and local communities with government institutions to support healthy oceans and healthy people” (Maxwell et al., 2020, p. 1). Maxwell et al. (2020) describe the key elements of *He Waka Taurua* as consisting of

> the whainga (common purpose) usually focused on restoring the well-being of marine spaces, the shared values of Māori and broader society (hiwi/hulls); the diverse planning tools and approaches used by kaitiaki and planners (hoe/paddles); its flexibility for application to a multitude of contextual issues (moana/ sea) such as disaster recovery or polluted waterways; and the deck/papa noho where two parties reconcile power sharing, world views and developing capacity (p. 7) .

He Waka Taurua aims to recognise the validity and legitimacy of Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews. At the same time it identifies processes for how these worldviews can function independently and interdependently (Maxwell et al., 2020, p. 8). Fisher and Parsons (2020) compared Treaty settlements with a specific focus on governance of water bodies. In their analysis of the Waipā River Settlement and Act they found it “went some way towards addressing the deficiencies of the RMA [Resource Management Act] identified by Māori and allowed the incorporation of Ngāti Maniapoto *tikanga*, values, and aspirations into governance and management arrangements for the first time” (their emphasis Fisher & Parsons, 2020, p. 479). Indeed Reo et al. (2017) found that successful “multi-actor environmental governance initiatives” are formed and sustained when a “respect Indigenous nations’ political and governmental authority (i.e., self-determination) and cultural distinctiveness” is omnipresent (p. 65). Relational structures that enable Indigenous participation include those that “respect their own conceptions of political authority, inclusion, and culture” (p. 65). To this end, Bargh and Tapsell (2021) argue that in Aotearoa the up-take of co-governance and co-management approaches in environmental governance is part of a wider societal endorsement that

> tikanga Māori possesses many of the key ingredients to support the transition to a low-carbon economy, and one which uses natural resources in a more thoughtful way. Increasing recognition of tikanga and te ao Māori by the Crown and non-Māori has provided reaffirmation for hapū and iwi Māori who have continued to practice tikanga in diverse and changing ways, and it provides hope

> that modest and bolder steps in a tika direction might continue to proliferate (p. 20).

de Jesus Dionisio et al. (2021) explored how “co-creation” has been used to inform spatial planning in environmental and urban design in two city districts in Aotearoa. Their research found a “lack of opportunities for tribal authorities and local communities to share place-based perspectives and knowledge to improve the management of ancestral lands and cultural landscapes” (de Jesus Dionisio et al., 2021, p. 84). A key focus of their research was to challenge the status quo of current spatial governance processes and tools that “tend to be generic and broad scale, with data and information sources primarily from government institutions” (de Jesus Dionisio et al., 2021, p. 84). In working with distinct Māori communities from the outset, environmental planning tools and processes were created - and continue to evolve - in order to enable each community to access a range of geospatial datasets held in the public domain, and generate their own cultural narratives about sites of significance (de Jesus Dionisio et al., 2021). Implications from this study include changing spatial planning policy settings in order to “promote place-based solutions developed by communities using their own frameworks and tools” in order to become “more socially and ecologically enduring” (de Jesus Dionisio et al., 2021, p. 85). To this end they recommended “creating training opportunities and initiatives to support the production of narratives that enable community participation and Māori leadership in spatial governance” (de Jesus Dionisio et al., 2021, p. 85).

It is notable that at the time of writing a number of significant local government environmental reforms are underway, all of which focus on statutory authorities strengthening provisions for tangata whenua to be involved in decision-making processes, monitoring and planning (Ministry for the Environment, 2022). As noted earlier in this chapter, public discourse regarding the explicit inclusion of co-governance and co-management in Aotearoa has been described as “a highly politicised issue” that had a bearing on recent national political elections

> Supporters see co-governance as a crucial part of the Crown meeting its obligations under Te Tiriti, obligations which they say haven't been met historically.
>
> That might look like the te reo Māori version of the Treaty guaranteeing rangatiratanga or self-determination for iwi, or interpreting Treaty principles of partnership, participation and protection as a way to address inequities and to deliver better outcomes for Māori.
>
> But opponents have called it divisive and say it's “dismantling democracy.” The ACT party has even started a petition calling for a referendum on the issue.

> Discussions around co-governance beyond the management of local resources have certainly got people's attention, but the debate has also become a target for anti-Māori sentiment online.
>
> With the Government exploring further co-governance options under New Zealand's commitment to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, it's looking like it could be a highly politicised issue right through to the election due next year. That's another reason to make sure we're schooled up on what it actually means (1news, 2022).

Chris Finlayson, former Attorney-General and Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations under the Fifth National Government (2008-2017), was instrumental in progressing Crown approaches to co-governance as a result of Treaty of Waitangi settlements. In an interview Finlayson was asked about what the constitutional basis of co-governance is (RNZ, 2022). He replied by distinguishing co-governance from "co-government" and went on to discuss co-governance in relation to Crown and Iwi settlements

> ...it's not co-government. Some commentators are starting to talk about co-government and that is misleading, it is deceptive and it's wrong. When I was dealing with a number of Treaty negotiations there were issues which arose about natural resources and the very strong affinity that the settling group would have with the particular resource. Indeed, it was spelled out in the 1995 Tainui Settlement that there would be three tranches to that settlement. The first one that Doug dealt with was raupatu. The second one was going to be a river settlement. So the question that Michael Cullen had to ask was, how do we go about reaching a just and durable conclusion over the river? So that was a very early example of co-governance. I became the Minister [of Treaty Settlements] and had to expand those arrangements to the other river iwi like Raukawa, Tūwharetoa, Te Arawa, and thus was born the Waikato River Authority.
>
> It comes back to the particular natural resource, the strong affinity the settling group has to the natural resource and ways in which they can have some involvement in the way in which that resource is dealt with. I can't see that there's anything wrong or seditious about that.
>
> It's not a common law right as such. It's not a customary title like we had the debate about in the Foreshore and Seabed. No, it's about something that comes out of the Treaty, and a desire to reach as we have as a country, to make bipartisan decision that we're going to deal with these historic grievances and some of the grievances are to do with natural resources, and the fact that many people have been locked out of any say in the natural resource (RNZ, 2022).

Given the above acknowledgements, power relations between Indigenous nations and settler colonial states continue to be in a process of change. New and reclaimed structures and approaches to potential governance proposals are being taken up and tested for their efficacy and outcomes. It is clear that bringing different ontological and epistemological understandings and practices together creates relational and institutional tensions. For example, Paterson-Shallard et al. (2022) found that while Treaty settlements are enabling power-sharing relationships between Māori and the

Crown, they also unveil key tensions because such collaborative relationships are at odds with entrenched Western legal and institutional norms

> On one hand, there are good reasons to seek a relatively informal collaborative process that is open to less commonly heard ideas about what matters, challenging longstanding hierarchies which privilege those who can speak in particular and ostensibly objective terms. On the other hand, these legislative requirements are an important part of the democratic process, providing transparency and accountability to decisions which can have drastic social, environmental and economic consequences. Negotiating space between these two potentially competing priorities remains an ongoing challenge facing efforts to govern collaboratively (Paterson-Shallard et al., 2022, p. 71).

In general, conciliating the stresses of co-governance and co-management involves acknowledging the different standpoints groups have regarding rhetorical devices such as “transparency”, “authority”, “legitimacy”, “accountability” and “representation.” Such devices, and their ladened meanings hold significant implications for Indigenous and settler colonial collaborative regimes. For instance, Fisher and Parsons (2020) identified that co-governance institutions charged with allocating funding to build Indigenous capacity can become sites of scrutiny. In their case study of river co-governance they found that local iwi believe such institutions lack “transparency in its decision-making processes, for not providing adequate communication to people at the grassroots (local) level, and for adopting a western mode of governance (rather than Māori deliberative decision-making processes centred on extended discussions on marae, which is a courtyard or open area in front of a meeting house where formal greetings and discussions take place)” (Fisher & Parsons, 2020, p. 476). In these instances, the power-sharing potential of co-governance and consequently co-management arrangements can be undermined, eroded, or undone because of differences in the “onto-epistemology” of each group (Williams, 2022). Resting the ethical gaze upon these arrangements must include a focus on the socio-cultural and economic power-imbalances, as Fisher and Parsons (2020) explain

> the complex nature of the co-governance framework and co-management arrangements places an increased burden on the MMTB [Maniapoto Māori Trust Board], which is compounded by the continued dominance of western bureaucratic processes. Ongoing success may require that local authorities give up some of their decision-making authority to Ngāti Maniapoto regarding resource use and allocation at both policy and implementation levels, and adopt new practices which conform more closely to tikanga and Māori modes of governing and practice (p. 480).

2.8 Co-governance and neoliberalism

Some Indigenous scholars have argued that controversies over co-governance must be understood in relation to their ideological underpinnings (Howard-Wagner et al.,

2018; Mika et al., 2019; O'Sullivan, 2021; Pihama, 2019). For example, Grey and Kuokkanen (2020) explain that the transition towards co-management of natural resources arose in the 1980s and was largely based on "the near-simultaneous rise of, on the one hand, neoliberalism and, on the other, sustainable development" (p. 923). They suggest that these political doctrines "created a counterintuitive synchronicity between the discourses of *devolution* and *participation*" and an "idealized narrative" about co-management became prominent (original emphasis, p. 923). Mika et al. (2019) have also found that the impacts of neoliberalism contribute to what they term "unfolding tensions" within post-settlement governance and tribal economies in Aotearoa. They cite research that shows that while the "the Māori economy grows, overall Māori socio-cultural well-being is declining", which leads them to the argue that a "rebalancing or a redistribution of resources, both social and cultural, needs to occur, with equal importance alongside other economic initiatives" (Mika et al., 2019, p. 304). The pressures on post-settlement iwi, and their associated hapū and whānau have serious implications for the strength, adaptability and enduring nature of any collaborative arrangement with the settler colonial state, in this case, the Crown.

The impacts of neoliberal economic priorities have had contradictory and damaging results for Indigenous peoples. Indeed, neoliberal ideologies are an example of how settler colonial states have maintained power and control in their relations with Indigenous nations (Bargh, 2007; Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; Pihama, 2019; Simpson, 2017). Overall, neoliberal economic reforms aimed to cut the growing costs of the welfare state (Carpenter & Osborne, 2014; Stewart & Krzyzosiak, 2019). Ward (cited in Spooner, 2020) describes neoliberalism as

> a rearticulation and reconfiguration of the eighteenth and nineteenth century liberalist argument that market exchange captures an essential and basic truth about human nature and the creation and maintenance of social order (Dean, 1999: 159; Harvey, 2005). As such, it should become the model for conducting and managing a host of activities that were previously deemed "outside of" or "above" the intrusion of the marketplace . . . . This new "greater good" was seen as being brought about not through cooperation and the governmental levelling mechanisms of the past but through the self-interested activities of actors each working independently and unknowingly . . . empowered consumers-citizens and taxpayers whose desires and self-interest would lead them to demand low costs, accountability and transparency from all of those who provided them with products and services, including the state (p. 743).

In her examination of Indigenous policy and the neoliberal economy of Australia, Howard-Wagner (2018) argues that the "neo-liberal state endeavours to create "active" and "responsible" Indigenous welfare recipients, and, at best, produce Indigenous citizens who are active participants in the "real economy"" (p. 1341). Certainly, in their international research into the implications of Indigenous and Western governance

McMurry et al. (2021) found that Indigenous political recognition can be used to consolidate settler colonial power

> …it appears that Indigenous recognition, at least as it has been implemented to date, may be more aligned with state incentives than perhaps expected given existing theories. States may use recognition to undermine Indigenous institutions and establish monopoly control. Yet, even when recognition reinforces these institutions, it can expand state capacity in peripheral areas (p. 98).

In a comparative examination of Indigenous self-determination, governance and gender relations in Canada, Greenland, and Scandinavia, Kuokkanen (2019) found Indigenous nations were critical of the potential of re-ordered relationships with settler colonial states. Despite the different historic and political realities in each place, Kuokkanen identified five common challenges in each region: 1. the state and its legislation and policies; 2. bureaucratization and institutionalisation of Indigenous communities; 3. ambiguity of the self-determination discourse; 4. the lack of educated workforce; and 5. economic constraints (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 135). These challenges are consistent with the emerging studies of co-governance in Aotearoa, which show that due to ongoing colonisation, relationships between Crown institutions and Māori are uneven (see Bargh & Tapsell, 2021; Controller and Auditor General, 2016a; Maxwell et al., 2020; Paterson-Shallard et al., 2022). In response to these relational and structural power imbalances, Bargh and Tapsell (2021) argue that there needs to be active investment in

> creating meaningful relationships with mana whenua and Māori that involve collaborative and adaptive decision making, where the different needs of mana whenua in specific regions are at the forefront. These relationships should not rely solely on Treaty settlement-based initiatives. A tika scenario would include ensuring that mana whenua have the resources to engage as a Treaty partner within the joint sphere, but also the capacity and resources to build the rangatiratanga sphere (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016). A tika scenario would also provide for greater weight to be given to iwi environmental management plans, where iwi outline their aspirations and policies relating to natural resources in their rohe (p. 16).

While the commitment and vision is to work towards a “tika scenario”, as Bargh and Tapsell (2021) argue, many post-settlement iwi continue to face multiple challenges. Mika et al. (2019) posit that such entities are marked by “multiple pressures to assemble capable institutions and people and grow the fiscal and nonfiscal capacity of the tribe” (p. 305). Mika et al. (2019) conclude that as treaty settlements become more common, this results in mounting pressures on iwi to

> establish highly effective, credible and capable governing, economic and social institutions, to contribute to the wealth and well-being of tribal members and to

> supplant governmental responsibilities, in many respects, for tribal members' socioeconomic and well-being. Yet, treaty settlements as compensation represent a fraction of what was lost and do not replace the crown's right to govern, and therefore its obligation to protect and provide for tribal members' individual citizenship rights and collective rights as self-determining iwi (p. 309).

Critically reflecting on the settler colonial and Indigenous relationships in Canada, Simpson (2017) argues that neoliberalism gives Indigenous people the false precept that structures of dispossession are changing for the better. Simpson analyses rhetorical devices used in by the Canadian state such as "cultural resurgence" and "worries." Her anxiety is about the depoliticisation and false separation of *Indigenous culture* from *Indigenous sovereignty*, which directly challenges asymmetrical settler colonial power

> In the context of settler colonialism and neoliberalism, the term *cultural* resurgence, as opposed to *political* resurgence, which refers to a resurgence of story, song, dance, art, language, and culture, is compatible with the reconciliation discourse, the healing industry, or other depoliticized recovery-based narratives. I get worried when I hear the state and its institutions using the term resurgence. Cultural resurgence can take place within the current settler colonial structure of Canada because it is not concerned with dispossession, whereas political resurgence is seen as a direct threat to settler sovereignty. From within Indigenous thought, however, the cultural and the political are joined and inseparable, and they are both generated through place-based practices—practices that require land. Our people have known this for a long time (original emphasis, Simpson, 2017, pp. 49-50).

Indigenous nations are in the process of rebuilding their own social, cultural, political and economic institutions in the face of shape-shifting forms of colonisation (Mika et al., 2019; Nikolakis et al., 2019). By extension in order to recreate and inhabit relationally and structurally just relations between Indigenous and settler colonial regimes, the ethical gaze rests its focus on the why, how and to what end the reordering of these power-relationships can have. An attunement to this complexity is necessary. The dual pressures, associated tensions and paradoxes, arise out of developing *internal* and *external* capabilities and capacities for these relationships is omnipresent. This reality holds weight for each group, but is held and experienced differently. From a critical ontology perspective this means the pathways of addressing such complexities are numerous and place-based.

Betsan Martin (2019) suggests these encounters eschews "the premise that sociality is founded on a war of all against all, with institutions that are designed to protect self-interest, autonomy and freedom" (p. 19) Rather they are "enlivened by relationships of respons*ability"* that "prepares the ground for justice" for the benefit of people and nature (Martin, 2019, p. 19). For Martin (2019) these collaborative relations are

transcendent and therefore not confined to material structures alone, but revitalise "the human spirit"

> Respons*ability* in this order may be introduced into law, but can never be confined to legalistic definition or expression. It has legal and non-legal dimensions. Respons*ability* urges us beyond what can and should be codified in legislation and policy. Although respons*ability* will require codification, with specific accountabilities, codes do not exhaust the ethical demand of respons*ability*. Ethical respons*ability* transcends or exceeds what is possible to legislate. The realm beyond what can be codified is the arena of transcendent values of the human spirit which reach beyond legal duty to the dimensions which extend from joy to sacrifice.
>
> Transcendent qualities are a touchstone for judgment and discernment in public life, and in particular, a touchstone for the voice of the marginalised, for advocacy against injustice in the public arena (original emphasis, p. 20).

I explore the nexus between neoliberalism, Indigenous and settler colonial educational governance in more depth in section 2 of this literature review.

2.9 Summary

Debates are on-going about the recognition of Indigenous authority and self-determination and shifts towards, or in some instances reclaim collaborative and integrated decision-making with settler-colonial institutions. These discourses have strengthened the basis of potential power-sharing over areas of common concern, specifically during times of environmental, social, and economic crises. Given the colonial backdrop of these power-relations, such encounters are as Smith (2018) says, "wild" and "untamed" with different forms of engagement being "negotiated at every step" (p. 48). Indigenous-settler relationships are politically charged, never neutral, and in a constant state of evolution.

What is clear is that when governance processes are asymmetrical - when Western conceptions of being and reality are privileged over Indigenous conceptions of being and reality - settler dominance and cultural-political dispossession is perpetuated. In response Indigenous nations innovate and work on multiple fronts: some are autonomous, others are partnered (Kukutai et al., 2022). For instance some Indigenous nations choose to organise and work *outside* of mediating settler colonial structures and legislation in order to meet their political, cultural, social, environmental and economic goals. In other instances they work *with(in)* settler-colonial regimes in order to create relations based on agreed and reciprocal terms. A shared theme in both scenarios is a continuation of advocacy, the harnessing of power to shape their own futures. This advocacy is based on their own constitutions and visions for the

present and future wellbeing of their people and lands. There is nothing settled about the distrust that anchors colonialism. On the contrary, Indigenous peoples and their partners have long thwarted settler structures; they continue to find creative ways of ensuring relations of mutual recognition for a just present and future (Davis et al., 2022; Dennison, 2022).

I suggest that theories and practices of ontological pluralism offer but one guide to explore the potential and pitfalls of co-governance power relations between Indigenous nations and settler colonial states. At the base of this ontology is an ethics of care and responsibility towards each other. This ethic is summarised by Ngāi Te Rangi leader Charlie Tawhiao in the following simple yet profound question: *Who are we? And why do we matter to each other?* (Tawhiao cited in Hoskins, 2021). Responses to these questions will vary depending on relational context and place. However they will inevitably create tangible (material) and non-tangible (intellectual and spiritual) paradoxes, tension, challenge and potential for revitalised political relationships. For example, in Aotearoa English language rhetorical devices used in governance relation, such as “accountability” and “transparency”, become contingent on Māori rhetorical devices such as “mana” and “tikanga.” Bringing these worldviews into view via formal and informal collaborations hold significant implications for Indigenous and settler collaborations.

I suggest co-governance is an expression of relational power-sharing, and therefore a distinguishing feature of political theory in settler colonised lands. As a form of adaptive governance it involves Indigenous and non-Indigenous people negotiating, implementing, and testing their relational and structural capacities and capabilities. My inquiry is about inquiring into the expected and unexpected obstructions, tensions, and positive potential that can arise in the life-cycle of these experiments. By doing so, I aim to contribute productively to the contours of these political relations. With this commitment in mind, the following section explores the position and practices of co-governance for the compulsory education sector in Aotearoa.

Chapter 3: Inhabiting the rainbow: Co-governance and education

3.1 Introduction

A dialogic turn in liberal politics, underpinned by cultural and ontological pluralism, creates ongoing questions about how current settler colonial states address social cohesion on one hand, and political demands of Indigenous peoples on the other (Asch et al., 2018; Chin, 2021; Fisher & Parsons, 2020; Maddison, 2015; O'Sullivan, 2021; Tully, 1995). The work inside and outside of mediating settler colonial structures and relations has secured Indigenous-led initiatives to reclaim grounds in the public sphere. As Seo and Creed (2002) point out, processes of institutional change involve political contests that are both artful and resourceful. In this sense Indigenous leaders and their partners have assembled "different institutional logics and resources, appropriated from their contradictory institutional environments, to frame and serve their interests" (Seo & Creed, 2002, p. 240). To this point, kaupapa Māori political and cultural movements continue to apply a range of autonomous and partnered logics to disrupt embedded relations of colonialism (Hoskins & Jones, 2017; Kukutai et al., 2022; Pihama et al., 2015; L. T. Smith, 1999). Co-governance relations between the state and Indigenous nations has caught the public eye as an approach that could productively address the wicked problems facing society, the environment and economy. In this section of my literature review I do not provide a history of Māori educational developments in Aotearoa; rather I outline key contemporary educational discourses that are amenable to the dynamics of co-governance relations between tangata whenua and the Crown. For analyses of Māori educational history see (Hoskins et al., 2020; Jones & Jenkins, 2011; Simon & Smith, 1998; Walker, 1990).

Five themes constitute this section and are based on macro and meso concerns. First, I focus on macro level questions regarding the complex interplay of neoliberalism and educational governance in settler colonial states. Theme two links the impacts of neoliberalism on educational governance generally. I focus on rhetorical devices in modern educational governance promoted by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) including "accountability", "capability" and "strategic thinking." I uncover tensions between Indigenous and settler colonial institutions regarding their intended meaning and practices. Theme three connects macro and meso discourses regarding neoliberalism and bilingual language education internationally and in Aotearoa. I suggest that despite the advocacy for bilingual education programmes in settler colonial states, they cannot be divorced from neoliberal market forces. Theme four canvases educational reforms in Aotearoa that

are amenable to reordering relations of power between the settler colonial state and Māori language revitalisation initiatives. Finally, theme five discusses how bilingual models of teaching and learning, such as dual medium and rumaki, are under-recognised as an informal co-governance approach. I explore what forms of leadership and organisational conditions are needed to ensure their visibility and value in Aotearoa education.

3.2 Neoliberalism and educational governance

As discussed in section 1 of my literature review, the convergence of neoliberalism, governance and Indigenous movements towards self-determination have brought into sharp relief questions about how regimes of power redistribute resources. These questions hold complex and interrelated political, environmental, economic, social and cultural implications (Howard-Wagner, 2018; Mika et al., 2019; O'Sullivan, 2021; Pihama, 2019; Te Aho, 2019). The last 40 years of governance and administration in Canada, Australia, Aotearoa and the United States have been framed by neoliberal structural reforms (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; Verger et al., 2019). In a neoliberal paradigm the construction and response to educational questions, such as student inequities and inclusion, has resulted in what Nichols and Griffith (2009) call "evidential accountabilities" in schooling (p. 243). For instance, since the 1980s global actors such as the OECD have emphasised a dual focus on "measurable outputs (for example, student test scores, graduation rates and transitions to the labour market)" and "an increased emphasis on standardised comparable testing" (Burns & Köster, 2016, p. 24). Verger et al. (2019) argues that these reforms aim to govern education "at a distance" via "decentralization, school autonomy and the diversification of school provision" (p. 253). Advocates for the neoliberal paradigm have aimed to provide greater system efficiency and accountability to the state and the public (Heywood, 1998). New public management became a key platform for the enactment of private sector management approaches to schooling amongst industrialised settler-colonial states (Spooner, 2020; Youngs, 2020). Landri (2018) explains that new public management is based on "three pillars"

> (1) *Disaggregation* (the restructuring of government hierarchies in smaller organizations), (2) *competition* (between public and private, and within the quasi-market of public administration) and (3) *incentivization* (in the form of pecuniary rewards instead of the care of professionalism) (original emphasis, p. 3).

The implication for schooling is that economic theories linked to neoliberalism frame education "as a commodity in the marketplace and its consumers as self-interested individuals with teachers cast as providers of a service not as educational

professionals entitled to inform policy making" (Yukich, 2018, p. 20). Ball (1999) refers to this backdrop as "discourse economism" where teaching and learning is abridged to a focus on the "acquisition of skills and dispositions" (p. 201), with an emphasis on "quality", "evaluation", "leadership" and "accountability" (p. 258). Nichols and Griffith (2009) argue that new public management has become so embedded in state and global educational discourses that "generating achievement or improvement data" constitutes "an important shift in educational governance from conceptual consistency to material similarity across sites" (p. 243). Subsequently public schools have been required to turn towards a market-driven and private approach to educational delivery (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2017; Spooner, 2020; Youngs, 2020). Within this political and economic construction, a state's commitment to fair redistribution of resources and equity-centred policy become undermined by privatised values of individualism, choice and competition (Carpenter & Osborne, 2014).

Recent educational research into new public management suggests that its market-driven and privatised agenda have undergone a range of transmutations and contradictions (Gunter et al.; Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; Verger et al., 2019). For example, interrelated changes to political-economic, governance, social formation and the proliferation of digital technologies have all contributed to different ways new public management has re-shaped public services (Landri, 2018). In Aotearoa these administrative theories and policies became entrenched during the late 1980s through a series of Treasury reports to the government (Hood, 1991; Lodge & Gill, 2011; Martin, 2008). The implications for compulsory schooling included the reformulation of educational administration under the policy platform of "Tomorrow's Schools" (Department of Education, 1988). Discourse economism was posited as the primary way to counter the costs and assumed inefficiencies of a complicated state decision-making system (Youngs, 2020). Stewart and Krzyzosiak (2019) explain that under this regime, "schools were now required to operate under a competitive business model", which resulted in public education being "framed as an economic and private commodity" (p. 48). In this regard, liberal education is entangled in liberal economic reforms. Martin (2008) argues that these reforms heralded measures of Socio Economic Status to explain "educational disparities"

> In this regime, the Socio Economic Status (SES) of student families is used to measure and explain educational disparities, embedding the idea that family income, rather than the structures of the education system, are the cause of educational disparity. In this analysis, responsibility for educational outcomes is shifted to families rather than to the education system (p. 258).

Alongside a business model of educational delivery, a corollary of the Tomorrow's School reforms included a shift towards teacher and school accountability to local communities (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018b). In theory this aimed to ensure a new governance model, where schools were responsive and accountable to families via elected Board of Trustees. As a Crown entity Boards perpetuated the "education at a distance" paradigm. For example, they became responsible for the running of schools - including property, school philosophy, leadership recruitment, direction and the wellbeing of staff and students (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018b) - yet they remain peripheral to macro educational policy formation and are subject to Ministry of Education directives.

Since the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, several educational researchers have provided critique of economic measures alone to account for educational disparity (Snook & O'Neill, 2014; Stewart, 2018; Thrupp, 2007). For example Snook and O'Neill (2014) argue that education inequality and success must be understood in relation to wider social determinants such as health status, income and employment, housing quality and criminal justice issues (p. 39). The 2018 Review of Tomorrow's Schools found that "the roles and responsibilities of boards are too wide-ranging and complex" (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018b, p. 40). In relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi the report recognised that "we are largely failing to put into practice the guarantees made by Te Tiriti o Waitangi of equal participation in governance, access to benefits, and protection and retention of cultural resources for Māori and Pākehā and Tauiwi alike" (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018b, p. 29). The report goes on to quantify the potential economic benefits and costs of Māori educational inequity to society

> There will continue to be considerable costs for society and the economy if we do not achieve educational equity of Māori. If we do achieve that equity, there will be gains in the region of a $2.6 billion boost to the economy each year.
>
> As a country, we can't afford to waste this talent. Māori and Pacific students make up 38% of students; by the 2030s they will comprise 42% (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018b, p. 30).

Coupling economic benefits with a growing population provides a compelling argument as to why addressing Māori educational inequities is critical. At the same time the underlying message is that integrating historically excluded Indigenous people into the global economy is in the public interest. In their exploration of Indigenous responses to neoliberalism, Howard-Wagner et al. (2018) problematise this type of economic framing in relation to Indigenous calls for self-determination. They argue such positions work to legitimate Indigenous "rights to development via the market and self-

government, which fit well with the reduction of the state and the transfer of administrative responsibilities" (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018, p. 12). For Indigenous peoples Howard-Wagner et al. (2018) argue that neoliberalism has been "welcomed by some indigenous communities" and yet for others has resulted in a "radical erosion of recognition of status and rights" (pp. 6-7). They point out that such inconsistencies emerge in the following ways

> rather than less government, the turn towards individual indigenous wellbeing and poverty governance in the neoliberal age has entailed a turn away from self-governance and freedom of the rights/welfare state era and return to government intervention and intrusion into private lives of indigenous people and the affairs of indigenous people (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018, pp. 14-15).

While Aotearoa has ratified the UNDRIP (2007), which states that indigenous peoples can "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development", under Article 46(1) indigenous self-determination remains "a 'domestic or internal' right that can only be exercised within the boundaries of the state" (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018, p. 10). Indeed, educational administration, linked to new public management, continues to perpetuate a managerial and competitive approach that has failed to address cultural racism in education (Ministry of Education, 2021b; Office of the Children's Commissioner & New Zealand School Trustees Association, 2018; Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2021a). In some instances, it has stymied the growth of Māori medium opportunities generally (Pihama, 2019; Skerrett & Ritchie, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal, 2012), in others it has created greater Māori language and choice (Stewart et al., 2017b). Stewart's (2018) analysis identifies key contradictions in neoliberal ideas in education and their impacts on kaupapa Māori educational initiatives

> In sum, the policies recommended by the Treasury brief have had contradictory effects because on one hand, Māori have taken up the opportunities afforded by policies of 'choice' to establish KKM [Kura Kaupapa Māori] and other Kaupapa Māori and Māori-medium (including bilingual) initiatives, but on the other hand, statistical inequity for Māori in education remains as large as ever (p. 174).

Because of consistent low enrolments of Māori in kaupapa Māori education – 3% of the total school population as of 1 July 2022 (Ministry of Education, 2023d) – Stewart (2018) contends that

> Perhaps the best way to overcome the apparent contradiction and summarise the contemporary situation for Māori education is to say that the outcomes of Kaupapa Māori education have been quantitative and symbolically important, but not (yet) statistically or numerically so (pp. 174-175).

Next, I focus on neoliberal political economic backdrop in contemporary education, and its impacts on how school governance is framed and understood by Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups in Aotearoa.

3.3 To "talk past each other"?: School accountability, capability and strategic thinking

> When Maoris, Pakehas, and Samoans [sic] act on the assumption that they give particular words and actions the same meaning while actually giving them different ones, they *'talk past each other'*, misread each others' words and actions, respond inappropriately, and judge each other as stupid, odd, or rude in the light of their own standards. And because this happens below the level of conscious awareness they can go on making the same mistakes indefinitely, failing to connect, feeling irritated and confused, unless someone opens their eyes to what is happening (my emphasis, Metge & Kinloch, 1978, p. 9).

Recent reforms to school governance, management and administration of the schooling system has identified "a need to support greater engagement by Māori in school governance" (Ministry of Education, 2019, p. 31). This long-standing problem – ineffective school-tangata whenua governance relations – links to Metge and Kinloch's (1978) observation of the fallibility and fragility of cross-cultural encounters in educational leadership. That is, when cultural worldviews converge they can be rife with paradoxes, tensions and contingencies. Such encounters may unveil a powerful dialogic learning experience between groups (Davis et al., 2022; Hancock, 2018; Healy, 2019; Hoskins, 2010, 2018). They can also result in moments of retrenchment, dissonance, paralysis and divergence (Barnes, 2013; Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Jones & Jenkins, 2008). How people respond to moments of 'talking past each other' is an open question, subject to the flow of historic and present power relations relationally and hierarchically (Ahmed, 2014).

Heke et al. (2018) analysed an obesity intervention programme co-designed and implemented by Māori school communities and health researchers. They explain how the initial overarching research question was radically reframed by Māori collaborators

> The question was
>
> *What are the factors that are going to influence people in engaging in better levels of physical activity and improved nutrition?*
>
> The above question reflected a non-indigenous perspective, including the idea, common to research in this area, that physical activity and nutrition are the core factors driving obesity. It was quickly rejected and changed to
>
> *How can Mātauranga Māori influence Waiora?* (original emphasis, Heke et al., 2018, p. 25)

On critical reflection Heke et al. (2018) explain that the research team were "forced to come at the issue from a uniquely indigenous perspective and come to grips with the scope and meaning of Mātauranga Māori and Waiora (well-being)" (p. 25). The implications of this learning moment involved a repositioning of "obesity" from an abstract concept, to a problem that could not be "isolated from the broader context of health" (Heke et al., 2018, p. 25). They go onto explain that the reformulated focus question "used Māori language concepts, so that what was being said had a number of nuances and subtleties that the researchers had to manage", and that

> While such translations are always difficult, a reasonable starting point is to read the focusing question as "How can Mātauranga Māori [a specific indigenous way of seeing and acting in this world], influence Waiora [physical, psychological and spiritual wellbeing]." A second significant point arising out of this is that the focus of the question goes well beyond obesity. For the participants, focusing on the problem of obesity was simply repeating what has been done many times over, describing the problems that Māori communities are having and the need to change exercise and nutrition behaviours. They did not want to go over what they saw as "old ground" (Heke et al., 2018, p. 25).

This example illustrates the efforts to describe well-being concepts across languages and cultures. Drawing on the observations of Metge & Kinloch (1978), it emphasises the propensity to talk past each other. Conversely it illustrates how a critical ontological position can, as Kincheloe (2011) points out, "spiral through a variety of such discourses to weave a multilogical theoretical and empirical tapestry" (p. 336). Ultimately, these learning moments can result in transformations about how social problems are conceived of and addressed (Kincheloe, 2011). In this sense Hipkins (2021) invites educationalists to consider the connections and contradictions between Indigenous knowledge systems and complex systems thinking

> When, why, and how could ideas embedded in mātauranga Māori, as well as differences between knowledge systems, be introduced to learners? If Western thought patterns are dominant in your own thinking, directly comparing traditional content with mātauranga Māori could risk appropriating indigenous knowledge into your more familiar body of knowledge. What could you do to avoid this dilemma if you have not had opportunities to be immersed in te ao Māori yourself? (Hipkins, 2021, p. 105).

These complexities – the critical differences between Indigenous and Western conceptions of reality and knowledge – can be heightened under neoliberalism where school governance has focused on discrete managerial concepts of "accountability, capacity building and strategic thinking" (Burns & Köster, 2016). Literature exploring each of these themes, and the dynamic relationship between them, is broad and deep and I do not aim to review this breadth here (Ball & Osborne, 2011; Dizon-Ross, 2020; Griffith & Smith, 2014; Reeves, 2020). Rather, in the following sub-section I apply

Burns and Köster (2016) OECD review *Modern Governance Challenges in Education*, which provides a key synthesis of these ideas. I have found their descriptions useful because of its relevance to my fieldwork, and the complexity of educational decision-making generally. I use their descriptions as a stepping stone to examine the broad contentions facing Indigenous and settler-colonial power relations in educational governance. Inspired by Howard-Wagner et al. (2018), I synthesise each of these rhetorical themes in order to explore "the nuances and complexities of changing game plans, in relation to indigenous rights and recognition in the neoliberal age" (p. 9). At the same time I illustrate Metge & Kinloch's (1978) enduring observation that existing imbalances in power relations between Māori and non-Māori can result in a misread of each other's words and actions. Incorrect interpretations of rhetorical devices can be clarified when an ethical concern for the Other is present in person, policy and process (Hancock, 2018; Hoskins, 2010; Martin, 2019).

3.4 Accountability, capacity building and strategic thinking

In their review of governance challenges and complexity in education Burns and Köster (2016) posit that there are different modes of school accountability. On the one hand the influence of discourse economism, driven by new public management policies, has emphasised a managerial focus on accountability and strengthened 'vertical accountability'. Vertical accountability "enforces compliance with laws and regulation" and aims to hold "schools accountable for the quality of education they provide" (Burns & Köster, 2016, p. 25). Typical elements of this mode of governance include an emphasis on measurable outputs such as student test scores, graduation rates and transitions into employment (Burns & Köster, 2016). These forms of accountability are based on "the right to a quality education" discourse

> Underlying the movement toward more educator-based accountability is a belief that accountability pressure will shape educator behaviour, creating a more efficient and effective system. Student test scores, aggregated at the classroom or school level, are then used as an accepted measure of educational quality (Smith, 2016, p. 74).

The idea that test scores create "accountability pressure", generate "efficient and effective" behaviour, and contribute to "educational quality" has been a site of significant scholarly debate in Aotearoa (Carpenter & Osborne, 2014; Codd, 2005; Snook & O'Neill, 2014; Stewart, 2018; Thrupp & Irwin, 2010; Youngs, 2020). These criticisms maintain that national testing regimes are bound to the market model of school competition, where parents "act as customers to an educational market" (Smith, 2016, p. 75). Burns and Köster (2016) identify 'horizontal accountability' as a second

mode of accountability, based on a set of non-hierarchical values. Hooge (2016) describes horizontal accountability as being

> a process involving students, parents, communities and other stakeholders in formulating strategies, decision-making, and evaluation for education, multiple school accountability aims to provide: (1) legitimation for the strategy and decision making of the school (is the school doing the right things?), (2) legitimation for the quality of services provided (is the school doing things well?), and (3) improvement of the quality of services provided (p. 99).

Hooge (2016) goes on to summarise vertical and horizontal modes of school governance accountability in following general terms (p. 95):

Table 3: Vertical and horizontal models of school governance accountability

Vertical	**Regulatory school accountability:** Compliance with laws and regulations; focuses on inputs and processes within the school. Mechanism: reporting to higher levels of school authority.
	School performance accountability: Periodic school evaluations. Mechanisms include: 1) standardised student testing, 2) public reporting of school performance, and 3) rewards or sanctions. (Rosendkvist, 2010; Levin, 1974).
Horizontal	**Professional school accountability:** Professional standards for teachers and other educational staff. Mechanisms: credible, useful standards and the creation of professional learning communities (Kim and Lee, 2010; Levitt et al., 2008; Davis, 1991).
	Multiple school accountability: Involving students, parents, communities and other stakeholders in formulating strategies, goal setting, decision-making, and evaluation and appreciation of educational processes, outputs and outcomes (Knutsen and Brower, 2010; De Vijlder et al., 2002; Levin, 1974).

When examining 'capacity building' in educational governance both vertical and horizontal elements are critical. Burns and Köster (2016) broadly describe "capacity building" as

> the process of helping all actors to acquire and use information relevant to successful policy implementation. Access to this information and understanding how to use the information are defined as "knowledge" (Fazekas and Burns, 2011; Hess and Ostrom, 2007). Capacity building strives to provide different actors with effective and efficient ways to access and use knowledge in local educational contexts in order to achieve desired outcomes (p. 27).

Burns and Köster (2016) adopt a 'systems thinking' understanding of capacity building and governance strategy that includes individual, institutional, system and societal levels (p. 27). Systems thinking is not a new idea in public, private, non-government and business sectors when addressing complex or "wicked problems" (Berger & Johnston, 2015; Heke et al., 2018; Hipkins, 2021; Kania et al., 2018). Shaked and Schechter (2019) posit that there are "diverse definitions" of systems thinking. Each definition "clearly yield two main complementary meanings" that include "rising above the separate components to see the whole system and thinking about each separate

component as a part of the whole system" (Shaked & Schechter, 2019, p. 576). Bates (2013) distinguishes the epistemological foundations of systems thinking by tracking its development over time. 'First-order systems thinking' aligns to a positivist and objective paradigm, where there exists "the autonomous system designer or manager, positioned as a knowing, detached observer who controls the system by 'looking at it' and manipulating its components as if from the 'outside', whereas at the same time being part of the system" (Bates, 2013, p. 41). This paradoxical approach has been challenged by the second-order approach aligned to a constructivist paradigm. This second conceptualisation seeks to recognise "multiple subjective realities of people working in organisations enables a shift from 'command-and-control' to more participative approaches to managing organisations", which then "focus on the processes of construction of shared meanings and on organisational learning" (Bates, 2013, p. 41). Heke et al. (2018) have considered how second-order systems thinking can relate to Māori knowledges and practices. In their analysis of these relationships, they emphasise

> understanding the relationships between the components of a system, as it is the pattern of these relationships that determines the characteristics and properties of systems behaviour. It is in this focus on relationships and the meanings attributed to these relationships that we see the common ground linking Systems Thinking [sic] and indigenous Māori knowledge. They are two different bodies of knowledge, each with a long social and cultural history, but their commonalities, we believe, provide the opportunity to support and enrich each other (p. 23).

In education, systems thinking has been used to explore and address issues such as teaching and learning design for the future, science education, decision-making from multiple standpoints, addressing the climate crises, and health promotion interventions (Carroll et al., 2020; Gilbert & Bull, 2014; Heke et al., 2018; Hipkins et al., 2014; Shaked & Schechter, 2019). However, Stacey (2010) warns that a reified understanding of systems thinking can risk oversimplifying the murky every-day realities of decision-making in education

> People in organizations do not normally follow the steps proposed by systems practitioners… Instead, the organizational reality is that they engage in daily conversation, gossip, political negotiations, power plays, acts of resistance and pursuit of personal agendas: in short local interaction (p. 124).

Individuals come to school governance with a range of experiences and from diverse backgrounds. Their understanding of their role(s), and how they can best support their school community can create complexity in relations between board members (Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018a). Again, the propensity to talk past one another looms large in these governance settings. For example individual

assumptions and biases – also known as “mental models” – can create divergent ways of thinking about the purpose of governance as (Preskill et al., 2019) explain

> Diversity of thought and experience among members is valuable for boards, but can pose challenges to aligning all members on the purpose, goals, and value of different kinds of data. Developing a shared understanding takes time, especially for large boards (pp. 7-6).

Burns and Köster (2016) do not address questions about how to engage divergent mental models or biases in decision-making roles. Rather they posit that individual capacity building requires “finding ways to support individuals (parents, teachers, headmasters and local policy makers) as they face the demands of new developments in the local context by building on existing knowledge (human resources and knowledge management)” (Burns & Köster, 2016, p. 27). To this end, they suggest three “key elements” can support individual and institutional capacity building including:

1. Access to information and the ownership to be willing to use that information
2. The ability and tools required to make a change efficiently and as intended; and
3. Reinforcing desired changes in behaviour to build new reflexes and new patterns of working (Burns & Köster, 2016, p. 27).

These elements reinforce a technical and perceived culturally neutral form of knowledge access and utility (Kincheloe, 2011). It assumes all Board members and school leaders have benign access, use and ownership of local information in relation to their school. This presumption risks perpetuating what Huygens (2011) terms “a benign colonisation”, where Western assertions and assumptions of ‘free access’ to knowledge can become naturalised and hegemonic (p. 56). Bishop and Glynn (1999) and Sefa Dei and Restoule (2019) warn that this form of benign, or ‘hidden’ colonisation, reinforces unilateral forms of power imposition, whereby terms of engagement are determined by Eurocentric school-based processes and protocols. If school governance practices continue to assume unilateral access to information and use, it is unlikely that “reinforcing desired changes in behaviour to build new reflexes and new patterns” (Burns & Köster, 2016, p. 27) will result. A critical reading of Burns & Köster’s descriptions of individual and organisational capacity building create profound epistemological and ontological questions (Kincheloe, 2011). For example, whose cultural and political assumptions about knowledge, access and use in educational leadership prevail, are obscured or silenced (Hokowhitu et al., 2022; MacDonald, 2018; Milne-Ihimaera, 2018)? Similarly when working across Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews, what conditions enable *and* constrain the ability of these different standpoints to come together to address shared educational dilemmas?

It is common for tensions to emerge between vertical and horizontal educational governance and accountability. Hooge (2016) suggests that the strain is often due to "central governments demand rigorous accounting for resources and lawfulness, often in quantifiable process-output measures" (p. 96). These demands can conflict with "horizontal accountability processes such as meeting professional standards for teachers and educational staff or conceptualising education quality in terms of requirements of parents, institutions for further education or the world of work" (p. 96). Milne-Ihimaera (2018) succinctly captures these tensions in her doctoral research that provided a counter narrative to a Ministry of Education Statutory Intervention in Moerewa school in 2012. Of particular relevance is how Milne-Ihimaera problematises contrasting definitions of 'educational success' between the majority Māori school community and intervening statutory Crown agencies

> The introduction of education policy designed to define academic success in narrow terms, was problematic during the Moerewa School intervention. The school's success was defined only by NCEA credits and National Standards scores by the Ministry of Education and audit officials that were brought in to constantly evaluate the progress of the school. There would always be the token attempts at the beginning of any meeting to be interested in other philosophies and culturally competent pedagogies the school was promoting, however by the end of the meeting the only thing that mattered was percentages and literacy and numeracy assessment data. While the school was obviously happy to be accountable using these measures, the obsession by the officials to focus entirely on literacy and numeracy measures as the only definition of real success, rendered all other indicators to the margins (Milne-Ihimaera, 2018, p. 268).

Milne-Ihimaera's experience of Crown vertical governance success indicators – standardised literacy and numeracy assessment data – contributes to what Dennison (2022) calls a *doctrine of distrust* in Indigenous-non-Indigenous governance relations. Dennison (2022) describes the doctrine of distrust as "a feedback loop that continues to feed on and maintain both colonial authority and widespread cynicism" (p. 297). With reference to her own Osage Nation governance experiences, Dennison (2022) explains that the doctrine of distrust distorts relationships *within* Indigenous communities and *externally* with settler colonial state actors

> ongoing colonial and liberal structures have distorted many governance relationships, creating widespread calls for accountability to try and address existing distrust. Unfortunately, the tools used to create accountability and transparency are themselves having devastating consequences on the day-to-day operations of governments. Distrust too often manifests in many forms of governmental disruption, including increased bureaucratic processes of approval and hyper-monitoring of employee actions, all of which further entrench, rather than alleviate, distrust (p. 296).

Milne-Ihimaera's (2018) research interpretations of the Ministry of Education statutory intervention in Moerewa provides a relevant example of the doctrine of distrust in action

> the promise of self managing schools where parents are legitimately able to have more say over their child's education, was a myth. In fact what is devolved to Māori parents and communities is the responsibility to be involved, but only narrow forms of accountability are released from the grip of the State. The reality is the State remains in control and has complete power and jurisdiction over resources (p. 269).

The Moerewa school experience illustrates that while under Tomorrow's Schools the role of governance was transferred to local communities, the Crown continues to unilaterally determine the accountability and regulatory regime (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018, p. 6). This resembles Cahill's (2010) argument that under neoliberalism "the state has maintained a pervasive presence in the regulation of economic and social life during the last three decades, thus contravening a key normative prescription of neoliberal theory" (p. 305). There is a growing body of Māori educational counter narratives that identify these tensions and contradictions, while also providing evidence of the material and cultural harms that can result (Hutchings & Lee, 2016; Milne, 2017; Milne-Ihimaera, 2018).

In another educational governance case study, Hoskins (2018) provides a rich example of how Māori and non-Māori trustees moved through issues of conflict, towards mutual recognition and inclusion

> We [whānau] came willing to teach and to lead, and showed ourselves to be committed and relational. To their credit the Board maintained an open and responsive orientation in the face of significant pressure and dissent. The Board not only did *not* close down the concerns and aspirations of the Māori community, they mandated the Māori community to write the Treaty governance policy. Their ratification of a 'radical' policy suggests a courageous political decision that facilitated the rapid movement from opposition to relationship, furnishing the conditions for the development and growth of a quality Māori education option (original emphasis, p. 163-164).

In sum, many Indigenous communities challenge vertical accountability in schooling governance because it often prevents relational trust and accountability between Indigenous peoples and colonial states to be reimagined or be negotiated anew. Divergent descriptions of 'teaching and learning success', 'educational accountability' and 'governance transparency' become sites of relational and structural challenge. This can provide opportunities for renewal and retrenchment. For example, Dennison (2022) found that "through understanding the ways that trust has been distorted by the doctrine of distrust, we as Indigenous peoples can reimagine how to

rebuild relational accountability" (p. 307). Numerous cross-disciplinary Māori researchers have articulated how Māori educational advocates have been at the forefront of re-imagining what relational accountability may look like for themselves, and in relation to non-Māori and Crown institutions (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Durie, 2003; Hoskins & Bell, 2021; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014; Winiata & Luke, 2021a). An open-ended and relational accountability has the potential to change the colonial power relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups (Hancock, 2018; Huygens, 2007). Valuing and cultivating processes of relational accountabilities requires a range of structural and relational capabilities and capacities.

Presently the disjuncture between micro (school and local Māori communities) and macro (Ministry of Education) policy directives in Māori education continue (Eley & Berryman, 2019; Stewart & Krzyzosiak, 2019). Analyses of Māori educational strategies found general support for the policy, but ineffective implementation (Berryman & Eley, 2017; Controller and Auditor General, 2016b; Rifle, 2019). In response to these disjuncture Smith (2018) and Skerrett and Ritchie (2021) found that unless there are processes and systems in place that deliberately question unequal power-relations in schooling, school leaders can wittingly or unwittingly, preserve a microcosm of wider systematic and societal Eurocentric educational administration. In this process the potential to rebuild and sustain culturally just relationships between schools and Indigenous peoples become undermined by benign colonisation, which renders Indigenous alternatives to decision-making "impractical", or perceived by Indigenous people as "patronising" (Berryman, Ford, et al., 2015; Durie, 2003; Sefa Dei & Restoule, 2019). Hoskins (2010) found that there is "no right way" to go about capacity building between schools and diverse Māori communities. While common ethical principles may exist, their expression in practice will differ because of contextual power-relations historically and in the present. In her research into primary school co-governance arrangements, Hoskins (2010) describes how whānau built their own capacity in order to lead and co-design successful educational opportunities that benefited the community

> Systems are in place for whānau communication, for when and how whānau meetings will be held, and how meetings will work to develop whānau skills in facilitation and associated cultural practices. The whānau is structured into smaller groupings to support its development priorities, and the provision for term-by-term wānanga (learning gatherings) to address different areas of whānau and unit development, are in place. There are guidelines for raising concerns and making complaints, for whānau involvement in budgetary decisions, and for when and how the English language will be taught. Whānau have a well-developed enrolment criteria and interview process that is fully managed by the whānau. A clear set of behavioural expectations are agreed to by whānau on entry to the unit. In addition to these organisational practices,

> whānau are engaged in developing cultural and community ceremonies and activities that build whānau participation and identity (p. 194).

This example denotes the synergetic relationship between what Mika (2002) calls "hard" and "soft" capacity building (p. 12). The school whānau developed "hard" organisational structures and processes to communicate relevant educational issues and determine collective responsibilities and accountabilities. These hard capacities were permeated by growing the "soft" capacities of the collective, namely "developing cultural and community ceremonies and activities that build whānau participation and identity" (Hoskins, 2010, p. 194). These elements align to Graham Smith's (2009) provocation to transform Indigenous educational leadership into "a positive and proactive stance - not (as it is so easy to do) from a strand-point of being 'reactive', 'negative' or from a 'blame' oriented perspective" (original emphasis, p. 1). Coulthard (2007) describes this capacity building processes as a "recognition from below" where

> practices of 'self-recognition' through which dominated or colonised subjects 'critically revalu[e], reconstruct … and redeploy … culture and tradition' and, in the process, radically transform their own self consciousness as political agents (p. 456).

Sefa Dei (2019) suggests this 'ground up' approach in Indigenous educational governance "cultivates the community's capacity to articulate its own issues and concerns and looks for genuine home grown solutions to problems" (p. 12). Taking a 'systems approach' to questions of accountability, capacity building and strategic thinking in school governance entails recognising the different standpoints Indigenous and non-Indigenous have about these loaded terms. This is a holistic exercise that holds critical and strategic implications for leaders. As Garvey Berger (2012) reminds us "if you cannot see the patterns in the system, it's much harder to find a leverage point to make a desired change" (p. 41). To see the pattern of the system is one thing, however what is the *quality of that view*? What is being looked at, and from whose ontological and epistemological positions? Such foundational questions link to Bauman and Donskis (2013) notion of the "ethical gaze", which reminds leaders to be aware of, and reflexively question, the benign colonialism that underpin contemporary educational policy, systems, processes and relations. It implores leaders to consider a range of change strategies that constructively challenge benign colonialism to offer alternative logics to work and live well together (Huygens, 2011). As Hoskins (2010) suggests, an ethical gaze should not be confused with a "cosy togetherness"; it involves a powerful and vulnerable letting go of power and control, with a view to deepen relational being

> if we give up the idea that we can know all about others, and if, through relationships with difference, we can learn from and be altered by that

> relationship. In giving up an ideal of a cosy togetherness, spaces are opened that can enhance the quality of relationships (p. 196).

Co-governance approaches hold the potential to resist the neoliberal and economic discourses that can reduce educational leadership as a set of standardised categories based on abstract and vertical targets and standards. A systematic overview of macro imperatives and systems thinking approaches in governance is important, however they must also be anchored in the everyday realities of the needs, aspirations of place and people (Pence, 2021). Carroll et al. (2020) explain that governance approaches underpinned by systems and strategic thinking must be able to bridge "micro conversations happening often at a local or community level and macro conversations happening in the government or institutional sphere" (p. 3). If this integration is not present, the everyday work of teachers, students, parents, and administrators will not be visible because of standardised governance structures and relationships of power (Nichols & Griffith, 2009). It must be possible to identify, and positively address how disjunctures occur between the routine practices of institutions (schools) and the everyday lives of diverse Indigenous people accessing, participating and contributing to those institutions (Pence, 2021). This orientation gives rise to "the possibility for responsible political decisions to be taken in the service of others" (Hoskins, 2010, p. 200). Next I explore the nexus between neoliberalism and bilingual education.

3.5 Neoliberalism and bilingual education

My formative and adult education in both Māori and English mediums has created a critical awareness and interest in how political, cultural and economic forces intersect, and the arising paradoxes that result. These contradictions are apparent in recent controversies about the misappropriation of te reo and mātauranga Māori by private business nationally and internationally, and Māori revitalisation and renormalisation movements (Ira, 2020; Martín Rojo et al., 2019; Waatea News, 2021). Such paradoxes uncover ongoing stresses about the boundaries of Indigenous knowledge(s) in relation to the national and global capitalist marketplace. In an analysis of New Zealand intellectual property framework protections for haka and mātauranga Māori, Wilson (2020) concludes that

> Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi [sic] in 1840 Māori and their culture have been suppressed and neglected both in societal and legal realms. One consequence of this is that New Zealand's intellectual property law system does not protect mātauranga Māori against derogatory and offensive use both within New Zealand and on an international stage. This is because mātauranga Māori was never intended to fit within the boundaries of intellectual property. Tania Waikato notes, "mātauranga [Māori] is now exposed to exploitation, because the laws that did not account for it are now responsible for its protection" (p. 557).

For generations diverse Māori have been generating ethical and locally-responsive strategies and practices to determine the boundaries of their knowledge sharing. As Mika et al. (2022) contend, Indigenous and Māori economies "endure, despite generations of inequity, exclusion, and discrimination, as models of resilience and adaptation to colonial intrusions" (p. 2). These analyses generally focus on why and how their language, identities and culture can challenge economic conceptualisations of value that collude with capitalist ecological degradation, increasing poverty, and Indigenous peoples' marginalisation (see Mika et al., 2021; Mika et al., 2022; Spiller et al., 2020). Indeed, Indigenous peoples have a long history of "reframing business in an holistic way, rejecting the customary-commercial binary in favour of duality, adaptation, and hybridity" (Mika et al., 2022, p. 12). Mika et al. (2022) argue that Indigenous entrepreneurs who are culturally connected invariably negotiate "cultural and commercial imperatives toward multidimensional wellbeing, human potential, and relational balance" (p. 14). Internationally, the "Treaty of Waitangi exception clause" in fair trade agreements between Aotearoa and its trading partners could be viewed as an attempt to reconcile contemporary Māori cultural, political and commercial dimensions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2023). This clause aims to protect "the government's ability to adopt policies that fulfil its obligations to Māori, including under the Treaty of Waitangi, without being obliged to offer equivalent treatment to our trading partners" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2023). However, findings from the Waitangi Tribunal (2011; 2016) and Māori and non-Māori scholarship continue to criticise how such provisions are inadequate in the global 'free market' (Kapa-Kingi, 2020; Kelsey, 2022).

These international controversies are important because the development of bilingual education programmes cannot be divorced from neoliberal market forces and international power-relations (Martín Rojo et al., 2019). Critical scholars of bilingual education have been at the forefront of mapping the complex discursive relationships between neoliberalism and languages (Flores, 2013; Flores, 2019; Urla, 2019). These analyses draw on Foucauldian theories of governmentality and regimes of power, such as contemporary neoliberalism and colonialism, to explicate the extent to which logics of business and free enterprise are impacting on linguistic pathways and practices (Martín Rojo et al., 2019). As Martín Rojo et al. (2019) explain, this scholarship is concerned with how neoliberalism has become a 'political rationality' that powerfully shapes how languages and forms of communication govern populations, institutions and subjects

> we study not only how language becomes commodified but also how speakers can accumulate language and communication skills as a personal asset; and we

> not only address the question of how the population is governed within a neoliberal frame but also how neoliberal rationality produces and transforms subjectivities. We share the conviction that understanding, rigorously analysing, and conducting a radical critique of how neoliberalism shapes subjectivities could be the first step in triggering resistance (Martín Rojo et al., 2019, p. 2).

Research by Nelson Flores (2016, 2019) on how 'governmentality', and by extension market principles, colonise social life and bilingual education are pertinent to this field of inquiry. Flores (2016, 2019) charts the post-World War Two development of bilingual programmes and their socio-political foundations. Citing the struggles of Latino communities during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, Flores (2016) explains that "calls for bilingual education among Chicano activists were embedded within a larger political struggle to overthrow hegemonic Whiteness" (p. 18). These challenges echo Māori movements in Aotearoa that consistently challenge the colonial state about institutional racism (see Jackson, 1987; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Smith et al., 2021; Walker, 1990) and linked to this, the aspiration for an education that creates the conditions for te reo and tikanga Māori to legitimately thrive in its own right (Hoskins et al., 2020; Hutchings & Lee, 2016). Flores (2016) describes how Latino community efforts to have Spanish language and citizenship rights legitimised resulted in critical political and cultural trade-offs. As bilingual education in schools gathered state attention and support via liberal multicultural framings, Flores (2016) argues that the anti-racist and liberatory foundations of these movements became shaky and undermined by "hegemonic Whiteness"

> in a society with hierarchies created by hegemonic Whiteness, language as a resource for all is likely to benefit those who most closely fit the ideals of hegemonic Whiteness—namely, White middle and upper-class students and their families… As more White middle and upper-class students, who more closely fit the ideals of hegemonic Whiteness, are educated within these dual-language programs and develop bilingual linguistic resources, they will be in competition with Latinos for bilingual positions and will likely take many of these positions (pp. 31-32).

To avoid reducing Indigenous and minority language learning as an individual "nice to have" or as an "asset in the competitive labour market", Flores and Chaparro (2018) argue for a "materialist anti-racist approach to language activism." They suggest that this orientation is necessarily critical of power relations in that it "connects language activism with other movements that seek to address societal inequities caused by a myriad of factors including poverty, racism, and xenophobia" (Flores & Chaparro, 2018, p. 365). They posit that minority and Indigenous languages will remain devalued in schools "*so long as the speakers of these languages are devalued members of society*" (original emphasis, Flores & Chaparro, 2018, p. 381). Recognition of the complex nexus between colonisation, power-relations and Indigenous language

learning is similarly made by Te Huia (2022), who examined Pākehā experiences of learning te reo Māori in a tertiary setting. Te Huia found that "language anxiety is an issue for both Māori and Pākehā, yet the causes for these experiences are not the same, nor equivalent in nature" (Te Huia, 2022, p. 227). She goes on to explain that colonisation is a key part of this differential

> From a language planning perspective, the issues surrounding colonisation need to be addressed to allow learners to work through the ways in which our colonial history impacts on te reo Māori acquisition and use for both Māori and Pākehā learners. Providing space for these discussions to happen is complex and likely to require an additional set of training and skills from language educators. There continues to be a range of challenges that result from the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand and our indigenous language and language learners are not exempt from those pressures. For te reo Māori to thrive, a broader set of societal issues need to be addressed in order for such a goal to be realised (Te Huia, 2022, pp. 227-228).

The popularity of the language is increasing, which is "manifesting in a visible mainstreaming of te reo, with Māori words and phrases incorporated in everyday institutional and commercial messages on public media, and courses of te reo experiencing a nation-wide surge in enrolments, with statistics showing that, at the tertiary level at least, non-Māori learners are now the majority" (Berardi-Wiltshire & Bortolotto, 2022, p. 3464). According to recent analysis by the trading site TradeMe, people who can speak te reo Māori are on average paid 12 per cent more than those who cannot, with knowledge of te reo and te ao Māori in demand and likely to increase across diverse sectors of the labour market (Whakaata Māori, 2022b).

With a particular focus on Aotearoa next I introduce how relations of power at national and local levels are key determinants of Indigenous language revitalisation and renormalisation.

3.6 Relations of power and Indigenous education approaches

> Is it reasonable for public education systems to foster Indigenous assimilation into a culturally homogenous society or should they be required to support Indigenous people to live *as* Indigenous, recognising that people are by nature different and admitting that everybody need not be equal in the *same* ways? Recognising, too, that conceptions of liberty are grounded in culture, and for Indigenous peoples, must be responsive to colonial context? (original emphasis, O'Sullivan, 2021, p. 131).

The Crown developed its first Māori education strategy in 1999, which was then proceeded by *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2021a). *Ka Hikitia* is currently in its third iteration. A significant development in these strategies was the inclusion of *Tau Mai te Reo* in 2013, which "sets out the goals we are seeking to achieve and provides a

framework for coordinating our programmes and services that support Māori language in Māori medium and English medium education" (Ministry of Education, 2023e). *Tau Mai Te Reo* and *Ka Hikitia* are "part of the education sector's contribution to the Maihi Karauna" (Ministry of Education, 2023e).

Currently *Te Ahu o te Reo Māori,* a free education sector initiative "aims to grow and strengthen an education workforce that can integrate te reo Māori into the learning of all ākonga in Aotearoa" (Ministry of Education, 2022c). These policies, strategies and initiatives acknowledge the Crown's failure to advance Māori learning outcomes and that aim to address systemic barriers to their success 'as Māori' by emphasising Māori language, culture and identity in curricular and pedagogies. Concurrently, the recent introduction of the Education and Training Act (2020) includes expectations of what education agencies - such as schools - must do to give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2020). For example, under section 127 School Boards of Trustees must give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi by:

- Working to ensure their plans, policies and local curriculum reflect local tikanga Māori, mātauranga Māori and te ao Māori
- Taking all reasonable steps to make instruction available in tikanga Māori and te reo Māori and
- Achieving equitable outcomes for Māori students (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2020).

In addition to this legislation, changes are underway to the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) framework to ensure that schools create "parity for mātauranga Māori in NCEA, and it has equal value with other bodies of knowledge" (Ministry of Education, 2023b). Key changes schools must attend to include:

- Integration te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori into the new 'graduate profile' for NCEA, and into the design of achievement standards.
- Ensuring equal support for ākonga Māori in all settings, and equal status for mātauranga Māori.
- Developing more subjects to make sure that te ao Māori pathways are acknowledged and supported equally in NCEA (e.g., Māori Performing Arts).
- Ensuring that, where possible and appropriate, te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori are built into achievement standards for use across English and Māori-medium settings. That might mean:
    - Having Māori-centred contexts for exemplars and assessment resources (e.g., local iwi history).
    - Designing more inclusive standards and assessment resources that allow for diverse cultural perspectives on what's important (e.g., considering community or hapū impact, not just individual user needs).
    - Build teacher capability around culturally inclusive NCEA and assessment and aromatawai practice that is inclusive of ākonga Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2023b).

Resources to support secondary schools with these changes have been developed, and are known as "mana ōrite mō te mātauranga Māori - equal status for mātauranga Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2022a). At the time of writing, the Waitangi Tribunal has also tabled the inclusion of an "Education services and outcomes" kaupapa inquiry (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023), and kura kaupapa Māori have filed an urgent Waitangi Tribunal hearing (Whakaata Māori, 2022a). These education specific hearings and inquiries are likely to extend on the Tribunals previous *WAI 2336 Matua Rautia: Report on the Kōhanga Reo Claim* report (2012), which found that

> the Crown's early childhood education system, in particular its funding formula, quality measures, and regulatory regime, had failed to adequately sustain the specific needs of kōhanga reo as an environment for language transmission and whānau development. These failures constituted breaches of the Treaty principles of partnership and equity.
>
> The Tribunal endorsed the conclusion of the Wai 262 Tribunal's report, Ko Aotearoa Tēnei, that urgent steps were needed to address recent Crown policy failures if te reo were to survive. The Tribunal noted that survival requires both Treaty partners – Māori and the Crown – to collaborate in taking whatever reasonable steps are required to achieve the shared aim of assuring the long-term health of te reo as a taonga of Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012).

These macro level changes, alongside the steadfast advocacy by Māori leaders to have their political, and by extension linguistic and cultural realities legitimated, accepted and responded to by settler colonial institutions and groups have disrupted the "public-private" construct. May (2017) states that resistance by settler colonial states to recognise and accommodate Indigenous and minority linguistic diversity stems from the classical liberal ideology that languages "other" than the colonial or majority language are perceived as "a threat to the maintenance of national cohesion and related notions of social and political stability" (p. 33). Such positions give rise to the public-private construct of traditional liberal political theory and the "pluralistic dilemma", which May (2017) describes as

> an ongoing emphasis on individual rights, and a related scepticism about collective rights, continues to make it difficult for minority ethnolinguistic speakers in modern nation-states to argue for group-based language rights (such as the right to be educated in their L1). As discussed earlier, the right to continue to speak a language other than the state language may *possibly* be allowed in the private domain, but not in public, since the latter is constructed as undermining personal and political autonomy and fostering social and political fragmentation. Closely allied with this position is a view that the ongoing promotion of ethnocultural and/or ethnolinguistic difference is problematic in and of itself (original emphasis, p. 37).

Language revitalisation efforts are often characterised by a dynamic mix of determinants (Bright et al., 2019; Higgins et al., 2014; Hond, 2013). For example revitalisation efforts cannot be left to schools alone, rather they need to be reinforced

by community-school dimensions with political advocacy efforts at local, regional, and national levels aimed at ensuring their validity in the public and private lives of citizens (see Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Hutchings et al., 2017; Lee & McCarty, 2014; Leu Bonanno, 2023; Wiemelt & Welton, 2015). In this sense, the observation of Tollefson (1991) over 30 years ago remains relevant

> [T]he struggle to adopt minority languages within dominant institutions such as education, the law, and government, as well as the struggle over language rights, constitute efforts to legitimise the minority group itself and to alter its relationship to the state. Thus while language planning reflects relationships of power, it can also be used to transform them (p. 202).

Te reo and tikanga Māori is presently classified as "threatened" on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Eberhard et al., 2019). As noted earlier in this chapter, te reo and tikanga Māori learning by Māori and non-Māori is on the increase. It is only recently that Māori linguistic, social and cultural identities are moving away from being "irredeemably oppositional" to English (May, 2017), to being publicly recognised as a legitimate part of our public institutions and national identity (Berardi-Wiltshire & Bortolotto, 2022; Nelson, 2018; Te Huia, 2022). In Aotearoa, whānau, hapū and iwi have been creating revitalisation strategies that aim to foster intergenerational language knowledge and use (Kotahi Mano Kāika, 2023; Waikato Tainui, 2022; Walker, 2011; Winiata & Luke, 2021b). Rewi and Rewi (2015) suggest that if the Māori knowledge and language practices are to thrive, revitalisation must move beyond Māori-only efforts and encompass ownership and responsibility amongst all citizens

> Perhaps the time is nigh that Māori need to loosen their grip on the language and afford some sense of ownership of the language with greater New Zealand thereby giving potential for the other 96% of non-speaking New Zealanders to right-shift from Zero to Passive. This is a growth strategy. In summary, government agencies - such as education, health, social services and criminal justice - have started to recognise, albeit in an uncoordinated and tentative way, the need to create space for initiatives led by and for Māori if Māori wellbeing is to be regained (p. 150).

In 2016 Te Ture Mō Te Reo Māori - The Māori Language Act was passed (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2016). This Act replaced the Māori Language Act (1987) and amended the Broadcasting Act (1989) and the Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act (2003). Its purpose is to affirm the status of the Māori language as a taonga of iwi and Māori and highlight its place as an official language of New Zealand. To do this, the act creates a strategic framework and mechanism, *Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora* (Higgins et al., 2015), to support and revitalise te reo Māori language by tangata whenua and the Crown, in so doing it

> acknowledges the distinctive and complementary roles both the Crown and iwi/Māori have for the revitalisation of the Māori language, providing assurances around responsibilities and iwi Māori independence in respect of our language. The 'whare' recognises these two roles with the Maihi Māori being represented on the left side of the whare – the Taraiti where, traditionally, tangata whenua (the host party) is situated; and the Maihi Karauna being on the right-hand side of the whare – the Taranui which is a much larger space offered to manuhiri (guest) (Te Mātāwai, 2017, p. 1).

Te Maihi Māori (2017-2040) focuses on revitalisation efforts by and for iwi, Māori and Māori language communities/stakeholders (Te Mātāwai, 2017), while Te Maihi Karauna (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2019) is based on three broad goals, and by 2040 aims to have:

1. 85% of New Zealanders (or more) will value te reo Māori as a key part of national identity.
2. One million New Zealanders can speak at least basic te reo Māori.
3. 150,000 Māori aged 15 and over will use te reo Māori as much as English (pp. 1-3).

The goals of Te Maihi Karauna in relation to valuing te reo Māori, appears to be gaining momentum. The 2016 online survey by Te Ipukarea: The National Māori Language Institute (2016) found an "unexpected correlation between Pākehā and Māori respondents in that both cohorts of respondents agree that the Māori language should be made compulsory in New Zealand primary schools" (p. 58). More recent statistical data from the 2021 General Social Survey (GSS) showed the ability of those aged 15 and over to speak te reo Māori in day-to-day conversation had improved (StatsNZ, 2022). The survey found that three in five New Zealanders think te reo Māori should be a core subject in primary schools, with other key findings showing that

- 57 percent (up from 53 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that the government should encourage and support the use of te reo Māori in everyday situations
- 56 percent (up from 51 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that signage should be in both te reo Māori and English
- 44 percent (up from 39 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that it would be good if all people living in New Zealand spoke te reo Māori and English (StatsNZ, 2022).

Small-scale qualitative studies on the benefits for non-Māori learners of te reo and tikanga Māori have found that an enhancement of intellectual, cultural, social and spiritual values takes place (Berardi-Wiltshire & Bortolotto, 2022; Nelson, 2018; Te Huia, 2022). These findings correspond to critical reflections by non-Māori researchers and community educators engaged with Māori on a range of initiatives (Amundsen, 2018; Barnes, 2013; Hancock, 2018). Importantly, these positive associations are not neutral; they are linked to wider power-relations in society that can create experiences of emotional, intellectual, political and spiritual dissonance (Crawford & Langridge,

2022; Hotere-Barnes, 2015). As more and more non-Māori engage with Māori language, identity and culture in the classroom and daily life, focus is turning to its variable consequences. Debates continue regarding the role of non-Māori in the revitalisation processes in Aotearoa (Hayden, 2021; Jones, 2021; Ngata, 2017; Olsen-Reeder, 2021; Robb, 2021). Given this interplay non-Māori advocates of te reo and tikanga Māori can simultaneously reinscribe existing societal power-imbalances *and* challenge them. This is a complex intersection of Indigenous and Western knowledge, preferences and practices. Next I explore what can be learnt from this convergence, with the purpose of contributing to discussions about co-governance educational theory and practice.

3.7 Lessons for co-governance education: Bilingual education and school improvement

Māori political, social and cultural movements continue to play a significant role in shaping educational responses to the role and value placed on te reo and tikanga Māori. While this thesis does not provide a history of Māori educational developments in Aotearoa Hoskins et al. (2020) maintain that since the establishment of early setter colonists schools in the 19th century, Māori consistently wanted a "more than basic education from their schools", which has been "the consistent message from the beginning, and it has not changed to the present day" (p. 146). For example they cite a late 19th century Māori educational petition about improving the quality of schooling for their people

> Wi Te Hakiro and 336 other Māori petitioned the government in 1876 asking for the schools to provide a "good sound education" in Māori interests, thereby repaying the tribes' efforts in supplying land and costs for the school. The petitioners argued for amendments to the Act so that there could be two different sorts of schools. In one, children who were fluent in te reo and tikanga would be taught in Māori; the other would be for Māori children from two years old, who, the petitioners argued, should be taught "the Pākehā language, and all the knowledge the Pākehā possess" (p. 146).

Hoskins et al. (2020) suggest that kaupapa Māori education analyses of education is not only characterised by the oppressor (Crown/colonising state) - oppressed (tangata whenua/Indigenous people) binary. They argue that kaupapa Māori analyses must "see Māori communities not simply as victims of English-medium forces", rather a focus must also lie on Māori peoples "active and strategic attempts to integrate new knowledges into their own, changing, universe" (Hoskins et al., 2020, p. 144). The goal of designing bilingual teaching and learning environments are typified by the development of immersion, dual medium and bilingual provisions. For instance, two years after te reo Māori was codified into law as a national language in 1987, the

Crown started to recognise Māori social and cultural movements by passing the Education Act (1989) (Tocker, 2015). Based on the advocacy of kaupapa Māori educationalists, amendments to the act were made in 1999, which better acknowledged the status Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM) and Māori communities ability to determine their own learning systems (May & Hill, 2018; Tocker, 2015). As Tocker (2015) explains the legislation created

> the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori and the recognition of the guiding philosophy, Te Aho Matua brought closure for the kura kaupapa Māori pioneers who had persevered in their fight for a schooling initiative at primary level that would continue the Māori language learning and cultural practices for their kōhanga reo children, improve life chances for young Māori and eradicate inequality (p. 37).

From this point on what is known in compulsory education as a "Māori-medium pathway" became a permanent addition to the settler-colonial schooling system. Based on a unique set of curricular - Te Aho Matua, Kura ā-Iwi, marau ā-hapū and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa - these "pathways" aim to take for granted Māori aspirations, content and pedagogies, and form the centre of Māori teaching, learning, leadership and development processes (see Hohepa & Paki, 2017; Lee-Morgan et al., 2019; Lee-Morgan & Martin, 2021; Tamatea et al., 2015; Webber & O'Connor, 2022).

In a critical reflection on the development of *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (TMOA) – the official statement of Māori medium school curriculum policy that sits alongside the *New Zealand Curriculum* (NZC) – Stewart et al. (2017a) discuss the fundamental tensions of designing a standardised and parallel Indigenous curricular

> On one hand, the Ministry of Education wanted one curriculum for all Māori-medium schools. This view sees TMOA as parallel to NZC, as a mechanism to achieve the large goals of the state. These national goals include, for example, having a society of numerate and scientifically literate citizens; aims pursued in the reforms of schooling from the 1980s onwards, in response to economic challenges in competitive markets, including the aspiration of a knowledge society (Gilbert, 2005).
>
> On the other hand, Māori want to determine their own curriculum, and do not necessarily see the TMOA development as meeting the educational needs of their children and whānau. KKM [kura kaupapa Māori] in particular wanted their own curriculum: as the Māori-medium sector has divided over time, the curriculum debates have followed. Today Māori-medium schools include several types including KKM, Kura-ā-iwi, Kura Taiao, and immersion and bilingual units. These types differ structurally and in terms of history and philosophy: differences that fundamentally influence ideas about curriculum (May & Hill, 2005). Māori-medium curriculum is the symbolic battleground of indigenous education and critical pedagogy (pp. 13-14).

As illustrated by May and Hill (2018) in the table below, the establishment and shape of Māori bilingual education represents a prism. While the numbers presented are not current, the table illustrates this spectrum. In this sense te reo and tikanga Māori learning opportunities can be likened to a rainbow: it includes multiple provisions, with variances in quality and levels of language immersion. The rainbow effect illustrates the historic and present attempts by Māori and their collaborators to create a plurality of language learning options, often utilising two curricula, where te reo Māori is a medium of instruction in some form (Bright et al., 2021; May et al., 2004; Trinick et al., 2020). Such educational provisions "operate within explicit cultural and philosophical guidelines" and include "either an entire school, or a number of classrooms within a school that also has classrooms diversity the curriculum through the medium of English" (Hōhepa, 2010, p. 96). It is constituted by a range of Māori programmes that integrate reo and tikanga Māori to different degrees, and in a range of learning environments:

Table 4: Te reo Māori language programmes in compulsory schooling

Name	*Immersion level*	*% of instruction in the Māori language*	*Number of Māori enrolments July 2016 (N: 187,731)*	*% of total Māori student enrolments in NZ schools*	*Number of Non-Māori enrolments July 2016 (N: 600,229)*	*% of total non-Māori student enrolments in NZ schools*
Māori	1[1]	81–100%	13,364	7.1	109	0.02
medium	2	51–80%	4,690	2.4	281	0.05
English	3	31–50%	5,674	3.0	1,121	0.19
medium	4a	Up to 30%	4,238	2.2	1,991	0.33
with Māori	4b	At least 3 hours	13,323	7.1	6,913	1.15
language	5	Less than 3 hours	35,500	19.0	92,531	15.4
Total			76,789	40.8	102,946	17.14

Source: New Zealand Ministry of Education (2016)

In their evaluation of te reo Māori programmes in English medium settings Murphy et al. (2019) found increases of Māori language learners in primary and secondary settings. This reinforces the findings from studies by Barr and Seals (2018) and Matika et al. (2021) that indicate steady increases in support and use of te reo and tikanga Māori in primary settings. Again, these findings reinforce those of the 2021 General Social Survey that found increases in speakers te reo Māori, and greater societal value being placed on the language in public life. In this sense, dual and rumaki environments create an informal co-governance approach: in theory they provide dual curricular and opportunities for students and local communities to benefit from Western and Māori knowledge bases.

Studies have consistently found that the success of te reo and tikanga Māori programmes in English-medium educational settings are 'constrained', 'fragile' or 'unsustainable' due to a range of historic and present relational and structural inequities (Hunia et al., 2018; Ngata et al., 2022). In their report *The Future of Kaupapa Māori and Māori medium education* Ngata et al. (2022) described the differences faced by the Māori medium teaching workforce in the following way

> There are fundamental differences between those that teach in English medium settings and those that teach in Kaupapa Māori settings. But the current system does not appropriately recognise those differences.
>
> You cannot compare Kaiako with teachers in English medium education. Their roles are not the same, the skill set required for each role is very different. Kaiako also take a bigger role – they are not only invested in tamariki, but in the whānau, hapū and iwi. You could take a kaiako and put them inside an English medium school as a teacher – and they would be able to fulfil the role. But you cannot take an English medium teacher and place them inside a kura and expect them to fulfil the needs of that role. The same can be said for those that work in our kōhanga, wānanga researchers and lecturers. The way the current system values them does not reflect the roles they undertake or the skills and knowledge they require (p. 12).

Māori students and teachers report the occurrence of everyday experiences of interpersonal and structural racism (Berryman & Eley, 2017; MacDonald, 2018; Milne, 2017; Office of the Children's Commissioner & New Zealand School Trustees Association, 2018). Second, there is a disproportionate burnout rate of Māori teachers in compulsory education (Lee-Morgan et al., 2019; Torepe et al., 2019; Torepe & Manning, 2017). Third, Māori leaders and teachers are choosing to leave the teaching profession in order to protect their wellbeing (Lee-Morgan et al., 2019; Torepe et al., 2019; Torepe & Manning, 2017). Fourth, there are ongoing struggles to provide and grow reo and tikanga Māori resources and pedagogies across all schooling mediums (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2018; Hunia et al., 2018; Murphy et al., 2019). A fifth theme is a lack of professional development opportunities available for teachers and leaders that explicitly address racism, equity, kaupapa Māori pedagogies and development, student and staff wellbeing, and application of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in schooling structures, content, pedagogy and assessments (Education Review Office, 2012; Milne, 2017). Finally, there is a difficulty in recruiting and retaining reo Māori teachers across mediums, coupled with a shortage of high quality reo Māori teachers across language mediums, which adversely affects student and family access and opportunities to become biliterate and bilingual (Hunia et al., 2018; Lee-Morgan et al., 2019; Murphy et al., 2019; Ngata et al., 2022). Similar relational and structural racism has been found in the New Zealand science sector, which Haar and Martin (2022) call the "cultural double-shift." They describe these situations as those where Māori scientists "feel cultural responsibility

(kawenga) placing pressures on them to continue the engagement with Māori stakeholders, even if beyond the job description" (p. 18).

There is limited detailed research about the learning outcomes of students, staff and local communities who participate in dual medium/rumaki - those at Level 1 and/or 2 of immersion in English medium settings at primary and secondary levels. In one of the few studies of school improvement and leadership practices in these environments, Hōhepa (2010) argues that the task of building relational trust between leaders is critical. She describes relational trust as considering "how to work together in ways that make a difference across all settings in a school, and that preserve the integrity of all those settings" (Hōhepa, 2010, p. 100). For leaders this involves thinking reflectively about the forms of relational and structural barriers and opportunities at play. Some of these elements will be unique, and some will be inherited and systemic.

Sue Horne, a former Pākehā Principal of a dual medium school for 18 years, shared that efforts were made in 2014 to establish a "dual medium association." The aim of the association was "to grow a rūnanga from within our collective strengths and from a collaborative and genuine desire for success of all our tamariki learning in our English and Māori Medium settings" (Horne, 2019). At the same time it aimed to create an organising body "where we value Māori identity, language and culture and grow effective leadership, high quality teaching and effective governance to improve student achievement outcomes for tamariki across both language mediums" (Horne, 2019). In an initial survey of 46 dual medium leaders and staff, Horne and colleagues identified four key themes that face dual medium schools, including

- Principals, boards, staff all feel like there is a lack of understanding of the reality of working in dual medium schools
- Frustration at managing the tasks in our special schools
- Limited understanding about how our schools support the principles of many publications, philosophies and direction from the Ministry of Education
- Engaging whānau, curriculum development and educational leadership stand out as key areas requiring support (Horne, 2019).

While wānanga and meetings were held with a number of dual medium setting leaders and staff about the establishment of an association, it did not eventuate (Horne, 2019).

Hōhepa (2010) developed a broad "continuum of capabilities when Māori and English-medium education settings work together within schools or across schools" (pp. 107-108). This continuum is outlined below:

Table 5: Rumaki in English medium leadership capabilities

Dimension	Basic	Middle/mixed	Integrated
Identifying valued outcomes	There is some awareness that outcomes valued for Māori-medium education (MME) might be different from those for English-medium education (EME), but actions indicate they are to be similar, with little discussion of the implications.	There is some acknowledgement of differences in the outcomes valued, but only superficial attempts are made to understand the cultural and linguistic goals valued for MME, or to ensure they form part of ongoing actions.	A systematic inquiry is undertaken to identify outcomes valued for students in both settings, with knowledge of the cultural and linguistic goals valued in MME forming the basis of inquiry.
Leadership	The focus for the MME leaders is seen to be in MME settings.	MME leaders are included at the level seen to be appropriate to the size of the MME unit (e.g. senior teachers).	MME leaders are part of the school leadership team to ensure MME matters are on the formal agenda in ways that are acceptable to the MME whānau/community.
Professional development	MME staff attend EME professional development and collegial discussions, with the expectation that information can be translated into MME settings. There is no discussion of costs or benefits.	MME staff choose whether they attend EME professional development or MME-specific professional development, with little discussion of the associated costs and benefits.	There is full discussion of when it is appropriate for EME and MME to engage in joint professional development efforts and work together, and when it is appropriate to work separately with knowledge of aspirations of MME and cognisance taken of the need to learn from one another.
School development	It is assumed that one size fits all, with no discussion of how different approaches might fit different language and cultural schooling provisions.	Different focuses and approaches are discussed, but without a deep understanding of the cultural and linguistic aspirations of MME. MME may engage in different work from EME.	Both similar and different focuses and approaches are discussed from the perspective of deep understandings of different cultural and language aspirations and consideration of what each needs to know about and from the other.

This continuum offers a rare and practical insight into the potential of co-governance leadership in dual medium schools. In her examination of the establishment of a co-governance mixed medium school Hoskins (2018) emphasised uncertain, contested, and committed power-sharing relationships at all levels. In this context co-governance required "critical political capabilities", "cultural ways of being and doing" and a "affective and relational face to face engagement" in order for the shift from a unilateral top-down approach, to one that recognises and legitimates dual forms of governing authority (Hoskins, 2018, p. 164). Hoskins (2018) found that Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been central to the conceptualisation of this decision-making approach

> Using the school policy-making process we developed a Treaty of Waitangi [sic] policy that in effect restructured the governance of Newton Central School into a partnership between the Board of Trustees and Te Whao Urutaki (representing the Māori school community and Māori-hapū interests). Kāwanatanga is recognized in the Board and its legal accountability to the state. Rangatiratanga is recognized in the Māori community (represented by Te Whao Urutaki). Because all aspects of the school affect and are of value to Māori (rather than simply the Māori language pathways), Te Whao Urutaki and the Board *together* govern all aspects of the school. The Treaty of Waitangi [sic] policy is positioned as the 'overarching' school policy and all other policies are referenced to it (original emphasis, p. 163).

Following efforts to strengthen representation and advocacy for dual medium schools, Sue Horne (2017) took a sabbatical to examine leadership practices in dual medium primary schools and what can improve student and teacher outcomes. Her inquiry was based on a critical observation that traditional leadership school hierarchies - a school principal, deputy principal, assistant principal and team leaders - in dual medium schools were insufficient in creating the learning outcomes they aimed to achieve

> Historically, leadership within our long established rumaki included full time teaching responsibilities. The leadership role also encompassed maintaining connectivity with families, whanau and the wider community. This proved to be a daunting and challenging situation due to the complex demands of the combined teaching and leadership role in an environment with limited resources and external supports for second language learners. Following this model of leadership for our rumaki, frequently resulted in lead teacher burnout with personnel having very little time to support the school's intention to develop its capability to improve outcomes for Māori students (Horne, 2017, p. 1).

Horne (2017) found that to disrupt the status quo of hierarchical school power relations, rumaki settings must consider alternative leadership and organisational approaches. For example, leaders worked closely with their local Māori and non-Māori communities to communicate the vision, values and expectations of teaching and learning across both mediums (p. 3). From 2017-2019 Horne shared her critical reflections on leadership praxis in dual medium settings with Ford, as part of a PhD research into *Leading critical school reform with mana whenua and whānau Māori* (Ford, 2020). As

a Pākehā dual medium leader Horne reflected changes in her consciousness that enabled her to see

> the significance of the connectivity between the people and the land and ensured that this was made known to staff and board members during my leadership years. This wasn't always easy. There were barriers, perceptions and viewpoints – indicative of a dominant cultural view that needed to be worked through (Ford, 2020, p. 148).

She went on to explain that leaders of dual medium schools often experience tensions, because of the unique leadership understandings required for both settings (Ford, 2020, p. 148). Ford (2020) argues that for critical education reform between schools and mana whenua it is important to complicate the binary of "oppressed and oppressor power relationship"

> While the oppressed and oppressor power relationship is essential to understand, there is a risk that this understanding might consciously or unconsciously result in patronising responses that do not recognise the mana of Māori and thus position them, like the missionaries did, as people who need saving. Pākehā school leaders therefore, must be constantly and critically conscious of their perceptions of Māori and the extent to which this is playing out in ways that either reinforce differential power dynamics, or foster and enhance interdependence and respect.
>
> The role of Tauiwi principals in this work must not be forgotten. They too must be critically conscious of their own positioning within the oppressed and oppressor dichotomy and recognise how their praxis is experienced by Māori communities in ways that are either anti-racist and decolonising or not (p. 246).

Palmer and Strong (2018) reviewed literature on bilingual educational leadership, noting that there is scarce educational research into leadership for bilingual educators working in culturally and linguistically diverse schooling contexts. They found that a "social justice teaching or advocacy/activist teaching framework outlines the importance of pedagogical practices that specifically address the needs of marginalized students, yet largely omits the specific needs of bilingual students and teachers" (Palmer & Strong, 2018, p. 13). At the same time teacher leadership literature "purports to improve learning outcomes for all students but fails to address the unique circumstances and needs of bilingual students–and does not address the leadership preparation of bilingual teachers" (Palmer & Strong, 2018, p. 13).

While bilingual educational programmes are conceived of as teaching and learning approaches that can "reframe humanity's linguistic experiences as dynamic, situated, and ever-changing", they remain constrained by institutions and policies that apply "mostly White, monolingual, standardized terms" (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017, p. 418). In her examination of culturally and linguistically sustaining school leadership in dual

language settings, Leu Bonanno (2023) acknowledges concerns about who the beneficiaries are of bilingual education

> Critical scholars have expressed concern about the swell of neoliberal and raciolinguistic ideologies that have commodified multilingualism as an economic advantage for White, English-dominant students rather than a connection to heritage and community for culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) communities (Delavan et al., 2017; Flores & García, 2017). For example, a growing number of DLBE [dual language bilingual education] programs across the nation have marketed and structured their programs to serve predominantly White, middle-class students, limiting access for emergent bilinguals who are still developing English skills (Boyle et al., 2015; Valdez et al., 2016). For CLD students who have access to DLBE programs, scholars have still found that programs may allocate disproportionate value, time, and resources to the instruction and support of the English language and dominant culture (Amrein & Peña, 2000; Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; de Jong & Howard, 2009; Flores & García, 2017) (pp. 2-3).

Given such compounding challenges in bilingual education, these scholars are reinvigorating calls for Freirean notions of 'critical consciousness' and 'praxis' when designing, developing, introducing, sustaining, and evaluating bilingual programmes in schools and local communities (see Flores & García, 2017; Leu Bonanno, 2023; Palmer et al., 2019; Palmer & Strong, 2018; Pratt & Ernst-Slavit, 2019). Palmer et al. (2019) describe critical consciousness as

> the ability to read the world (Freire, 1970): to reflectively discern the differences in power and privilege rooted in social relationships that structure inequalities and shape the material conditions of our lives; to read the world also includes recognizing one's role in these dynamics. Such work is one stage in a praxis cycle in which we engage in dialogue, commit to social justice through collective action against oppression, rehumanize our relationships, and repeatedly return to reflection and dialogue (p. 123).

Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) describes critical consciousness in bilingual education as a way of understanding how "teachers, students, and parents can take part and take action only to the extent that they problematize the history, culture and societal configuration that brought them together" (p. 419). Palmer et al. (2019) posit that critical consciousness "seeks human solidarity and participation for a more sustainable civilization" and that this "moves us toward a more culturally, linguistically, humanly connected paradigm" (p. 124). Palmer et al. (2019) suggest that critical consciousness in bilingual education should consist of four key elements: 1. continuously interrogating power; 2. historicising schools; 3. critical listening; and 4. engaging with discomfort (p. 124). By bringing these elements together, Palmer et al. (2019) argue that sociocultural learning – the experience, skills and openness to negotiate across languages and cultures – becomes

> more profound as we historicize our communities within the complex power relations that have shaped them. We engage in the discomfort of realizing we are

> all implicated in structures of oppression, and we take action together for social justice-allies from the dominant group alongside empowered children and families from nondominant communities (p. 130).

Calls to critical theoretical and practical action are closely associated with previous "asset based pedagogies" such as 'culturally responsive pedagogies' (Paris & Alim, 2014) more recent iterations such as 'critical and culturally sustaining pedagogies' (Alim, 2023; Leu Bonanno, 2023; Milne, 2017; Paris et al., 2020) and 'revitalising Indigenous pedagogies and self-determination' (Alim et al., 2023; McCarty & Brayboy, 2021).

In Aotearoa structural analysis has been applied to support the wellbeing and success of Māori students and their families in English medium schools. These initiatives have included professional learning programmes such as *Te Kotahitanga* (Alton-Lee, 2015), *He Kākano* (Hynds et al., 2014), *Building on Success* (Ministry of Education, 2014) , *Te Hurihanganui: A blueprint for transformative systems shift* (Ministry of Education, 2020) and education-sector awareness campaigns such as 'Unteach racism' (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2021b). As part of the Education and Training Act (2020), National Education and Learning Priorities (NELPs) have been developed in order to "help create education environments that are learner-centred, and where more of our learners, and especially more of our Māori and Pacific learners, are successful" (Ministry of Education, 2023). Legislative, administrative and professional learning priorities aim to intervene in schooling by disrupting deficit theorising of Māori students attending English-medium schools, and support Māori achievement and success *'as Māori'* (Durie, 2001). Like kaupapa Māori theory and practice, these change initiatives in English-medium settings draw on and are inspired by the educational philosophies of Paulo Freire (Berryman et al., 2013). Applying Māori metaphors for change, *Te Hurihanganui* has framed its approach in Freirean-like terms

> Te Hurihanganui brings forth thoughts of enlightenment and consciousness, moving out of 'the long night' into 'the light'. That image in itself, represents the intention of this kaupapa, to challenge the status quo and stimulate a seismic shift in the way in which the education system responds to the needs, interests and aspirations of ākonga Māori… This kaupapa has a revolutionary potential, to act as a turning point for the system to meet the educational needs and realise the potential of ākonga Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020, p. 6),

The COVID 19 pandemic exacerbated pre-existing inequities in educational quality and access between Māori and non-Māori (Aiko Consultants, 2020; Education Review Office, 2021; Hunia et al., 2020). Responses to these inequities have focused specifically on mental health interventions, with the Ministry of Education (2022b) emphasising the creation of opportunities for Māori "to learn about mental health, to

build resilience, and to gain the skills and knowledge to seek help for themselves and others when needed" (Ministry of Education, 2022b, p. 14). However, Milne (2019) argues that such resilience approaches will not succeed in any transformative way because their focus is on 'improvement', and fixing perceived 'deficits', which are not the root cause of racism in schools

> This liberal empowerment model is about improving the situation (in this case, the education), of the minoritised groups and facilitating their movement into the core [the central place of power, occupied by Pākehā, and the margins are occupied by everyone else] if they learn our rules…. We like to talk about inclusion – but let's not pretend it's inclusion when, if the colour of that core space doesn't change, it cannot be anything other than assimilation—where we are still trying to make Māori children the same as us, and make them fit into our white space (Milne, 2019, pp. 1-4).

Milne argues that a more productive approach is a "healing centred approach" that "comes from the idea that people are not harmed in a vacuum, and well-being comes from participating in transforming the root causes of the harm within institutions" (Milne, 2022). This approach is explicitly political and holistic, rather than clinical, cognitive, and biomedical. It addresses the determinants of health, wellbeing with reference to social and cultural injustices (Ginwright, 2022; Morsillo & Prilleltensky, 2007; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2006). This theorising links with Indigenous criticism of "resilience" discourses, by questioning the assumption that Indigenous students and their communities accept responsibility for individual disadvantage and dispossession, and by doing so, simplifying the complex impacts of colonisation on different Indigenous population groups (Penehira et al., 2014; Toombs et al., 2016). Resistance discourses suggest that efforts to reshape "mainstream" schooling so that they are more conducive to individual Māori educational success will not lead to collective Māori self-determination and holistic wellbeing. Rather, a transformative approach is required that privileges an understanding of how racism and oppression operates, while also cultivating and re-imagining Indigenous-led efforts to restore their wellbeing based on their own identities, languages and cultures (Ginwright, 2022; Milne, 2017). This has been understood as taking a "resistance stance", which does not ignore the reality of indigenous resilience in the face of oppression; rather, it indicates "an approach of collective fight-back, exposing the inequitable distribution of power, and actively opposing those forces which have a negative impact on our lives, socially, politically and economically" (Penehira et al., 2014, p. 97).

Available teacher inquiry models regarding Māori educational success in English-medium schools provide one practical development model for teachers and school leaders (Berryman, Nevin, et al., 2015). Alton-Lee (2015) found that when Pākehā

schools put into place improvement models that focus on Māori student success, such as *Te Kotahitanga*, it was important to place Māori student voices/experience at the center of inquiry. This process "creates dissonance" and enables staff "to identify deficit attributions and enable discursive repositioning to inform and enable shifts in practice" (Alton-Lee, 2015, p. 33). These models of professional development and learning create opportunities for what Hooley and Levinson (2014) call a "discursive curriculum." They describe these discursive learning environments as those that

> emphasise an approach towards learning that privilege culture, community and country and integrate language and history throughout. This will lead to marked changes in curriculum design with a much greater emphasis on negotiated project work and student investigation than specified 'textbook' knowledge (Hooley & Levinson, 2014, p. 146).

McDowall and Hipkins (2019) describe this form of curriculum as foregrounding student agency and relevance. This move is aligned to democratic models of curriculum integration, where "different means are used to stimulate curiosity and questioning" (McDowall & Hipkins, 2019, p. 10). Indeed, Hooley et al. (2021) explain that discursive curriculum and learning involves "language immersion (oral, written, community and formal), together with open, fluid and expansive arrangements that encourage student action, discussion, reflection and intellectual risk" (p. 86). These forms of curriculum design have been found to create learning environments where students are enabled to deeply engage in issues of relevance and complexity (Hooley et al., 2021; Riwai-Couch, 2021). However McDowall and Hipkins (2019) found that such curricula also pose challenges such as the "knowledge/agency dilemma" (p. 55). The quandary facing teachers includes how to ensure "students had opportunities to learn the knowledges, discourses, and practices of the different learning areas without compromising student agency and the democratic principles of curriculum integration" (McDowall & Hipkins, 2019, p. 55).

The ability to meet the dual focus of student agency *and* knowledge building was also related to processes of learning assessment. McDowall and Hipkins (2019) argue that there are a "limited number of tools available with the capacity to measure the complexity of student learning that teachers are aiming for" (p. 56). Subsequently schools interested in growing democratic modes of curriculum integration, needed professional learning and development that focused on "planning, teaching, and assessing for building disciplinary knowledges, discourses, and practices is also needed in the context of curriculum integration (and in the context of single-subject teaching)" (McDowall & Hipkins, 2019, p. 57).

3.8 Summary

The turn towards neoliberalism and new public management in the 1980s and 90s have reshaped educational systems, relationships and priorities. The result has been a devolved state-school relationship that has elevated school autonomy and the diversification of educational provision. These domestic shifts have been guided by international economic interests. Liberal education systems in settler colonial states are enmeshed in global liberal economic reforms. Bilingual education advocacy efforts are enmeshed in prevailing economic norms, reforms, geographies and material realities of time and space. They have enabled greater educational "choice" but continue to be marginalised by systemic and cultural racism. The development of bilingual education programmes cannot be separated from historic and present issues of power, control and the ubiquity of economic market forces. Under neoliberalism where school governance has focused on managerial concepts of "accountability, capacity building and strategic thinking." The likelihood of talking past each other when it comes to these terms remains high. In Aotearoa, this coincides with macro-level changes that aim to strengthen Te Tiriti o Waitangi, te reo and tikanga Māori in education, and generally sustain positive societal attitudinal shifts towards te reo and tikanga Māori. If Indigenous languages are to thrive on their own terms, Indigenous and their non-Indigenous collaborators need to maintain an ethical gaze on political, cultural and economic power-relations at local, regional, national and international levels, and consider their complex implications "on the ground."

At the intersection of Indigenous and settler-colonial educational governance, there are critical differences between Indigenous and Western conceptions of reality and knowledge. Freirean ideas of conscientisation and reflective praxis are being applied to ensure bilingual educational settings critically address power imbalances between Indigenous / minority language groups and non-Indigenous / majority language groups. This risks repeating mistakes of the past by obscuring the potential to reorder power-relations in dual medium and bilingual education. Research is scarce about the learning outcomes of students, staff and local communities who participate in dual medium/rumaki and co-curricular settings. Digging deeper into the structural and relational implications of learning and contributing to these environments, could positively contribute to current discussions about the implications of co-governance in education specifically, and the public domain generally.

Part three: Interpretive tools, research values, and applying Māori centred research as non-Māori

In this section I share my own shifting research position within complex Indigenous-settler power relations. First I disclose the interpretive tools that have shaped my educational inquiry: 1. Indigenisation; 2. settler-colonial change; 3. institutional change and praxis; and 4. relational justice. Taken together, these elements illustrate that complexity and paradox are always at play when engaging in relational justice in colonised lands. I aim to explicate a process of "becoming" when Māori and non-Māori choose to work together under the mantle of "co-governance."

The second element introduces my overarching research paradigm: social and critical constructivism. This paradigm encourages me to identify the cultural, social, economic, political and spiritual forces that have contributed to my self-perceived place and interpretation of the world at the time of writing and researching. Here I explore two ontological and epistemological principles as described by Lincoln and Guba (2013): 1. truths are contextual, specific and relative; and 2. findings are subjective and co-created.

In the third component I discuss how I undertook ethical educational research through the application of *Te Ara Tika* a Māori centred research approach (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010). Here I consider on-going questions and responses regarding Indigenous and non-indigenous educational research collaboration, and provide examples of this in my practices. By doing so I aim to uncover the ups and downs of doing ethical research with Māori and non-Māori. Finally, I outline my case study method and forms of analysis.

Entwined throughout part two I draw on the philosophical insights of Arendt (Arendt, 1958, 1961; Arendt, 1968, 1978; Arendt, 1998; Arendt, 2009), Levinas (Levinas, 1969; Lévinas, 1998), Foucault (Foucault, 1980, 2000), and institutional theorists Smith (D. E. Smith, 1999) and Seo & Creed (Seo & Creed, 2002). Taken together these philosophies and theories shape my ontological and epistemological research beliefs and methods of inquiry. These discourses have been useful in helping me to articulate my positionality, its criticality, and praxis (Smith & Smith, 2021).

Chapter 4: Interpretive tools to think and be(come) with

The rules break like a thermometer,
quicksilver spills across the charted systems,
we're out in a country that has no language
no laws, we're chasing the raven and the wren
through gorges unexplored since dawn
whatever we do together is pure invention
the maps they gave us were out of date
by years . . .
(Adrienne Rich, cited in Gargaillo, 2022, p. 121)

4.1 Introduction

Adrienne Rich, the late feminist poet and public intellectual, often used the metaphor of maps to explain and aid in navigating the complexity of relationships, both intimate and political (Gargaillo, 2022). I have selected the extract above of Rich's love poem to exemplify and draw attention to the shaky and imaginative labour required to fashion new political relations between Indigenous and settler groups. The metaphor of a map is not new or novel. I am reminded of the Pākehā scholar James Ritchie, whose family contributed to the advancement of Māori aspirations in education and Māori development. In his autobiography, *Becoming Bicultural* (1992), Ritchie reflects that political and cultural relationships between Māori and non-Māori involves a critical recognition that "we are in a new place and must make new maps for ourselves" (p. 10). My research takes up this challenging invitation. Richs' poem is fitting here; the "rules" of relational justice between Indigenous and settler peoples often break under the weight of status quo colonial conventions. In this sense, "whatever we do together is pure invention" because the colonised maps that structure society and relational power are "out of date by years" (p. 471). Te Punga Somerville (2022), a Māori scholar, poet and irredentist writes

> *they [colonisers] don't know how to draw the lines on the map: tracing paper and pencil unable to mark contours shaped by* pouwhenua *rather than borders* (original emphasis, p. 60).

Like Ritchie, Pākehā activist scholar John Kirton (1997) understood Somerville's observations of colonial cultural politics. Kirton also uses cartography to draw attention to a shifting terrain of relational and structural dynamics

> Maps can be useful when the terrain they show is guaranteed not to shift underfoot; without that undertaking they are likely to mislead as to guide. And the purposes of this search may only be achieved when readers and I 'shift' some key features of familiar terrains (p. 5).

I follow and join those who steer towards horizons that are critically open to overlapping perspectives and shifting colonial and familiar terrains. In doing so, I deliberately avoid the seductive hubris of claiming a "final" resting place of mutual peace between Indigenous and settler groups. Inspired by Aotearoa activist scholars Frances Hancock (2018) and Heather Came (2011), in this chapter I outline interpretive tools that have refined the navigation tools of my study. I draw on Blumenfield-Jones & Kahan's (2016) conception of *aesthetics* as a way of refining my everyday organising and interpretive approaches, which are grounded "in bodily, emotional, imaginative, intuitive knowing/presence in the world" (p. 2). I am drawn to their generous notion of aesthetics because they focus on the intermingled relationship between intellectual *and* embodied sensitivities in ethical educational inquiry

> There is nothing wrong with the intellectual life. Indeed, you hold in your hands the product of intellectual work. But it is also the product of this bodily/sensed work. That is where the intersection of aesthetics and ethics begins: in a preintellectual, prerational state that is afforded through a presence to the world in my body, my emotions, and my imagination. This is the work of the artist but it is also the work of each of us that we perform every day. As it turns out, it can also be the work of the ethicist (Blumenfeld-Jones & Kahan, 2016, pp. 6-7).

For me the nexus between ethics, aesthetics and educational inquiry have been grounded in four related ontological and epistemological navigational aids:

- Indigenisation
- Settler-colonial change
- Institutional change and praxis; and
- Relational justice.

Much has been written about these intersecting discourses (see Asch et al., 2018; Bell et al., 2022; Hoskins & Jones, 2022; Huygens, 2011; Jones & Hoskins, 2020; Pence, 2021). These discourses form the aesthetic of my being and becoming; they influence my methodological *positionality* (clarifying where my feet are at this time, and the grounds from which I speak); its *criticality* (how I read power-relationships) and *praxis* (the impermanent relationship between theories and practices) (Smith & Smith, 2021). This self-disclosure is a deliberate act to elucidate the various spheres that have shaped my interpretive and analytic approach for this study. As such, I have selected these bodies of theory and practice because they fuse intellectual *and* embodied interpretative approaches to educational research. To paraphrase the provocation of Martin Tolich (2002), these areas of scholarship have assisted me to establish research boundaries that help me to find my feet on contested shifting grounds (p. 178). My pathway through these fields is not linear or exhaustive, but winding, open-ended and therefore open to contestation and critique.

4.2 Indigenisation

but that's enough about them
we are what we map
we are what we box
we're the map, the box,
the new black (original emphasis, Te Punga Somerville, 2022, p. 60).

"Indigeneity" has been generally described as long-standing expressions of physical, spiritual, and intellectual relationships to ancestral lands, natural world, languages, customary laws, practices and institutions (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020; Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003; Mikaere, 2016). The strength of these collective relationships and identities have developed over thousands of years (Hokowhitu et al., 2022; Winiata & Luke, 2021b). Māori philosopher and creative Charles Royal (2005) suggests that Indigeneity is expressed through "conscious articulation of the relationship with the natural world" (p. 5). He distinguishes Indigeneity by summarising three interrelated elements that constitute the broad fields of "Indigenous knowledge":

1. The search for better relationships between human communities and the natural world;
2. Knowledge weaving: Cross-disciplinary, cross-boundary thought, discussion; and
3. The revitalisation and rejuvenation of the traditional knowledge bases of indigenous (Royal, 2005, pp. 3-5).

I have been inspired by Māori public intellectual Whatarangi Winiata who explains that a Māori determination to survive is premised on "Māori living according to kaupapa tuku iho (inherited values) and tikanga (ways of expressing these values) that distinguish Māori in the global cultural mosaic" (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2010, p. 7). Winiata and Luke (2021a) explains that a "Māori world view" is premised on the recognition that

> There was more than sustenance and protection from the elements to occupy the active minds of our tūpuna. With the ability to conceptualise one set of phenomena, namely the environment, an irresistible activity for our tūpuna was to apply their minds to other domains, including the world at large in all its dimensions from creation to extinction. With the technique of whakapapa having been conceived, the possibilities for the accumulation of knowledge was unlimited. This technique proved to be extendable beyond the human family to everything, animate and inanimate, and our people did just that (Winiata & Luke, 2021a, p. 246).

These tenets – remaining in active relationship with the natural world, a holistic appreciation of an accumulation of knowledge-practice, and a commitment to revitalisation – are foundational to diverse and nuanced Indigenous movements towards self-determination (Hokowhitu et al., 2022). When considering Indigeneity, Hoskins (2010) puts forward that Māori have diverse ethical resources that orient

towards relationality and responsibilities between subjects. This is in contrast to liberal political theories of autonomy and self-interest

> In Māori terms, ethical responsibility towards others is embodied in the cultural thinking and practices associated with whakapapa, mana and manaaki. Māori acknowledgement of constitutive relationality through whakapapa acknowledges the unique singularity of each being—the mana and tapu of every person and species. (p. 91).

This paradigm dispels the notion that human and non-human worlds are disconnected. Face-to-face relations are the basis of diverse Māori sociality and politics and are bound to ethical responsibilities

> Indigenous Māori law is practiced in and through day-to-day social behaviour and can be seen to represent direct and dynamic forms of democracy. Māori political aggregations operate as a plurality of contingent and relational authorities and are valued as such. The idea that a universal and inclusive authority could represent or provide justice for all was antithetical to Indigenous thinking and this thesis [Hoskins, PhD] suggests much can be learnt from this approach for ethical political practice today (Hoskins, 2010, p. 2).

The 2007 ratification of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (United Nations, 2007) recognises these Indigenous politics. Howard-Wagner et al. (2018) argue the UNDIP "constitutes a landmark, setting the standards for the treatment of indigenous peoples by the state" (2018, p. 9). The declaration is an example of Indigenous political organising to affirm and restore Indigenous political and cultural authority (Hokowhitu et al., 2022; Martin et al., 2019; Te Aho, 2019). Indigenous movement leaders are clear that this organising is premised on the ability to sustain, grow and adapt Indigenous laws in ways determined by them (Cornell, 2019; Mikaere, 2016; Moreton-Robinson, 2022; Winiata & Luke, 2021b). Moana Jackson explains that such determination involves Indigenous *acts of bravery*, one component of which is to

> *Know who we are*; to know what it is that makes us the mokopuna of the long and great traditions that developed in this land. It is to know who we are as our people have always defined who we are, and *not to know who we are as defined by others* (original emphasis, Jackson, 2011, p. 74).

Smith & Smith (2021) contemplate Indigenous acts of self-determination that relate to Jackson's notion of bravery; to be self-defining and agentic. Reflecting on their decades of activist scholarship to decolonise and transform the Western academy they discuss the facets of "Indigenous work" required. They argue that "indigenous work is more than equality of opportunity" (Smith & Smith, 2021, p. 11). They posit that in Western academic institutions, and arguably modern liberal institutions generally, Indigenous work applies critical and practical attention to

> the agenda, strategies, tactics, policies, relationship building, actions, and programs designed and implemented to improve access, expand visibility and participation, improve outcomes, and reflect Indigenous cultural linguistic, historical understandings, and strengths inside academic institutions. It is work that engages horizontal and vertical institutional transformations, building both Indigenous and institutional capability and securing the full participation and engagement of Indigenous Peoples, their nations, and communities, ensuring successful outcomes for Indigenous students and the inclusion of teaching and research of Indigenous knowledge/s, languages, and cultures (Smith & Smith, 2021, p. 11).

Assertions of Indigenous authority and self-determination disrupt colonial discourses of "unity" and the "status quo" of Western nation-states (see Cornell, 2018; Coulthard, 2007; Hoskins & Jones, 2022; Maddison & Nakata, 2020; May, 2017; O'Sullivan, 2021; Simpson, 2017; L. T. Smith, 1999; Tully, 2004). In these terms, Indigenisation is a transformation of political and cultural visions that create room for Indigenous peoples and knowledge(s) to recover, regenerate and flourish in their own terms. Taking this affirmation of Indigeneity into realms within Western institutions, Hoskins and Jones (2022) describe "Indigenisation" in the following way

> Indigenisation refers not to the inclusion of indigenous people, values and knowledge within a largely unchanged or superficially-changed institutional structure, but to the normalisation of indigenous ways of being and knowing. This approach is new to those universities and other state institutions in Aotearoa-New Zealand finally turning towards a more relational way of doing things based in whakapapa (history, place and relationships) and social justice (p. 3).

Hoskins and Jones (2022) are considering the shape-shifting nature of Indigeneity and coloniality. They examine ubiquitous liberal rhetorical devices of "inclusion" and "Indigenisation." Their analysis suggests that each form of rhetoric provides very different implications for organisational change. In their articulation, *Indigenisation* involves an open orientation of travel that is open-ended

> We deliberately say 'towards' because we leave open the question of whether 'indigenisation' is ever reached; we see it less as a state to be achieved than as a direction of travel. Such a position expresses our shared sense of constant social and historical fluidity, the impossibility of clear 'solutions' to the big, grinding structural forces within which we all must live including colonialism and capitalism, and the need to simply keep moving in a direction that offers a better, more just, society (Hoskins & Jones, 2022, p. 3)

The notion of the "ethical gaze" provided by Bauman and Donskis (2013) is relevant here. Referring to the violence of the holocaust, their analysis posits that evil "ceases to be a cave inhabited by demons and monsters from which arise dangers" (p. 8). Consistent with continental philosophers such as Hannah Arendt, Bauman and Donskis (2013) suggest that evil is not only restricted to "war and totalitarian ideologies" but "more frequently reveals itself in failing to react to someone else's

suffering, in refusing to understand others, in insensitivity and in eyes turned away from a silent ethical gaze" (p. 9). I have become interested in *holding and training my ethical gaze* towards the shape shifting nature of coloniality: the dynamic ways bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic, and psychological "norms" of one knowledge system implicitly and explicitly erode Indigenous authority and self-determination (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2021; Came, 2011; L. T. Smith, 1999). In developing my own notion of the ethical gaze put forward by Bauman and Donskis (2013), I am interested in the various ways Indigenous theories and practices challenge Western unilateral decision-making, to what effect and affect (Ahmed, 2014). I am implored to interrogate the moral blindness and conventional violence that colonialism perpetuates and unveil alternative logics to counter these dynamics (Bauman & Donskis, 2013; Huygens, 2011; Kirton, 1997; Martin et al., 2019). An ethical gaze towards *Indigenisation* is a related interpretive tool that brings me into a dynamic relationship with Indigenous and colonial authority. They energise me to consider a range of change strategies that sustain Treaty-making relationships, while offering alternative logics to live well apart *and* together (Asch et al., 2018). I take my position as the son of settlers, a person that is here because of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, determined to shape my influence and self accordingly. I explore the broad outline of these aesthetics next.

4.3 Settler-colonial change

My conscious and steadfast reflection on my capacity to be informed, and to influence the world, shapes my positionality. This position, explained and explored here is fluid, and never complete. My criticality and praxis has its origin in my parents organising in anti-racist, pro-peace, and feminist movements. Exposure to different forms of organising for social and cultural justice has imparted to me a curiosity about the potential, pitfalls, and tensions of these political movements (see Barnes, 2013; Barnes et al., 2023; H. A. Came et al., 2020; Hotere-Barnes, 2015). By extension, I draw on related elements of activist scholarship that I have found useful in exploring the complexities of settler-colonial change that notice, accept and affirm Indigenous authority in its own right. Casey-Cox (2014) discusses how "noticing dominant logics" and their contradictions is "made more possible when I engage in relationship with people who know the stories and experiences of oppression more than me" (p. 196). Casey-Cox (2014) found that for settler groups an attunement to noticing the 'normalised' values of colonial and capitalist orders is a critical beginning point in reclaiming alternative ways of being human with Indigenous peoples and the earth. The work of te Tiriti-making in Aotearoa necessarily involves unveiling "the conflict and contradictions between values and institutions" (Casey-Cox, 2014, p. 284). Such

noticing invites challenging dialogue and decision making on the one hand, and on the other, holds the potential for justice through contemplation. In the words of Casey-Cox (2014) “justice cannot be created on the back of unrecognised and unreconciled oppression. The oppression of yesterday needs to be part of justice making today” (p. 285).

I take up Casey-Cox (2014) notion of “noticing” and Dawson’s (2015) focus on “attunement” in order to unveil, and hold in tension, the various ways Western ways of knowing and being can erase *and* enable just relations between Indigenous and settler groups. For example, in Western institutional environments I have noticed a grasping for what Kemmis (2010) calls technē: ‘‘constructing rules for practitioners and others to follow’’ (p.15). This set of administrative relations often result in reified explanations of complex cultural, psychological, material and spiritual webs of humanity and the natural world. In education Kincheloe (2011) explains the dominant logic is based on a Cartesian paradigm where “technique comes to take precedence over purpose” (p. 2). Administrative power and control, based on Western metrics of accountability and transparency become a model of relational ruling (Griffith & Smith, 2014). When technique takes precedence over contextualised understandings a detached monological “white gaze” or “white space” emerges. Under these conditions beings - human and non-human - have no intrinsic meaning and worth without reference to Western ways of viewing the world (Morrison, 1998; Parsons et al., 2021). In educational discourses Ann Milne (2017) describes this phenomenon as the “white space.” By privileging the voices and experiences of Māori students, Milne describes the “white space” as

> ...any situation that prevents or works against you “being Māori” and that requires you to be someone else and leave your beliefs behind. White spaces are spaces that allow you to require less of yourself and that reinforce stereotypes and negative ideas about Māori. Most telling of all was the comment from a Māori student that goes straight to the root of the problem, “white spaces are everywhere”, she said, “even in your head” (p. 5).

The metaphor of the “white space” is a productive image to think with. The use of the metaphor allows for an analysis of ‘normalised’ values in neo-colonial educational institutions that can perpetuate fear, resistance, denial, and limited ideas about agency and responsibility. The infusion of such responses creates the imaginary of the *fearful other*. Analysing the contours and changing nature of white spaces and how this can deny aspirations of power-sharing and relational ethics of justice – which a focus on te Tiriti can be – becomes a productive site of research. Much has been written about creating conditions and ways of being that promote interactive and embodied dialogue between Indigenous peoples and settler colonial groups (see Asch et al., 2018; Bell et

al., 2022; Davis, 2010; Glynn, 2021; Healy, 2019). Such dialogic conditions challenge singular, active-to-passive and transactional relationships (Livesey, 2017; Santos, 2017). Settings where these dialogues take place are never neutral (Freire, 1972b). They are permeated with nuanced power relationships socially, culturally and institutionally (Hoskins & Jones, 2022). Bauman and Donskis (2013) problematise the ideal notion of "mutual relationships." Their analysis reminds me to pay critical attention to how any relationship, especially cross-cultural learning relationships, are tenuous and in constant need of attention and attunement (Dawson, 2015). Bauman and Donskis (2013) discuss how "mutuality" is simply the "coincidence of both sides of a relationship being simultaneously satisfied", but that this "does not necessarily create mutuality: after all, it means no more than each of the individuals in a relationship are satisfied *at the same time*" (original emphasis, p. 14).

In my experience of being a cross-cultural researcher and evaluator, I am reminded of a similar caution made by Jones and Jenkins (2008): "when the indigenous person fails to address the needs or wishes of the well-meaning, would-be collaborator-colonizer the latter *experiences a shock*" (my emphasis, p. 477). In these instances the good intentions of colonial-settler "allyship", "solidarity" or naive "biculturalism" become strained, problematised, fall short, or become out of reach (Hotere-Barnes, 2015). The perceived reduction of social power from the colonial settler position - the perceived "freedom" to instigate, facilitate dialogue and to assume to "know the Other" (in this instance Indigenous person/peoples) - becomes contingent and problematic. Jones and Jenkins (2008) explain that this dynamic emerges because settler-colonial researchers lose the "*ability to define the conditions* of the socio-political space within which, they believe, getting to know each other becomes possible. The terms of engagement are no longer controlled by the dominant group" (original emphasis, Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 477). I have noticed that common protocols and principles that underpin "mutually beneficial" relationships are never assured or certain.

Common protocols that underpin "mutually beneficial" relationships are necessary, but not always assured. Principles such as building trust, perspective holding, active listening, sharing of resources, accountability, are always subject to wider social, cultural and economic determinants of particular time and space. An awareness of relational impermanence reminds me to be humble and back myself. This involves being with tangata whenua and appreciating the nuances of these encounters. The direction of travel is not necessarily fixed. While there are common principles of working together, how these are put into practice will vary depending on the context and situation we find ourselves in. This nuance – how power can circulate in both

oppressive and generative ways – can generate anxiety (my good intent may not be valued at that time, or I may be out of my political, intellectual, emotional, cultural depth) *and* be exciting (interactions always hold the potential for something to be (re)discovered).

To keep showing up I am learning to direct an ethical gaze towards working with my own cultural and political group. This is a key theoretical and practical principle of settler-colonial change strategies (see Bell et al., 2022; Came, 2011; Consedine & Consedine, 2001; Davis et al., 2022; Huygens, 2007). Extending on the anti-colonial philosophies of Freire (1972a), Gramsci (1995), and Memmi (2003), the theorising of Ingrid Huygens (2007) about majority culture change in relation to Māori assertions of sovereignty has been revealing. Huygens (2007) and Kirton (1997) term this theorising "local theories of Pākehā change." These theories evolved out of 20th and 21st-century Pākehā responses to Māori groups challenging colonial and neo-colonial power relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, and asserting their tino rangatiratanga (Barnes, 2013; Black, 2010; Huygens, 2007, 2011; Margaret, 2002). Huygens' (2007) theory of majority culture change in colonised lands focus on the consciousness-raising processes that Pākehā can collectively and individually engage in. Huygens' (2011) theories for settler colonial change can be surmised via four related elements:

- Re-visiting the history of the relationship: Ideological work for decolonisation
- Sharing and supporting emotional responses: Emotional work for decolonisation
- Building a conscious collectivity: Cultural work for decolonisation
- Preparing for an accountable, mutually agreed relationship: Political and constitutional work for decolonisation.

Local theories of Pākehā change posit that such processes positively transform Pākehā self-understandings and awareness of colonial history. Huygens' suppositions also hold meaning for those who do not identify as "Pākehā", such as "Tauiwi", those of migrant and refugee backgrounds who call Aotearoa home and aspire to just relations with tangata whenua. This awareness then enables Pākehā *and* Tauiwi to create an informed and relationally just relationship with Māori (Huygens, 2007). In this sense, I am attentive to the diverse ways that a conscious collective is fostered and sustained in the face of colonialism. In short, Pākehā and Tauiwi change theories are concerned with addressing the political, cultural, social and economic contours of our colonially constituted relationships with diverse Māori.

Colonial settler theories of change with reference to Indigenous peoples encourage me to deconstruct and question colonial assumptions about the potential of dual curricular/two-way immersion schools and their purpose. Mitzi Nairn (2002) puts it this way: "the descendants of the colonisers have different decolonisation tasks from the

descendants of the colonised" (p. 210). The ideas and contents of "these different decolonisation tasks" stretches my learning thresholds. Political philosopher Avril Bell (2014) reminds me that it is

> no surprise that settler scholars thinking about ethical relations with indigenous peoples and philosophies begin with their own practice and experience as educators. It is in their own work that they come face to face with indigenous difference and, for these scholars, that encounter provokes self-reflection and change (p. 176).

My research emerges from my own experience and curiosity about on-going relational and material realities of people who move in-between Indigenous and settler-colonial spheres. Giroux (2005) terms these positionalities "border crossers." To situate this study further, I examine how a co-governance and dual-curricular character school does "its work." My conception of "work" is both structural and relational. It invites me to uncover the multiple standpoints of those who have been excluded by, and subjected to, neo-colonial relations of ruling. At the same time, I am motivated to subvert the white gaze and liberal noise of "diversity" in the hope of challenging institutions to move beyond "dead zones of the imagination" (Giroux, 2016). I am motivated by a calling towards just and interdependent ways of being human in a complex world (Kincheloe, 2011; Martin, 2019; Santos, 2017).

Next I focus on institutional analyses that use praxis to notice and challenge oppressive social relations (see Came et al., 2021; Casey-Cox, 2014; Livesey, 2017; Seo & Creed, 2002; Smith, 2006). These interpretive approaches provide me with functional tools that aim to counter inequities embedded in neo-colonial institutional relations with Indigenous people.

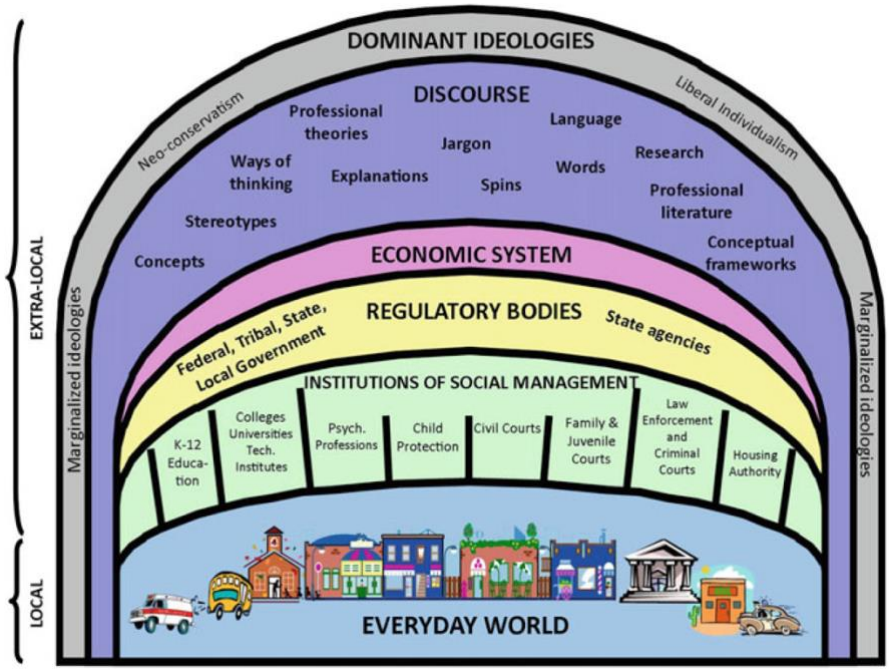
4.4 Institutional analysis and praxis

> Organisations exist within socio-political contexts shaped by funding sources, government mandates and/or directives and staff levels of professionalism, competence and integrity. As racism occurs within society, it is manifested and reflected within the workings of institutions and organisations (Came, 2011, p. 263).

My specific use of institutional analysis arises out of Marxist examinations of values, practices, normalisations that become experienced as social structures, and their implications for people and society. Here I am influenced by the institutional change scholarship of Seo and Creed (2002) and D. E. Smith (1999). These scholars share an interest in how institutional "circumstances are socially produced within particular historical, economic, and political contexts, which are within the purview of a materialist investigation" (Bisaillon, 2012, p. 616). These analytics enable me to critically notice

how “things” are “put together” across different learning environments, and as a result, what elements are “ignored or obscured” (DeVault, 2014). Such analyses are foundational to developing what D.E. Smith calls a “sociology for people” (D. E. Smith, 1999).

Drawing on the sociological work of D. E. Smith (1999) and institutional ethnography, Ellen Pence (2021) describes an *institution* “not as a particular agency or even group of agencies in a community but as that apparatus of disciplines, agencies, and organization of work that comes together under a specialized function, for example, family law” (p. 330). Unveiling an “apparatus of disciplines” that can exert power and control in education has provoked me to analyse how colonial discourses circulate and are maintained by institutions explicitly and implicitly. Pence’s’ (2021) connection between “local” and “extra-local” power relationships, what she calls “institutions of social management”, are particularly compelling (p. 331):



Pence’s (2021) schema is captivating because it begins with people in their “everyday world.” It illustrates how perceived local realities are linked by forces outside of people's embodied or direct awareness. Western institutional norms of governance are reinforced through coordinated practices at the macro and micro levels. The depiction above shows how neo-colonial public services are deeply shaped by discourses that privilege certain ideologies (liberal individualism, neoliberalism and neoconservatism), while marginalising others. In this analysis, public services reproduce neo-colonial relations of ruling by ignoring alternative ideologies, such as those held by Indigenous nations and those directly impacted by dominant institutional logics. As a result the “everyday world” or institutional status quo reproduces interventions that erase and

undermine Indigenous philosophies, practices and preferences. In their institutional analysis of United States legal interventions in the lives of battered Indigenous women, Wilson and Pence (2006) conclude that

> Institutional procedures produce a perspective that locks practitioners responding to Indigenous women into culturally universalizing mechanisms, regardless of the individual worker's personal beliefs about Indigenous People. This results in a continuing process of cultural imposition… We found that the systems organized workers to prioritize actions that maintain the function of the institution over those effective in preventing crime and providing public safety. Many of the system's interventions are entrenched in values, customs, beliefs, and philosophical premises that are anti-thetical to Indigenous values and beliefs (p. 221).

Through routine, unnoticed, desensitised behaviours, dominant institutions retain their power and ruling relations over others (Berger & Thomas, 1967; Pence, 2021; D. E. Smith, 1999). Despite individual practitioner moral and ethical beliefs regarding fairness and equity of outcome, the ways institutions are organised and sustained - their logic and practice - result in perverse outcomes for non-majority groups. Pence (2021) elaborates this vital point further, by arguing that "attributing institutional failures to the attitudes, personal beliefs, biases, or ignorance of individual workers leaves unchallenged and unaltered all the ways institutions do not adequately connect the intervention to what is actually going on for people" (p. 331). This is primarily because individual behaviours in one environment are enmeshed in networks of power and control at a societal level. These dynamics break or complicate the potential of just political relations between settler colonial groups and Indigenous peoples. Importantly, institutional analyses are not about blaming and/or correcting individual "deficits" or "shortcomings" (Pence, 2021). Rather the focus is on identifying and examining "problematic organizational assumptions, policies and protocols that organize or drive practitioner action, empowering institutions with the information to engage in constructive reform" (Weber & Morrison, 2015).

Systemic analyses that engage institutions in such "constructive reform" in relation to Indigenous health and wellbeing are growing (Chin et al., 2018; Fleras & Maaka, 2010; Livesey, 2017; Maaka & Fleras, 2005). For example, the development of Critical Tiriti Analysis (CTA) by H. Came et al. (2020) is a tool that aims to provide a

> transparent process for policy makers, decision-makers, advisory groups and interested citizens to strengthen and review policy work in relation to te Tiriti. A strength of the CTA approach is that it requires Māori involvement. It assumes Māori rangatiratanga as substantive political authority and that requires Māori may exercise rangatiratanga, or responsibility and authority, in relation to health policy development and implementation. CTA also requires health policy to engage with wairuatanga, which it has rarely done well, but is essential for holistic Māori oranga (well-being) (H. Came et al., 2020, p. 18)

Institutional analyses enable me to illuminate and examine the practical ways unequal power-dynamics between Indigenous and settler colonial governments are sustained or not (Livesey, 2017; Ugarte, 2021). Unveiling unequal power-relations in organisations becomes "invaluable for those who often have to struggle in the dark" (D. E. Smith, 1999, p. 32). Such institutional analyses can be used to explain how harms are perpetuated, and by doing so they hold the potential to generate actions specifically formulated to challenge the colonial status quo. Bisaillon (2012) explains that such

> inquiries describe and uncover how ruling relations are organized so that the analyses produced explicate social relations of struggle. From here, we can identify specific places, rather than general others, where it will be most useful for activists, reforms, and intervention efforts to promote social change (p. 615).

The focus on 'disjuncture' or 'lines of fault' between personal and institutional experiences signify where tangible changes to discourses, practices, policy or processes can occur in order to counter inequities embedded in neo-colonial ruling relations (Livesey, 2017; Wilson & Pence, 2006). It is in these fault lines where the notion of "praxis" becomes another valuable interpretive approach in my research (Seo & Creed, 2002). Paulo Freire (1972b) describes "praxis" as "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 28). Multiple articulations of "praxis" can be found in diverse interdisciplinary areas focused on social change (see Benson, 1977; Came, 2011; Dorner et al., 2022; Kemmis, 2010; Lather, 1991; Pihama et al., 2015; Seo & Creed, 2002). Notions of praxis create the opportunity to critically reflect on existing power relations by stretching our social analysis *and* calling on us to take co-created action in the face of marginalisation and oppressive relations (Nichols & Ruglis, 2020). An analysis of institutional locality enables me to understand the contradictions between expressed values and everyday practices. In their theory of institutional change Seo and Creed (2002) argue that praxis plays a critical part in illuminating contradictions and tensions that can give rise to new social constructions and interactions

> A theory of institutional change incorporating the concept of praxis emphasizes agents' ability to artfully mobilize different institutional logics and resources, appropriated from their contradictory institutional environments, to frame and serve their interests. Thus, political contests over the framing and mobilization of institutional rules and resources, which entail the active exploitation of contradictions between institutional structures and logics, become central features of institutional change processes (p. 240).

The strengths and limits of an institutional analysis are discussed by influential sociologists Berger and Thomas (1967). They remind me that while human

relationships are shaped by local and extra-local experiences of reified structures, in turn, they also construct them. Berger and Thomas (1967) describe this nexus as a form of "social enterprise" (p. 67). Seo and Creed (2002) and Bauman and Donskis (2013) describe how these institutional contradictions and paradoxes are a vital source of identifying sites of organisational change and praxis.

With these descriptions of institutional analyses and praxis in mind, I am interested in examining how school institutions perpetuate neo-colonial and managerial ruling relations on the one hand, and on the other, become sites of change that serve the interests of political and cultural justice between Indigenous and settler groups. Specifically, my research focuses on how te reo and tikanga Māori activism and revitalisation intersects with institutional analyses and change. Here I draw inspiration from critical-language research and critical-race scholars Rosa and Flores (2017) and Flores and Chaparro (2018) who call for "materialist anti-racist" approaches to language activism. Under the banner of "raciolinguistics" these scholars and others explicate and challenge historical and present day structural processes that pair the social construction of "race" with deficit views of language in institutional policies, processes and procedures (see Alim et al., 2016; Flores & Chaparro, 2018; Flores et al., 2021; Rosa & Flores, 2017). These materialist anti-racist language approaches identify, critique and provide alternatives to the colonially constructed relationship between "race" and languages. Such analyses create opportunities for me to explore how dual language and curricular may perpetuate existing unequal power relations between Māori and non-Māori in education *and* stimulate alternate institutional logics towards cultural and political justice.

An apt and often cited example of such analyses is the emergence of contemporary kaupapa Māori educational initiatives. These movements emerged (in part) from the failure of European models of "schooling" to value and legitimate Māori teaching and learning philosophies and practices (see Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Hutchings & Lee, 2016; Penetito, 2010). As a result, kaupapa Māori theories and practices were created. Graham Smith (2012) explains this phenomena in the following way

> The field of education is filled with theories—for instance, theories of child development, of learning, educational psychology—that have not been useful for us as Māori. In fact, they have been damaging to us, because underpinning those theories are deficit theories that position Māori as lacking, as inadequate and problematic. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a space for thinking and researching differently, to centre Māori interests and desires, and to speak back to the dominant existing theories in education (p. 11).

The idea of “co-governance” is similarly born out of attempts to creatively reconcile current tensions between dominant Western models of education on one hand, and Māori models of education on the other. However, these attempts remain open to coercion by Western and liberal institutional logics. With this awareness, I am curious about the ways in which liberal institutions shape-shift in order to perpetuate power and control towards and over Indigenous peoples. I am not oblivious to the reality that co-governance could be another form of Crown-sanctioned assimilation. Like its ‘bicultural’ predecessor, co-governance has the potential to appear progressive and inclusive, but based on material terms falls well short of Māori self-determination over lands and resources. In this way, I attempt to be attuned to the different ways liberal Western modes of governing can reinscribe domination over Indigenous nations (Dawson, 2015). Graham Smith (2012) discusses the “domestication, or the taming and assimilation” of kaupapa Māori ideas in “mainstream discourses in education and elsewhere” (p. 13). Smith (2012) argues that assimilation takes place when the radical and critical political purpose of kaupapa Māori “is seen as a set of words rather than a set of actions as well” (p. 13). To this end, Smith (2012) suggests that material structuralism and critical analysis of institutional logics remain vital in addressing this transmutation

> The neglect of structuralism contributes to the domestication of Kaupapa Māori that is going on. A Kaupapa Māori without critical theory becomes an opening for a browning of the mainstream institutions rather than a space from which to challenge them. It becomes domesticated just like ‘taha Māori’, the ‘Māori dimension’ and ‘the Māori voice’ became in education (pp. 11-12).

Being alert to the politics and dangers of Indigenous domestication assists me to notice the processes and implications of on-going colonisation. While this study is not grounded in kaupapa Māori theories of resistance and resurgence in education; it is about how one expression of a Māori form of educational authority (Waiōrea) engages structurally and relationally with a Western educational authority (Western Springs College). In a broad sense, it contributes to building knowledge about how such constitutions legitimate two distinct concepts and sites of power relations – Māori and non-Māori (Hoskins, 2010). My interest lies in examining the tensions that inevitably arise when these distinct institutional logics come together in a relational form. This involves contributing generative insights about the relational and structural analyses of Māori and non-Māori educationalists who are committed to alternative logics that challenge a dynamic Eurocentric and monocultural education system. Exploring narratives of co-governance from diverse standpoints (whānau-family, kaiako-teacher, and mana whakahaere-leaders) is one way to illuminate the problems *and* potential of

relational justice between Indigenous and settler groups and institutions. I turn to this concern next.

4.5 Relational justice

If institutional and structural analyses assist to materially deconstruct racism, neo-colonialism and administrative coercion in order to offer alternative tools for political and cultural change, what is the contribution of relational justice in these processes? Here I am drawn to the work of Aotearoa activist scholar Frances Hancock (2018) who describes "relational justice" in the following way

> Relational justice requires a meaningful exchange that is at once always already political, profoundly ethical, deeply human, powerfully pedagogical, and cultivates a way of life that, for some, is spiritual. To become just and do justice in Māori–Pākehā relations is necessarily a life-work *in progress* (original emphasis, p. iii).

If, as Hancock suggests, relational justice is a "life-work *in progress*", this means being present and attuned intellectually, physically, emotionally, and spiritually in Indigenous-settler group relations over the long-term. To situate my interpretation of relational justice in Aotearoa, I have leaned into Hancock's (2018) educational inquiry and generative question: "what does it mean for Māori and Pākehā scholars, educators, activists and leaders to become just and do justice in their relationships with one another?" (p. iii). Hancock responds to this question through the co-production of pedagogical narratives with "three pairs of longstanding and esteemed Māori and Pākehā colleagues who actively work the hyphen in their relationships" (Hancock, 2018, p. iii). Five interdependent dimensions that constitute relational justice emerged from her inquiry:

- Productive power relations
- Ethical responsibility to the other
- A transformative pedagogical orientation
- Ontological becoming in relation; and
- A way of life, a manner of being (Hancock, 2018).

Combined, Hancock's interpretations of relational justice between Māori and non-Māori demonstrate a deepened appreciation of the complex ethical-political resources required to be and work together. In a related vein, Pākehā educational philosopher Alison Jones (2020) reflects that in order for relational justice to be present, Pākehā must "strengthen the ways we are Pākehā—that is, the many complex ways we *are* (both politically and socially) *in relation to Māori"* (original emphasis, p. 427). Jones goes on to explain that such relations are

> not always a matter of desire, or policy and structure and planning rhetoric. It requires an open orientation to Māori interests, suppressing the need to position ourselves as the helpful saviour, at the same time embracing disappointment and uncertainty, and *remaining* in the relationship for the long haul, endlessly… ake ake ake. It won't be over after the end of the research project, or the teaching course, or the Strategic Plan period. Are we up for that? (original emphasis, Jones & Hoskins, 2020, p. 427).

When I reflect on my own work with teachers and school leaders I have found that any meaningful engagement with te Tiriti as a form of relational justice exists on the margins of their consciousness. I work with many organisations who are perpetually in the search for the "ten top tools" to address systemic racism, or the "five techniques" to apply te Tiriti o Waitangi. The thirst for formulaic and tangible tools to address complex wicked problems of colonialism and cultural racism is understandable. I sense it in myself. I want to know what to do, and how to do it *now.* At the same time, as with most organisational change responses, formulaic or 'scaled up' tools can become impotent when relational ethics are marginalised or non-existent. I am learning that slowing down, considering frames of reference, being discerning and remaining sensitive, combine to create a powerful humble guide on pathways towards te Tiriti-making. This insight became especially apparent to me in my early 20s. In 2002 I was involved in a five-day decolonisation youth forum in Waitangi. With the guidance of te Tiriti o Waitangi elders and mentors we – Māori and non-Māori – were collectively deliberating about how to activate te Tiriti. A driving goal behind our efforts was to shape what youth and rangatahi visions for a Te Tiriti-based present and future might be. We believed, and I still do, that young people's visions and experiences of racism and visions for honouring te Tiriti, were lacking in public discourse. We wanted to change that.

The non-Māori caucus met in parallel to our Māori allies to plan and strategise how we could put our respective visions into practice. During our non-Māori workshop it struck me that the discussions quickly fell prey to "analysis paralysis": we worried so much about the merits and critique of different strategies for action. *We become stuck in our minds*. I was frustrated at myself and at our group. We had entered a mental rabbit hole of whether option A, B, C, or D would be most powerful or disastrous. I began to ask myself: How did we get so stuck? What was missing from our organising? How can we name and move through the analysis paralysis? I had reached a learning threshold. I became conscious that in the midst of our intellectualisation, we had lost sight of the embodied relational ethics and resources amongst each other, and our Māori friends. This learning moment orientated me to an acknowledgement that had always been within me: the most fulfilling and complex work towards justice is inherently relational and ethical.

In Aotearoa education, it is the "between two" that this thesis is concerned with: the affect and effect of governing and leading two curricula - mātauranga Māori and Western knowledge – that I am curious and inspired by. Specifically, in an institution such as secondary school, and what are learning from such a convergence? Joan Metge & Patricia Kinloch's (1978) critical observations remain instructive: under what conditions do Māori and non-Māori "talk past each other"? What is the "quality" of that "talk"? Put another way, what are the discourses and resources at play - material and immaterial - that people consciously or unconsciously draw on when deliberating questions of educational emancipation? Knowledge about injustice at an individual, group and systemic level is one part of the complex puzzle towards developing a critical appreciation of just relationships. This knowledge is necessary *and* insufficient. Beyond ideas, I am interested in the *quality* of social and cultural glue that keeps relationships for justice going. I continue to learn that beyond the categorising mind, it is also about being attentive, attuned, and present through the ups and downs. Cultivating resources of the head, heart, hand and spirit steadies my activist scholarship. Micro-moments matter: it is about finding ways to relate ethically with others in those moments. How do I/we retrench? How do I/we engage or not? What are the relational and structural implications of our choices?

The dynamic cultural, social, political, environmental and economic grounds of Indigenisation have touched my life profoundly. It has made me reconsider modern liberal politics that perpetuate a narrow vision of inclusion, equality, fairness and a "one person one vote" idea of democracy. My personal, political and professional experiences of engaging in Indigenous-settler relations have disrupted this "standard story" of egalitarian New Zealand politics by the majority settler culture (Nairn & McCreanor, 2022; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). In this sense, walking between worlds has fostered in me, and those who undertake similar cross-border politics, an appreciation of what Arendt terms "worldliness" and the "two-in-one" thinking (Arendt, 1958, 1998). In his discussion of Arendt in education, Nixon (2020) argues that Arendt points to education as affording learners the opportunity of "new beginnings, of entry into the world of human affairs, and of a remaking of our selves within the ever-broadening horizons of enlarged mentality" (Nixon, 2020, p. ix). I suggest that dual medium and co-governance education holds the potential to sustain and advance human capacities to think and be together and for oneself. To this end, Emily Zakin (2017) articulates that Arendt was interested in the responsibility of educators to navigate the "worldly in-between that is the space of plurality" (p. 128). Zakin (2017) concludes that educators, for Arendt are

> not rulers or managers but "representatives of a world for which they must assume responsibility although they themselves did not make it" (CE 186). Their role is to summon children into the world, a common world that sustains plurality (p. 131).

The educational implications of Arendt's concepts provide pathways of inquiry that can support educational leadership praxis (Dennis et al., 2019; Nixon, 2020; Zakin, 2017). They raise on-going questions about how sharing dual authority in education can encourage and protect alternate perspectives about the purpose of schooling. They provoke Indigenous and settler educationalists to consider ways of thinking and being together that counter uniformity, and embrace difference. Perhaps most importantly, as Nixon (2020) deduces from Arendt's educational thinking: "how in a world of difference, can we learn to live together?" (p. 24). One support in this endeavour is to draw on Freirean theories of "conscientization" (Freire, 1972a), as these have been developed in work of "decolonisation" by Huygens (2007, 2011). Williams (2017) describes decolonizing conscientization as "a consciousness-raising that is at once inter-and intra-personal, has no end, is generative, and always deconstructive and co-constructive" (p. 83). Williams' (2017) notion of decolonising conscientisation has enabled me to develop a humanist commitment to understand, and tenuously engage with the contours, shapes and plurality of Indigenous-settler cultural politics. It involves a deliberate wrestling with the potential and limits of the "categorizing mind" (Kincheloe, 2011). As Maddison (2015) argues, I have found this process involves making a

> genuine effort to understand others' concerns, even though deep disagreements may persist. In divided societies, this cannot entail an avoidance of the 'explosive' issues of history, politics and identity. Dialogue must address these concerns, not with a view to finding consensus, but with the intent of transforming the antagonist in the conflict into a 'complete, full-bodied entity' with whom it might be possible to sympathize (p. 1021).

I continue to develop an embodied and intellectual recognition of the various ways on-going violence of colonialism towards Indigenous nations and the natural world is perpetuated. I am encouraged to seek diverse holistic tools, strategies, and ways of being that counter violence, and encourage critical hope (Torres Olave et al., 2023). I have found that being aware of what Sautelle (2020) calls "collective systemic intelligence" particularly helpful in this endeavour. Based on adult education theory and organisational change, this approach pays attention to the energy fields forged by interconnected people and organisations (Sautelle, 2020, p. 5). These processes are similar to a genealogical approach to relations, where historic and existing relationships are traced, and an inquiry into the dynamics of each organisation takes place. This type of organisational development then informs "intervention decisions for complex organisational challenges, including those related to culture, structure, individual and

team performance, morale and conflict patterns that are “stuck”” (Sautelle, 2020, p. 6). To this end, I have cast my gaze towards the acts of “te Tiriti-making” in Aotearoa. The work of te Tiriti-making in Aotearoa necessarily involves unveiling “the conflict and contradictions between values and institutions” (Casey-Cox, 2014, p. 284). Such noticing invites challenging dialogue and decision making on the one hand, and on the other, holds the potential for justice through contemplation. In the words of Casey-Cox (2014) “justice cannot be created on the back of unrecognised and unreconciled oppression. The oppression of yesterday needs to be part of justice making today” (p. 285). In relation to “Treaty-making” internationally. I draw on Asch’s (2018) encouragement to reflect on the Treaty relationship between Indigenous and settler peoples in the past, and how it can be implemented today. This nuanced Treaty work is foundational to affirming processes of Indigenous-settler “reconciliation”, and acts of Indigenous “resurgence” (Asch et al., 2018). It is a `justice between diverse Indigenous and settler groups in a variety of settings. I draw on the notion of being attuned to forms of “situated freedom” articulated by Borrows & Tully (2018)

> The idea we are advancing of “reconciliation and resurgence” acknowledges our situatedness in overlapping regimes of knowledge, power, and subjectification. It is attentive to situated freedom. This approach claims that we are all differently situated and governed, in both constraining and enabling ways, in relationships of division, patriarchy, imperialism, racism, capitalism, ecological devastation, and poverty (p 7).

To extend the work of Borrows & Tully (2018), I suggest that situated freedom also amplifies *situated responsibilities.* These responsibilities include remaining attuned and responsible for the trial, error and messiness of political life. In this vista contestation, agreements, rejections, and changes in direction are constantly on the horizon. It is how people respond to such impermanence, particularly for those from the settler group who, to return to Te Punga Somerville (2022) “don't know how to draw the lines on the map” (p. 60), that my work is invested in.

In growing these embodied resources and aesthetics, I have been drawn to theories and practices of relational justice in Aotearoa (see Bell, 2014; Hancock, 2018; Huygens, 2007; Jones & Hoskins, 2020; Kirton, 1997; Martin et al., 2019). These local scholars have oriented me to exploring Aotearoa *and* continental philosophers such as Levinas, Foucault, and Arendt (just to name a few). My attraction to Levinas’s work lies in his observation that “the relationship with the other is a relationship with a mystery” (Lévinas, 1989, p. 43). This “mystery” implies that fully knowing another is always out of reach, or unknowable. This stands in direct contrast to a relation of mechanistic “mastery” that infuses majority culture thinking and doing in teaching and learning (Bell, 2017). Levinas’ challenge to counter colonial relational mastery with an infinite

openness to and for the Other has humbling consequences. As Bell (2017) posits, it is often in the interaction between Māori and non-Māori, that we/non-Māori become challenged to critically reflect on

> our own ontological presuppositions to be unsettled/affected by it, to bring our Western, science-based ontology into question, to be prepared to think (and be) differently, to think our path of becoming in relation to it. (p. 7)

To forge pathways "of becoming in relation to" Māori ontologies and epistemologies has profound implications. Here I am drawn to Foucault's (1980) insights that power is ubiquitous and deliberately exercised through social relations. Foucault's (1980) suggestion that the circulation of power can be repressive *and* generative holds profound consequences for relational justice. His philosophies open up possibilities of change by problematising simplistic binaries of oppressed (Indigenous people) and oppressor (settler). Foucault's idea about how power circulates socially, opens up possibilities to explore the diverse, contradictory and paradoxical ways relational justice can be generated. Linked to this is Arendt's ideas about the importance of plurality of the public sphere and education's role in fostering this. Nixon (2020) suggests that for Arendt no group had a "monopoly on the truth"; rather people arrive at truth through

> a process of deliberation involving the ongoing testing and challenging of contrasting and sometimes conflicting judgements. Truth does not fall outside the world of human affairs, but is constituted within it as an ongoing process of agreement-making that is forever being re-worked and re-fashioned (p. 46).

Arendt's ideas about how people can educate themselves into engaging in a world of human difference and unpredictability, speak to the promise of an enlarged view of learning that is possible "in-between" self-other. From an Arendtian perspective, Indigenous and settler groups have always held the potential to reconstitute political orders that "enact a radical break with the social order that underpinned the violence of the past" (Schaap, 2006, p. 272). Arendt's positions, alongside Levinas and Foucault, provide me a set of analytical tools that can assist in realising how peoples actions and inactions effect and affect relations towards justice (Hoskins, 2010; Todd, 2014; Topolski, 2015).

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have turned towards my own shifting position within complex Indigenous-settler power relations. I am curious about dynamic relational and structural elements at play in these politics. This chapter has woven together the aesthetics that I have drawn on to shape my educational inquiry, including Indigenisation; settler-colonial change; institutional change and praxis; and relational justice. Together they

have helped me to illuminate the terrain from which I speak, how I interpret power-relationships in-between Indigenous and settler groups, and the dynamic relationship between theories and practices. These aesthetics illustrate that nuance, complexity and paradox are at play when exploring relational justice in colonised lands. Through my inquiry I aim to extend on these ideas by exploring the relational and contextual aspects of "becoming" when Māori and non-Māori choose to work together under the mantle of "co-governance." Next I share my ontological and epistemological entry-points for this research, and my overarching methodological orientation.

Chapter 5: Locating my ontological and epistemological research values

5.1 Introduction

There is nothing linear or settled about the complexities of relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples. This makes my inquiry challenging and inviting. I am on a quest to search, revisit, and provide "a loving critique" of new possibilities for relational justice and shared authority in education (Paris & Alim, 2014). In this chapter I outline my ontological and epistemological entry-points for this research. The questions I explore in this study appear straightforward: What are we learning from co-governance in schooling? What are systemic and relational conditions required to create and sustain co-governance? What are the everyday persistent questions, and more broadly, why is this approach to leadership desired, needed, or required? I introduce my overarching research paradigm of social and critical constructivism in order to respond to these questions. As outlined by Lincoln and Guba (2013), two ontological and epistemological principles are embedded in this paradigm:

1. Truths are contextual, specific and relative; and
2. Findings are subjective and co-created.

A critical ontology implores me to identify the cultural, social, economic, political and spiritual forces that have contributed to my self-perceived place in the world at the time of writing and researching. I aim to be transparent about the various assumptions that underpin my theories of knowledge and the related methodological approach, and how I apply these in my inquiry. I consider how my engagement with the paradigm and interrelated principles contribute and enliven my research axiology and methodological orientations. To illustrate these research considerations I critically reflect on my engagement with *Te Ara Tika: Guidelines for Māori research ethics: A framework for researchers and ethics committee members* (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010). I follow the provocations of Pākehā te Tiriti educationalists and researchers Kirton (1997), Came (2013) and Casey-Cox (2014) who invite Pākehā to intentionally pause and use their senses, to "notice" and "see the unseen" of doing ethical research with Māori. I reflect on who I am becoming by choosing this field as a "co-inquirer" (Amundsen, 2018; Casey-Cox, 2014; Hancock, 2018). In this sense I critically reflect on the "self-other(s)" relationship, and how this shapes my ontological, epistemological, and axiological decisions as guided by the work of Te Kawehau Hoskins (2010) and Frances Hancock (2018). Finally, I provide an overview of my case study method and processes of analysis.

The theoretical and practical insights explored in this chapter have assisted me in the task of illuminating the paradoxes, contradictions, and potential of those governing, leading and working in a co-governance secondary school that aims to give effect to te Tiriti o Waitangi. My selected research paradigm and methodology have provided effective tools to inquire and examine what a Tiriti-honouring approach to co-governance leadership and curriculum might constitute.

5.2 Social and critical constructivist research paradigms

Social and critical constructivists posit that ontologies (the study of what it means to be in the world, and the relationship between "entities" and what we believe "exists") and epistemologies (the study of how we can 'know' about assumed relationships and their production) are products of human consciousness. In short, this paradigm argues against the Cartesian view and modernist privileging of a dualistic "self-other" system, where there is an "objective truth" generated by Western scientific thinkers and galvanised in part through their methods of research (Kincheloe, 2011; Martin, 2008). Rather, critical constructivists suggest that all structures and phenomena we experience in the world are "nothing more than creations of our measuring and categorizing mind" (Kincheloe, 2021, p. 9). This orientation purports meaning and semiotics - words, actions, symbols, images and ideas as we understand "it" - are shaped by humans via social and cultural processes they invent. It challenges the Cartesian presupposition that there exists one universal truth whose composite variables can be reduced to fundamental principles that hold fast under all circumstances (Coleman, 2015; Kincheloe, 2021). What follows is an overview of two key principles underpinning a social and critical constructivist research paradigm. I then discuss how these principles shaped my research values.

5.2.1 Truths are contextual, specific and relative

A social and critical constructivist paradigm identifies that knowledge is "nonfoundational" or "antifoundational." As Guba and Lincoln (2005) explain, nonfoundational and antifoundational conceptions of truth and knowledge are subject to negotiation between people; those who "can agree upon at a certain time and under certain conditions", as such

> Critical theorists, constructivists, and participatory/cooperative inquirers take their primary field of interest to be precisely that subjective and intersubjective social knowledge and the active construction and cocreation of such knowledge by human agents that is produced by human consciousness (p. 203).

In order to understand a subject or subjects in sociocultural terms, a critical interpretive process is applied in order to make sense of the complexity and make meaning of specific phenomena under examination. These sociocultural worlds (perhaps unlike the material world of the natural scientist) are the products of imagination, construction and imposition. If world-views are the products of the human imagination they are not 'discovered' but 'created'. As an act of creation, humans become part of a web of relationships and interconnected to the cosmos (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195). The sharing of social and cultural meaning between groups creates authenticity, and the potential to take action on an issue together. For example, in her quest to construct a theory about Pākehā change in response to Te Tiriti, I found Huygens' (2007) overarching related theoretical propositions relevant and productive to my inquiry, specifically:

- Alternatives to dominance are possible in inter-group relationships;
- Within a dominant group there may be both facilitative and resistant responses to challenges to the status quo; and
- Another subjectivity may be conceptualised which avoid the limits of both rational individualism and passively constructed subjectivity (p. 74).

Upon considering Huygens' assumptions, I am reminded that social and critical constructivist positions on relative and contextual truths blur epistemic, ontological and axiological paradigms. As an activist scholar, I locate myself within a community of thinkers and doers committed to just relational ethics and practices between Māori and non-Māori as articulated by Casey-Cox (2014) and Came (2011). This collective shares local and co-constructed concerns about the contours of how power mediates relationships (Hoskins, 2010). They challenge constructs of oppositional relationships between indigenous people and non-indigenous people (Hancock, 2018).

A simplistic dualism between "Māori" and "Pākehā", often found in positivist ontologies, epistemologies and everyday discourses, undermines the potential of non-dominant relations between groups as Huygens' (2007) theory stipulates. For example, if I was to take an objectivist position to this inquiry it would suggest that my Pākehā activist scholar identity was one dimensional and cut off from a spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual commitment of intersubjectivity between myself and those I work with. The work of Yates et al. (2001) illustrate how research contexts, methodologies and methods are never a-historical or a-cultural; rather they are embedded in interactions and wider social and cultural discourses. Knowledge generation and action are guided by a sensitivity and attention to relations of power (Kincheloe, 2021). I suggest a positivist paradigm would be an inadequate fit for my research. It would not identify and help me explore the relational and systemic power relations of a colonised education

system or offer alternatives to dominant power relations (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Hoskins et al., 2020).

Applying a social and critical constructivist paradigm to my work allows me to propose that intersubjective relations and knowledge hold the potential to generate alternatives to dominance. In her study of Māori ethical engagements in schooling, Hoskins (2010) revises the idea of intersubjectivity as an often "discounted" notion that might be undertaken to create just political engagement between Māori and Pākehā. Hoskins brings together key ontological ideas of Emmanuel Levinas (that encountering another person is contingent on recognising their alterity) and Māori philosophies (where realities are created in relation to one another and the natural world)

> Levinasian and Māori philosophies are critical lenses through which I mount a critique of the dominant, Western philosophical tradition in which the Other (any other) is made an object of the self. Premised on a reduction of the Other to the Same, the dominant ideal of the intersubjective relation is underpinned by a desire for coherence and authority. This philosophy and these desires have been at the basis of Western colonising approaches to Indigenous peoples, as the Indigenous—Other is brought into Western understanding through processes of assimilation and negation (Hoskins, 2010, p. 9).

Hoskins' critical provocation reminds me to stretch beyond romantic, tidy narratives of coherence in my research. I am reminded to look for convergence and divergence in "co-governance secondary schooling." Gallagher's (2011) use of Hannah Arendt's theory of storytelling – to "'go visiting'" in order to "consider events from unfamiliar standpoints" (p. 58) – involves inhabiting and contemplating unsettled meanings. When truths are considered in specific cultural contexts multiple understandings about the ways co-governance can become conceptualised, perceived and put into practise.

In colonised lands learning "the trick of standing upright here" is subject to a range of influences (Metge, 2010). Applied to my work, my multiple relationships with others, framed by historical contexts, are as Coleman (2015) suggests, always subject to a "mutual shaping between knower and known, and the social and political processes that systematically prioritize some perspectives and worldviews over others" (p. 3). In my research work I am critically aware of how power circulates in both repressive and generative ways, and this permeates my research reflections and subsequent actions "in the field" with individuals and institutions. My actions and their consequences are contingent and do not exist in a theoretical and relational vacuum. Rather, my choices in research have ethical implications. I must continuously reflect on my ethical responses. Huygens (2007) theory of Pākehā change in response to te Tiriti suggests majority culture people can inhabit facilitative *and* resistant positions when challenging

colonialism and cultural racism. Casey-Cox (2014) demonstrates co-inquiry designed to invigorate such relations, while Came (2011) provides an analysis of institutional racism and Te Tiriti-led leavers to challenge this. Huygens (2007) theory of Pākehā change urges social research to go beyond the binary of the "rational individual" and the "passive constructed subjectivity" towards new forms of power-sharing (p. 74). The longstanding call for just and ethical power relations that challenge oppressive relations between Indigenous and colonial settlers are again found in the instructive quote taken from the work of Lilla Watson – aboriginal artist, activist and academic: "If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time, but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together" (Wikipedia, 2023). Watson invites us to enter into the transformational potential of co-created realities that disregard patronising efforts of helping "underserved" or "disadvantaged" people (Hoskins et al., 2020).

As a researcher interested in dynamics of Indigenous and settler-colonial power relationships in education, I share an interest with those exploring how co-governance is conceptualised by Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and to what effect and affect (Hoskins, 2010, 2018). Like Hoskins (2010) and Martin (2019) I have found the philosophical work of Levinas is instructive in this regard. Levinas offers an alternative to the traditional liberal philosophies that promote and protect individual freedoms and property rights, which posit that individuals can act in isolation from one another, as Martin (2019) explains

> Levinas proposes an ontology of a relational person as a correction of the Western ontology of the individual; he does so through an ontology constituted on the relation between two; a one-to-one, or face-to-face, relationship which becomes the genesis and reference for the social order (p. 16).

It is "the relation between two" that creates the powerful potential to form a critical consciousness about self, complex relationships with each other, and our constructed worlds. Hannah Arendt's conception of human freedom is instructive here: "freedom is conceived not as an inner human disposition but as a character of human existence in the world (Arendt, 1978, pp. 135-141). She argues that freedom's "place of origin is never inside man, whatever that inside may be, nor is it in his will, or thinking, or his feelings; it is rather in the space between human beings" (Arendt, 2009, p. 170).

In her analysis of the politics of relationality, Topolski (2015) posits that Arendt offers an alternative form of freedom that "endeavours to rescue political freedom and to re-establish its fundamental connection to action, plurality and the world", that is "(1) intersubjective, (2) contrary to domination and (3) world-oriented" (p. 6). Critical constructivist and relational ethics have the intention and potential to advance learning

between different groups, and transform social and power relations. For Arendt freedom as the creation of space between humans moves from an individualist concern to a collective concern. Came (2011) suggests that activist scholarship positions share a critical constructivist concern with "expositing injustice and working collaboratively with others to effect change" (p. 20). Indeed Hoskins (2010) argues that a productive, innovative and sustainable politics forms when humans transcend their own self-interest, and extend concern for those who "inhabit socially and politically marginal positions" (p. 95). To be free of power-relations that dominate and marginalise requires what Arendt calls "enlargement of mind" – one's willingness and capacity to take multiple viewpoints

> the more people's standpoints I have present in my mind while I am pondering a given issue, the better I can imagine how I would feel and think if I were in their place, the stronger will be my capacity for representative thinking and the more valid my final conclusions, my opinions' (Arendt, 1961, p. 241).

The way my research makes particular judgments is based on my own subjective position *and* the process of co-constructed meaning making with participants as demonstrated by Coleman (2015). My participative orientation – working on educational wellbeing efforts *between* diverse Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups – has enabled me to extend my ontological, epistemological and axiological paradigms. In drawing these concepts together, I suggest that the capacity for accurate representation in my research also involves recognition of my own and the participants' spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual resources. I turn to these concerns next.

5.4 Interpretations are subjective, co-created and action-orientated

> Critical ontology is grounded on the epistemological and ontological power of difference. The study of indigeneity and indigenous ways of being highlights tacit Western assumptions about the nature and construction of selfhood. A notion of critical ontology emerges in these conceptual contexts that helps us push the boundaries of Western selfhood in the twenty-first century as we concurrently gain new respect for the genius of indigenous epistemologies and ontologies (Kincheloe, 2011, p. 334).

My Pākehā identity is based on a recognition that knowledge and action is always mediated and co-constructed by temporal social and cultural understandings. How I work with my own cultural group or with diverse Māori will always involve being open to old and new understandings about who we are, and what we can become (Casey-Cox, 2014; Hancock, 2018; Pere & Barnes, 2009).

The languages, texts, and symbols we use every day powerfully reveal what discourses we perpetuate or not, and our wider social processes (Pence, 2021; Yates

et al., 2001). At the macro-level educational philosophers Antonio Gramsci (1995) and Paulo Freire (1972a, 1972b) contributed valuable theories about how ideas, languages and cultures can be harnessed to play a vital role in establishing and sustaining the colonial status quo. Such a philosophical relational ethic, and the powerful potential of this posture in order to advance learning between different groups, are found in critical constructivism. They assert that such critical awareness can then inform social and cultural justice actions that create alternatives to oppression (Huygens, 2007, 2011). In this instance, I have found the ideas of "praxis" particularly generative. Institutional theorists Seo and Creed (2002) trace praxis back to Hegelian-Marxist analytic conventions found in the work of Bernstein (1973) and Benson (1977). In this regard they suggest that praxis is based on three elements:

1. Actors self-awareness or critical understanding the existing social conditions in which their needs and interests are unmet;
2. Actors' mobilization [sic] inspired by the new, collective understanding of their social conditions and themselves; and
3. Actors multilateral or collective action to reconstruct the existing social arrangements and themselves (Seo & Creed, 2002, p. 230).

Similarly, Freire (1972b) posits that praxis is the process of "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 28). Mattsson and Kemmis (2007) articulate how praxis is "understood as 'informed, committed action' at individual, group, and "extra-individual" perspectives" (p.186). Praxis aspires to change "the social fields and structures that hold practices in place as sustained and mutually comprehensible modes of social life" (Mattsson & Kemmis, 2007, p. 186). Understanding that praxis is a powerful mediating factor for change, both individually and institutionally, is a key element of what my research is premised on. I am interested in engaging in what Seo and Creed (2002) call "the drama of institutional change", which invites me to explore how people "legitimize or challenge existing organisational forms and practices" (p. 243). I suggest that the emergence of te Tiriti-based "co-governance" aligns well with the dialectical theory of institutional change that Seo and Creed (2002) put forward: agents use their "ability to artfully mobilize different institutional logics and resources, appropriated from their contradictory institutional environments, to frame and serve their interests" (p. 240). I suggest that rumaki, dual curricular and co-governance educational models represent a dialectical framework of organisational praxis because they are:

> (1) driven by institutional participants whose interests are not adequately served by the existing institutional arrangements and (2) directed toward a fundamental departure from the previous principles of organizing (Seo & Creed, 2002, p. 240).

A dialectical approach to institutional change centered on praxis creates important ethical and interpretative boundaries in my study. For example, my analysis and discussions are understood as provisional; they were open to critique by participants during the course of the research, and remain open to critique by future scholars and activists with perhaps more acute or creative understandings. Such inquiries inspire and create research processes that aim to activate intellect, emotion and spirit. They have the potential to restore and/or create meaning and action between people over time and in different settings or institutions (Pyrch & Castillo, 2001). Within social and critical constructivism this is a key idea – that knowledge and social action are vitally connected (Livesey, 2017). Guba and Lincoln (2005) describe how a constructivist research paradigm asserts that validity and inquiry are "often incomplete without action on the part of the participants; [a] constructivist formulation mandates training political action if participants do not understand political systems" (p. 198). Huygens (2011) applied their insight when researching Pākehā critical awakenings regarding cultural racism in Aotearoa, and found that ideologies and practices

> such as indifference and individualism, need to be recognised as cultural and as collectively maintained – hence the need for deliberately collective processes to change them. In Gramsci's terms, just as hegemony is consensually produced, so must counter-hegemony be consensually produced. Coming to consider ourselves as a cultural collective helps settler colonisers take responsibility for the impact that settler colonial culture has on indigenous people (p. 76).

Kincheloe (2021) suggests that critical constructivists are motivated by asking questions about the ethical purpose of schooling: whose sense of reality and knowledge is valued, visible and assessed and/or obscured or suppressed? As is the case of many colonised lands, Aotearoa has been subjected to the imposition of a narrow, colonial and Cartesian infused schooling system that cuts off the ability to engage productively in a world of relational complexity. It privileges a mechanistic and linear monopoly over "academic success" (Giroux, 2016; Milne, 2017). For example, an individual learns an abstract content area, is assessed on their mastery of this, and then moves to the next stage or not. Based on this modernist industrial era model of schooling, the present system aims to commodify skills in service of a capitalist and competitive global marketplace (Bargh, 2007; Griffith & Smith, 2014; Howard-Wagner et al., 2018).

Turning to the corollary of the macro power dimension, the micro aspect unveils strategic questions about how power operates: power can be generative, not simply oppressive, when exploring a persons' everyday experience in the social and cultural web of a constructed reality (Taylor, 2014). I found Amy Allen's (2002) contemplation of the converging and diverging philosophies of Foucault and Arendt helpful in this

regard. Allen (2002) suggests that both thinkers come from different philosophical traditions: Foucault offers a critique of modernity and its dangerous essentialising norms, and he is often associated with the "post-modern left"; whereas Arendt is a "champion of the pre-modern polis" and "dangerously close to the anti-modern right" (p. 131). Yet Allen finds common ground between them by illuminating their shared critique of "sovereign power"

> both Foucault and Arendt reject the assumption that power is a thing or a kind of stuff that can be acquired, stored up, and/or possessed by the sovereign and then wielded in a negative or repressive fashion over his [sic] subjects in the form of a legitimate or illegitimate exercise of the rule of law. Instead, each stresses the relational nature of power, the fact that power emerges out of interactions among agents and that it exists only in its exercise. Furthermore, they agree that power is not merely negative or repressive, each insists on viewing power as, in some sense, a positive, productive force (Allen, 2002, p. 142).

It is the *relational nature of power* – how this is created and mediated via interactions between different cultural groups with fluid ethical and political implications – that my research into te Tiriti co-governance is invested in exploring. Foucault's (1980, 2000) theories about how knowledge and power are in constant negotiation between individuals, groups and institutions, find favour in a social and critical constructivist research orientation. For example, in her inquiry into re-imagining teacher professional learning for social justice, Taylor (2014) explains that Foucault's theories of power were conceptually "revolutionary"

> [Foucault] has been revolutionary for many who like me, [whom] are working towards emancipatory practice, because it has offered ways to think about, question, and analyse power relations in ways beyond just seeking to eliminate the power of the most powerful. The main points of difference is Foucault's work on power are built around his beliefs about who exercises power, how it is exercised, and power's productive, rather than purely negative form (p. 82).

The concepts of 'discourse' and discursive practices are central to Foucault's (1980) analysis of truth and power (Taylor, 2014, p. 86). In this context I apply Ball's description of discourse as "what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (p. 90, cited in Taylor, 2014, p. 87). Power is not purely externally enforced but also transverses people's bodies, language, thinking and daily actions. Foucault (1980) suggests that "discourse" is located in networks of social-cultural power relations that travel through subjective thought, language, symbols and discursive actions.

Discourse and power relations have a direct impact on how my research is conceptualised, put into practice and given life. The languages I use in my study – English and/or te reo Māori – reveal my broader understanding and action of the

society and cultural worlds I live in. Similarly, the dialogue I engage in with those participating and contributing to this study reveal our subjective positionings, partial understandings, and relative constructions of the world (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Kincheloe (2011) has termed this form of research awareness as the "phenomenology of power": where critical constructivist researchers "appreciate the subtle ways power shapes their research, their methods of constructing data and interpretations of it and their narrative voice" (p. 120). Moment to moment recognition of the phenomenon of power is a critical part of my research orientation, and I discuss this through a consideration of "researcher reflexivity" in the next subsection.

My interest in building knowledge about te Tiriti as a form of public action converges with what te Tiriti activist scholar John Kirton (1997) calls "experienced-based thinking", whose theories arose out of

> a personal synthesis of the wide-ranging, sometimes conflicting, experience-based thinking of friends and co-workers with some of whom, over twenty years of antiracism and Te Tiriti work, I have been privileged to share confusion, determination and a growing body of knowledge...as we glimpsed change in dominant attitudes in Aotearoa (Kirton, 1997, p. vii).

Arendt's notion of "world-building" reverberates with Kirton's aim to legitimise and grow understandings about the complexities of Tiriti-honouring relationships in contemporary public life in Aotearoa. Nichols (2009) describes Arendt's theory of world-building as "the work we do together to generate a world in common from our various (distinct) places in it" (p. 64). Again, for Arendt, our actions are always located in a network of relations with others, yet

> Power is actualized only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to veil intentions but to disclose realities, and deeds are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities (Arendt, 1998, p. 200).

Arendt's idea that politics is a form of world-building illustrates to me how research design and processes are not separate from public politics. Through the narratives of multiple participants, I actively seek to engage with the complex ways te Tiriti co-governance can shape a publicly funded secondary school structurally, materially and relationally. The visibility of people's rich and situated accounts of their labour can be made when policies, official procedures and relationships are explicated in order to provoke new imaginings, reflections and actions (Gallagher, 2011; Nichols, 2009; Seo & Creed, 2002). Coleman (2015) reminds me that a research focus such as this sits within "complex epistemological territory"

> A commitment to collaborative working and the right of people to be involved in making sense of their own experience and determining their own futures is central to our practice – we conduct research with not on people. We must, therefore, be open to multiplicity, to emergence, to partial and sometimes conflicting truths. We acknowledge the tight interconnection between power and knowledge (p. 3).

If the choice of different ideas, feelings, metaphors and practices contribute to our social world, then social and critical constructivist researchers ask strategic questions about what languages and discourses are privileged or not. This form of strategic questioning becomes a primary point of focus for me in my research work. For example, "co-created meaning" could be interpreted as settling on a set of shared and mutually agreed meanings at a particular time (Bauman & Donskis, 2013). While this could be the case in some situations, as discussed earlier, a critical social constructivist paradigm troubles this notion by consistently checking tacit assumptions about what is shared or contested. This reflexive inquiry process – which I discuss further in the next chapter – contributes to the integrity of any proffered interpretations of findings. It implores me to stretch my interpretive capabilities individually and with others in order to legitimately understand the intended meaning(s) and contradictions of those who generously share their experiences with me as part of the research. This has ontological and epistemological implications because the findings revealed are not set in concrete; rather they are provisional, partial, relational, open-ended, open to future iterations and critique.

Next I critically reflect on my engagement using an Indigenous research ethics framework as a non-Indigenous researcher: *Te Ara Tika: Guidelines for Māori research ethics: A framework for researchers and ethics committee members* (Pūtaiora Writing Group). I consider how I applied the dimensions of this framework, and what the implications were during the course of the study.

5.5 Te Ara Tika: An introduction

> I assert that the Te Ara Tika framework provides a means for Tauiwi to develop research that responds to this fundamental challenge of how to do ethical research in Aotearoa. Its very application requires engagement with Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and active reflection on dominant [Pa¯keha¯] cultural paradigms (Came, 2013, p. 8).

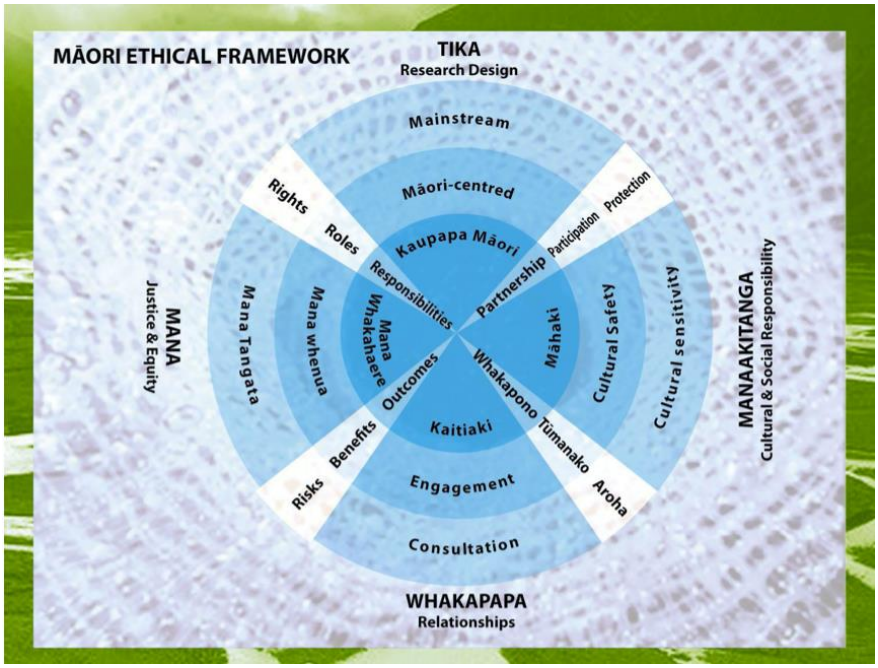
Te Ara Tika Guidelines Māori Research Ethics was developed by the Pūtaiora Writing Group (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010). It can be understood as an evolution of Māori efforts to ensure that any research undertaken in Aotearoa is based on tikanga and mātauranga Māori and Western ethical principles

> This framework aims to focus the ethical deliberation towards a more constructive critique of research in terms of not only its ability to identify risks but its potential to enhance relationships through the creation of positive outcomes for Māori communities. Concepts of justice and reciprocity are important for identifying tangible outcomes for all parties and supporting more equitable benefit sharing (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 3).

Te Ara Tika is a Māori metaphor that arises out of the articulation of contemporary Māori thinkers and doers who have wrestled with, and explicitly resisted, the violent impacts of research on Māori people and communities (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 20). Based on four Māori philosophical and practical principles *Te Ara Tika* applies notions of whakapapa, tika, manaakitanga, and mana to guide ethical research in Aotearoa (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 4).

As depicted below *Te Ara Tika* is a graded scale and locates the interrelated Māori philosophies described in terms of "minimum", "good" and "best" practice standards. Strategic questions linked to whakapapa, tika, manaakitanga, and mana act as a form of ethical inquiry *procedurally* (in preparation for submission of an ethics application) and *in the field* (during negotiations with participants during and after the research).

Table 6: Te Ara Tika Māori Ethical Framework



5.5.1 Whakapapa – He aha te whakapapa o tēnei kaupapa?

> Whakapapa is used to explain both the genesis and purpose of any particular kaupapa (topic/purpose). Whakapapa is an analytical tool for not only understanding why relationships have been formed but also monitoring how the relationships progress and develop over time (mai i te whai ao ki te ao mārama). Within the context of decision-making about ethics, whakapapa refers to quality

> of relationships and the structures or processes that have been established to support these relationships. In research, the development and maintenance of meaningful relationships between researcher and research participant forms another axis of consideration for evaluating the ethical tenor of a research project and its associated activity (original emphasis, Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 6).

The origin of this project arose out of two overlapping personal and professional orientations: commitments to social justice *and* the aspiration for cultural regeneration. As introduced earlier my growing Pākehā identity and my formative and current engagement with Māori communities encompass these two ideas. I concur with Royal's (2009) description of social justice when he says that it includes "the desire to seek redress for historical wrongdoing *and* a commitment to address inequalities arising from historical wrongdoing" (original emphasis, Royal, 2009, p. 7).

My voluntary and professional role as a second generation Tiriti educator and activist started in earnest in 2001. At this time I became active in youth decolonisation efforts amongst non-Māori in collaboration with rangatahi Māori. Subsequently my social justice activism has focused on stimulating open dialogue about what a change in Crown-Māori power relationships might look and feel like if our shared commitments under Te Tiriti o Waitangi were honoured (Healy, 2019; Margaret, 2002). Related to this is my aspiration for cultural regeneration. This has included voluntary and professional work to support the free and unlimited expression of Māori initiatives that reclaim, sustain and advance Māori language and tikanga in education (Barnes & Paringātai, 2022; Barnes, 2006; Hotere-Barnes et al., 2014; Margaret, 2013; Nelson, 2018). At the same time I've been interested in contributing to critical discourses regarding Pākehā cultural identities – understanding my own European heritage, and how this position frames my becoming now and into the future as a citizen of Aotearoa (Barnes, 2013; Barnes et al., 2023; Barnes, 2006).

The confluence of social justice and cultural regeneration coalesced when I was invited to join a team of Māori educationalists and Māori language advocates in 2019. The team were charged with designing and implementing a pilot program, *Te Rekamauroa* (Smith et al., 2020). This pilot was funded by the Ministry of Education's *Te Ahu o te Reo* initiative that aims to "grow and strengthen an education workforce that can integrate te reo Māori into the learning of all ākonga in Aotearoa" (Ministry of Education, 2022c). *Te Rekamauroa* was, and continues to be, a regionally specific and tailored programme under the wider *Te Ahu o te Reo* initiative. I was invited to join *Te Rekamauroa* because of my activism as a Pākehā second language learner, and my willingness to address this position in relation to anti-racism and te Tiriti. Inviting my

participation was a deliberate and practical act by the leaders of *Te Rekamauroa* in this regard (Smith et al., 2020, p. 52).

An unexpected outcome of my role with *Te Rekamauroa* was my introduction to the case study secondary school: Western Springs College-Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. This came about because one of our team members had recently left her teaching role at Ngā Puna o Waiōrea and was now project managing *Te Rekamauroa*. She shared with me the kura-school moves towards giving effect to te Tiriti via a co-governance arrangement. This piqued my interest. I expressed my desire to invite the kura-school to participate as a potential case study. She believed that the project would be of interest to the kura-school, and she generously facilitated introductions between me and kura-school leaders. After four face to face meetings introducing myself and the purpose of the study, kura-school leaders agreed to be part of the case study. I discuss the relationship building with the kura-school in section *5.5.4 Mana – Kei a wai te mana mō tēnei kaupapa?*

Alongside the development of my relationship with the kura-school, I also discussed my research with previous and current leaders of rumaki and bilingual units in the primary and secondary schooling sectors. Starting from mid 2019 up until the present moment, there were three linked layers to this engagement:

1. **Individual sector leaders:** I facilitated early discussions about the potential scope of my research and its tangible benefits with current and previous schooling leaders of rumaki and bilingual units. This resulted in these leaders sharing their experiences, and providing formal support for the project via written evidence to the AUT Ethics Committee. Informally they expressed an interest in hearing more about the research. They were interested in the findings of the study, and how it could further advance bilingual education in Aotearoa.

2. **Establishment of Te Ohu Rangahau:** Inspired by the research design of Came (2011) I decided to embed further collaborative and accountable relationships with Māori into my study. This included creating Te Ohu Rangahau - a "whānau-of-interest" research group (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Three members constituted Te Ohu Rangahau. Each identify as Māori and hold expertise in the learning, teaching, governing and strategic leadership of dual-curriculum/language schools:

    - **Lynette Bradnam** is Ngāti Kahungunu and Kai Tahu. She has taught in both schooling and tertiary sectors and has experience as an Assistant Principal. Her teaching experience at tertiary level includes five years developing and lecturing college of education and university programmes. Lynette has been involved in the development of key professional development programmes for teachers of Māori students while working at the Ministry of Education. This includes programmes such as Te Kotahitanga, Te Mana Kōrero and Te Kauhua.

    - **Dee Reid** is Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Kahu and has 8 years secondary teaching and middle management experience in English and Māori medium

settings, and 8 years as a PLD facilitator in English and Māori medium settings. She has particular strength and passion in teaching and learning te reo Māori and is particularly interested in the role digital technologies plays in enhancing the teaching and learning experience and outcomes for ākonga.

- **Rosalie Reiri** is Ngāti Kahungunu and has 11 years in rumaki within Waikato and South Auckland areas. She has worked as a Māori medium facilitator for Te Marautanga o Aotearoa (TMoA), Te Reo Māori in Māori in Medium and Te Reo o te Kaiako. She has experience in curriculum design, cultural responsiveness, whānau engagement and teaching as inquiry in rumaki and Māori medium kura.

I met with this collective up to 4 times a year to discuss the evolution of the research, seek advice and critique my research processes. While I held the ultimate responsibility over the planning, gathering and analysis of the information collected, Te Ohu Rangahau alongside my formal supervision, were integral to the development, critique, knowledge-building and dissemination process of interpretations (Came, 2011, p. 37). As leaders and practitioners of bilingual and dual-medium settings, the involvement of Te Ohu Rangahau added further rigour to my process. They had lived experience of leading and developing these learning environments. Te Ohu Rangahau invited me to explore alternate approaches and/or understandings, all the while being a critical friend regarding my assumptions and responses to changing research conditions.

3. **Strategic organisational linkages:** As outlined in part 2 of my literature review, in 2020 the government created changes to the Education and Training Act (2020) that required school boards to "give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2020). In year two of the research I began to connect with organisations who were involved in raising awareness about the changes and their implications. In this instance I rekindled a professional link to the New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA). Previously I had been a co-writer and designer for a suite of educational resources for NZSTA Board members regarding te Tiriti and school governance (Hotere-Barnes & McGregor, 2016). Under the new 2020 Act, NZSTA was reviewing their curricula and creating new resources regarding the legislation and te Tiriti capability in school governance. I met with senior organisational leaders to share resources and discuss key questions about the structural and relational considerations facing schools and te Tiriti application.

Given the above and with reference to the three levels of the whakapapa of *Te Ara Tika*, I positioned my study as operating at the "Good Practice-Engagement" domain.

5.5.2 Tika – Me pēhia e tika ai tēnei kaupapa?

> **Tika** provides a general foundation for tikanga and in the Māori context refers to what is right and what is good for any particular situation. In the context of this framework we relate it to the **validity of the research** proposal (original emphasis, Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 8).

A variety of Māori have been involved throughout my study. From the beginning I actively sought out a diversity of Māori perspectives regarding the research. These ranged from teachers, school-kura leaders, whānau, professional development facilitators and academics. Dialogues with Māori, alongside te Tiriti related governance changes in schooling (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2020), limited amount of research on rumaki and co-curricular design (Bright & Wylie, 2017; Horne, 2017), and my ongoing professional development programmes in schools regarding te Tiriti understandings and application, coalesced to demonstrate the need for this research.

Embedded into my research proposal, design, methods, and dissemination plan was a bilingual focus. As discussed previously, at a practical level this ensured a mix of te reo Māori and/or English was used during my engagements with research participants and Te Ohu Rangahau members. The material forms I used included te reo Māori explanations where appropriate, such as introducing/locating myself in the information sheet and translating questions into reo Māori.

Using te reo Māori necessitates understanding and applying the appropriate/contextual use of tikanga and kawa. For example when meeting with Te Ohu Rangahau members or participants familiar with te ao Māori, I would offer to begin and/or close with an appropriate karakia. I often led this process because I had called the meeting. However I always made space and invited people to lead tikanga if they so wished. Similarly, when in dialogue I would shift languages depending on the context and flow of conversation. For example, there were times when key concepts and understandings were best conveyed either in English or te reo Māori. The use and fluidity of both languages ensured I could operate in ways that culturally fitted each particular situation.

Similar to Came's (2011) positioning, I engaged with my supervision team, Te Ohu Rangahau and participants as co-inquirers. The aim here has been to co-produce new knowledge and understandings regarding social and cultural lives (Bishop, 1996; Hancock, 2018; Hancock & Epston, 2008). My co-inquiry method operated at two levels: 1. selecting an appropriate Māori metaphor for my thematic descriptions; and 2. accountable representation. I will describe both levels next.

5.5.2.1 Level 1: "Te Ahi" - An appropriate Māori metaphor for thematic descriptions

For each of the three cohorts - leaders, kaiako-teachers and whānau and family - I developed a culturally specific framework to construct and interpret emergent themes. This document included reflections about the why, what and how Te Tiriti o Waitangi co-governance relationships took shape in the kura-school. Te Ohu Rangahau

encouraged me to seek out an appropriate Māori metaphor to illustrate how the key ideas emerging could contribute to Māori knowledge and experiences. I proposed that *ahi* (fire) was a culturally fitting Māori analogy to frame the themes, and Te Ohu Rangahau agreed. I explained that my inspiration for *ahi* came from two sources: the waiata '*Tutungia te hatete o te Reo*', composed by graduates of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo – Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language (AKO: Ika-a-Whiro o Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori, 2009); and references made by a research participant during our dialogues in te reo Māori. Through my analysis and co-construction with participants and Te Ohu Rangahau, I applied four interrelated dimensions of ahi to represent the key ideas that had emerged in each group:

1. **Te Ahi Whakakā (the initial flare):** Participants reflected on the catalysts of setting up the school to have a Tiriti-based co-governance structure and relationships. They shared the opportunities and challenges required for this to happen. The focus then shifted to the skills and attitudes that shape their day-to-day teaching thinking and practices.

2. **Te Ahi Kongange (the growing blaze):** This dimension explored the impacts of te Tiriti co-governance on ākonga, students, whānau and families. This was complemented by reflections on the professional learning and development required to sustain and further advance the relational and systemic nature of co-governance.

3. **Te Ahi Pūkauri (the sustained glow):** The final element related to what other schools and people can learn from the co-governance experiences of Ngā Puna o Waiōrea and Western Springs College. It concluded with an imagining of what a "decolonised and Tiriti-honouring co-governance and curricular" could look and feel like.

5.5.2.2 Level 2: Accountable representation

For the second element of my co-inquiry process, I wanted to demonstrate accountable representation in my information gathering and sharing processes. Subsequently my research design embedded three processes of voluntary feedback and feedforward with participants. The purpose was to ensure that people could "see" and "hear" themselves in our dialogue(s); and that my process and findings could contribute to the co-governance development of the kura-school. The four processes included:

1. **Facilitated "learning conversations":** I deliberately named my time with participants "learning conversations." This was to mitigate the formalities of an "interview". It also signalled that the study was exploratory and provisional. I explained to people that the research was a snapshot in time of the co-governance relationships and structures. It presents just one glimmer of what people are *learning*, and by extension what some of the implications could be for other settings interested in te Tiriti co-governance. This was especially important given the politically charged topic of te Tiriti in political, social and cultural discourses. I wanted to avoid "right" or "wrong" answers. Instead my

interest was on recording the experiential learning taking place - the ups, downs, and complexities of their situation at that particular moment. I took notes on a shared google document with participants so they could see what I was recording. I then re-listened to the recorded conversation and provided a transcribed summary of the conversation to each person or group. People then had two weeks to voluntarily respond with additions, changes or suggestions. If no changes were requested, I assumed the individual summary was accurate. Quotes from participants used in this thesis were then italicised. Translations from te reo Māori into English were conducted by a registered te reo Māori translator and are non-italicised to distinguish the two languages.

2. **Te Ahi thematic framework:** As previously described, following each learning conversation I used my *Te Ahi* framework to structure salient preliminary themes across each cohort group. I shared these draft themes with each respective cohort, and invited each group member to voluntarily add amendments or corrections within a two week period. If no changes were received within this time, I assumed participants were happy with what was recorded.

3. **Sharing preliminary findings with each cohort:** I then used *Te Ahi* preliminary themes to shape my draft discussion and findings. Once drafted, I shared this with each cohort. This was so they could see how I had discussed and analysed the themes in context. Again, a voluntary two week timeframe was provided in order to seek feedback and feedforward from each group participant. At this point in the process I took responsibility for determining the extent of the contribution from participants.

4. **Sharing preliminary findings with the kura-school:** From 2020-2023 I worked with kura-school to think through how best to share my interpretations to kura-school wide. This included presenting at a teacher only day and meeting with the professional learning and development team. In sum, this element aimed to contribute directly to the development of the co-governance approach at leadership, teaching and community engagement levels.

In relation to the three levels of the *tika* dimension I suggest my research operated at the middle level - “good practice: Māori centered.” I maintained overall responsibility for the analysis and integrity of the study. However the research was Māori centered in that I:

- Initiated dialogues with diverse Māori whom shared an interest in the topic;
- Applied appropriate use of te reo and tikanga Māori in “the field” and during my write up; and
- Made sincere attempts at providing accountable representation of themes and findings to Māori participants and the wider kura-school community.

5.5.3 Manaakitanga – Mā wai e manaaki tēnei kaupapa?

The concept of manaakitanga encompasses a range of meanings in a traditional sense with a central focus on ensuring the mana of both parties is upheld. In this context it is associated with notions of **cultural and social responsibility** and **respect for persons** (original emphasis, Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 10).

This project has not been designed as a kaupapa Māori research initiative, however as briefly discussed earlier, I did apply familiar Māori values, concepts, and protocols in the following ways:

- **Legitimation of te reo and tikanga:** I was careful to use appropriate Māori language, values and concepts during my fieldwork and as part of my co-inquiry sense-making. As a second language learner, using te reo and tikanga in this work necessitated being humble and open to extending or changing my understanding of Māori concepts and practices. There were a number of occasions when my dialogue in te reo Māori with participants and Te Ohu Rangahau members challenged my cultural understandings, and corrected my cultural assumptions. In the same instance, the visibility and use of te reo and tikanga was taken for granted. This legitimated Māori sense-making, theorising and experience throughout the project.

- **'He manako te kōura i kore ai':** This whakataukī can be loosely understood as "just because you wish for it, it won't make it so." In relation to this project, I used this proverb to highlight the importance of establishing potential goals and benefits for the kura-school. Starting in late 2020, with guidance from my supervision team and Te Ohu Rangahau, I remain open to ways I can share my interpretations in ways that best fit the kura-school community.

I ensured that the procedural ethical dimensions of the project were met via the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee. I organised monthly discussions with my supervisors regarding research progress, and also contacted them on a "as needed" basis when I had questions about the best way to support individual participants (see Chapter 11, research moment two, for an example of this).

Alongside my supervisors, Te Ohu Rangahau was a source of important support, who provided a "loving critique" of my processes (Paris & Alim, 2014). They did this by posing generative and critical questions about my theorising and the implications of my interpretations. At the same time they offered alternate Māori cultural explanations about the themes arising, which expanded the meaning-making possibilities in the study.

Given the above and in relation to the three levels of manaakitanga in *Te Ara Tika* - cultural sensitivity, cultural safety, and māhaki - I positioned my study in the middle, as "good practice: cultural safety."

5.5.4 Mana - Kei a wai te mana mō tēnei kaupapa?

> Mana in a Māori context refers to power and authority bestowed, gained or inherited individually and collectively. In the context of this framework mana relates to equity and distributive **justice**. Mana acts as a barometer of the quality of relationships by acknowledging issues of power and authority in relation to who has rights, roles and responsibilities when considering the risks, benefits and outcomes of the project (original emphasis, Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 13).

As a Pākehā community te Tiriti educator, activist scholar a primary base for my thinking and doing relates to questions of power and control. Ensuring I recognised and legitimated the mana of those who chose to work with me was critical. The reflexive questions posed in *Te Ara Tika* enabled me to critically re-trace the risks, benefits and outcomes of the study.

Prior to beginning the collection of people's experiences regarding co-governance, I prioritised meeting with leaders from the kura-school about the project. While I had on-going dialogue with Māori and non-Māori educationalists about the merits of the research, I was a relative “outsider” to the Western Springs-Waiōrea community. It was only through my single relationship with an ex-kaiako from Waiōrea that enabled me to initially approach the kura-school. While our relationship was positive, I was critically aware that my ability to create a mutually beneficial relationship with the kura-school was fragile. I was reliant on developing and sustaining a new relationship with key leaders and staff. Below I briefly describe the different invitations I made to Waiōrea and Springs about how they could engage, and what favourable outcomes could result.

5.5.4.1 Ngā Puna o Waiōrea

After earlier discussions about te Tiriti co-governance at Waiōrea and springs, in late 2019 I asked my *Te Rekamauroa* colleague, and now friend, what the best way to begin a conversation with the kura-school might be. As a former kaiako in Waiōrea, she generously offered to organise a time to hui with leaders from the kura. Her literal whānau and collegial relationships with Waiōrea leaders was invaluable. Without her willingness to “vouch for me” to her colleagues and whanaunga, a time and space to hui, introduce myself, and table the project in person would have been far more difficult.

In our first hui we quickly made explicit links and connections in common - people, events, kura, schools and so on. A foundation of relational knowing was set. We then discussed how the project came about, what its broad goals were, and how the kura could benefit. They acknowledged how busy they were with existing commitments. They also shared how previous educational researchers had been in touch about potential studies. Some of these invitations did not go ahead because there was insufficient trust developed between the researcher(s) and Waiōrea. Once again, I was keenly aware of my outsider status. I empathised with their situation and hesitancy, and this led to related discussion about instances where research-kura relationships *had been* mutually beneficial (Lee & Selwyn, 2010). It was at this point that we negotiated what types of benefits the kura would ideally like to see emerge, and what a potential and practical working relationship could be. We settled on some provisional

terms, and they welcomed me back for another kai to look at next steps. They also said that they would introduce me via e-mail to the principal of Western Springs College. Since this time our relationship has grown. I then made it a priority to be physically present at a number of kura and school-wide events whenever possible.

5.5.4.2 Western Springs College

The establishment of an early relationship with Waiōrea leaders resulted in my introduction to the principal of Springs. In contrast to the collective hui with Waiōrea leaders, we met one-on-one. There was little time to share common links, so I briefly described my impressions of the hui with Waiōrea, and their overarching endorsement for the project. We then discussed how the study came about, what its broad goals were, and how the school could benefit. He acknowledged the support of Waiōrea and also wanted reassurance about potential impacts on staff time and energy. I shared the voluntary nature of the project and the structure of planned learning conversations with individuals and/or groups. I was explicit about the project being a knowledge-building exercise that could have benefits for the kura-school. We also discussed how other settings considering te Tiriti co-governance could benefit from Waiōrea-Springs' experience. In conclusion he said he would run the project past his senior leadership team and Board Chair, and we would go from there.

Following my meeting with the principal, the Tumuaki of Waiōrea shared a Springs colleague contact who was a key member of a te reo and tikanga Māori learning group. He had discussed my invitation with her and the project generally, and she was keen to support. This led us to meeting face to face and sharing questions about Pākehā and Māori relationships for educational justice. She re-emphasised her commitment to support the project, and offered to be the conduit between me and Springs leadership. From this point onwards she became a key person in helping me organise and invite Springs staff. By this time, the Board chair had also been in touch to offer support.

Since the initiation of my relationship with the kura-school through to the dissemination of my findings, I focused on being as open about my process and interpretations as I could. Schools are busy places that work with multiple demands. The impact of the COVID 19 pandemic added to these burdens. My central aim was to "give back", and ensure the research contributed positively, as opposed to being perceived as "an added extra" or a "burden." The potential and actual risks that emerged were discussed in confidence, and worked through iteratively with the support of my supervisors and Te Ohu Rangahau. To this end I have organised time to plan with kura-school leaders about the focus and key implications of the research. These discussions are ongoing.

Based on my consideration of the three levels of mana in *Te Ara Tika* - mana tangata, mana whenua, and mana whakahaere - I positioned my study in the first domain of "Minimum standard: Mana tangata." The next section continues my reflexive commitment to a living research process. I outline my case study method, how I collated and created the account, and my approach to qualitative analysis and interpretation.

5.6 A case study method

Locating this study within a social and critical constructivist paradigm identifies my epistemic belief, which permeates my choice of qualitative methods (Yazan, 2015). The study does not aim to provide an objective, generalizable and valid account of te Tiriti co-governance in a secondary school. Rather, I am interested in the particular and individual case of Springs-Waiōrea and its unique set of relational activities and structural context. It is through the critical co-construction of multiple interpretations of te Tiriti co-governance that binds me to the case study (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995).

For this study I followed in the footsteps of educational research by Te Kawehau Hoskins (Hoskins, 2010). Hoskins used a case study approach to explore te Tiriti co-governance and community relations at Newton Central School

> The case study is about a unique set of ethical, cultural and political practices that have been productive for non-dominating relationships framed by the Treaty of Waitangi in the context of a New Zealand school. In this case study, student achievement is nested within, and progressed through, broader aspirations for Māori self-determination, cultural revitalisation, and ethical and relational politics (Hoskins, 2010, p. 5).

I position this research closely to Hoskins. It is another iterative step towards exploring why and how te Tiriti o Waitangi is used to establish relational and structural justice, in the search for non-dominating power relations in education. While different schooling contexts (primary not secondary), Hoskins' (2010) account of Newton's te Tiriti co-governance experiences directly informed my research. Indeed, the experiences of Newton Central impacted on the thinking and practices of the local Kāhui Ako, of which Waiōrea-Springs are part. As a sense of continuity, the credibility of my case study comes from continuing to share the Tiriti-led learning aspirations of the local schooling community. All participants expressed the hope that their participation and reflections would benefit the schools understanding and application of te Tiriti co-governance in some way.

For the purpose of this study I describe “the case” by applying educational researcher Sharan Merriam’s (1998) conception:

> an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process or a social unit (Merriam, 1998, p. xiii).

For Merriam (1998) a case study has distinctive elements. For example she focuses on a *particular phenomenon* (te Tiriti co-governance in a secondary school), providing a *rich description* of the phenomenon (the why, what and how of te Tiriti co-governance) and discussing the *heuristics* of the phenomenon (exploring what people are learning) (Merriam, 1998). This description is compatible with my social and critical constructivist epistemological paradigm. I am interested in contributing to peoples’ constructed descriptions and analysis of how “non-dominating relationships” can emerge through te Tiriti o Waitangi in schooling.

5.6.1 Information collection

Consistent with case study methods in education, the single case study drew information from multiple material and qualitative sources (Yazan, 2015, p. 142). Material sources included:

- Strategic planning and policy documents produced by the local school and related Community of Learning/Kāhui Ako
- Agenda and minutes from Board of Trustees
- Ministry of Education and linked schooling websites i.e. Education Review Office; Teachers Council; New Zealand School Trustees Association
- Personal observations of kura-school meetings; and
- Papers and presentations shared by interviewees.

Qualitative sources included x16 learning conversations alongside:

- Board of Trustees, senior leadership (x6 people)
- Teachers (x6 people); and
- Whānau and family (x4 people).

My ethics application was approved by the Auckland University of Technology in November 2019, but was successfully amended to mitigate potential risk from COVID 19 in April 2020. See Appendix A for the participation information sheet and Appendix B for the participant consent form. I now turn to a particular form of qualitative method I applied in the research process, which I called “facilitated learning conversations.”

5.6.1.2 “Facilitated learning conversations”

As noted earlier I termed my engagements with participants “learning conversations.” This framing aimed to underscore the open-ended and conversational style of

information collection, and mitigate the formalities of an “interview.” They were mutually informative, and for some participants, positively shifted their thinking and practices. Based on the previous line of inquiry developed by Hoskins (2010), and feedback from Te Ohu Rangahau and my supervisors, I framed my line of inquiry based on the following temporal sequence:

1. **Historic**: What were the catalysts of setting up the school to have a Tiriti-based co-governance structure and relationships?
2. **Present:** What are the impacts of te Tiriti co-governance on ākonga, students, whānau and families?
3. **Future:** What might other schools and people learn at this point from the co-governance experiences of Ngā Puna o Waiōrea and Western Springs College?

A friend of mine, who is also a registered te reo Māori translator, kindly offered to translate my open-ended questions from English into te reo Māori. Alongside my information sheet, the questions and initial invitations to participate, I explained to people that they could choose to express themselves in English, te reo Māori or a mixture of both. From the beginning of my fieldwork process with participants, I used English and/or te reo Māori depending on the people I was speaking with. We informally landed on the appropriate mix of language and meaning through what I call “a mutual flow”: I responded to what language they preferred to use, and followed their lead appropriately. When discussing the questions with participants, I explicitly reminded them that there was no “right or wrong answer.” Rather I wanted to purposefully explore and critically reflect on their experiences alongside them. To this end, the discussions aimed to gather a variety of perspectives about the nature of co-governance and the learning taking place. Given the research context these basic acts of locating myself and the project as part of the wider a dual/immersion community demonstrated my cultural awareness, while signalling its aim to advance bilingualism and social justice education.

Learning conversations were conducted over a 10 month period from May 2020 until February 2021. I recruited participants through the Tumuaki, Board Chair and present and former kaiako and teachers at the kura-school. I then organised times with individuals and groups directly via phone and/or email that worked best for them. Out of 16 total learning conversations, 14 were with individuals, 2 included group discussions, and only 1 was an in-person conversation. Ideally, there would have been a greater proportion of in-person conversations, however due to COVID 19 lockdowns and restrictive levels this was not possible. In this instance I used audio video conferencing platforms, such as ZOOM and GoToMeeting to facilitate my conversations with participants.

5.6.2 Analysis

My analytical method was an inductive process. It began with my initial hui with Waiōrea-Springs kaiako and leaders, and then continued to deepen as I undertook more fieldwork with the kura-school community, analysed texts, and simultaneously analysed and wrote-up the case study. My purpose was to sketch the material and relational discourses occurring in the school (Livesey, 2017; Rankin, 2017b).

Two forms of analysis underpinned this study. The first was a critical focus on texts. The second was on facilitating learning conversations about peoples diverse and shared lived experiences. My analysis focused on material and relational engagements between people, and the way knowledge and power mediate these (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). My analytic approach draws on, but is not limited to, the work of feminist sociologist Dorothy (Smith, 2006), and various practitioners of Institutional Ethnography (Adams & Carryer, 2017; DeVault & McCoy, 2012; Livesey, 2017; Rankin, 2017a). Smith's (1999) IE is an approach for scholarship and activism concerned with critically examining the social and cultural organisation of knowledge (Rankin, 2017a). It is a sociology built on core epistemological and ontological assumptions that all knowledge is socially constructed, and carries particular interests that are embedded in these constructions (Rankin, 2017a, p. 2). In this regard the ontology of IE is located within the broad umbrella of social and critical constructivism: it is explicitly and conceptually focused on how things work, and how they are put together (Kearney et al., 2019). Below is a description of how I applied my analytic approach.

5.6.2.1 Critical discourse analysis of texts

The knowledge and discourses embedded in texts are another entry-point into social organisation and social relations. They create an understanding of the historic and present connections between people and places. According to Bisaillon (2012) discourses are

> Socially organized activities that circulate among people and through institutions. We all participate in discourse, and through our actions, discourses are brought into being. Looking at how people participate in discourse, how they talk about what they do, what texts circulate and what is reproduced in people's labour, is of the utmost analytic interest in institutional and political activist ethnography (Bisaillon, 2012, p. 610).

This analytic approach meant paying critical attention to the different forms of textual language used in social and cultural processes of the kura-school. I noted discursive themes in the texts that framed issues. For example, I analysed the kura-school's "Treaty Co-governance" policy in order to illustrate the terms, concepts, and social-

cultural resources “that people draw into their everyday work processes” or not (DeVault & McCoy, 2012, p. 390). Critical discourse analysis of texts helped to focus on the linkages and power relationships between everyday experiences of people, professional practices and policy-making (Weber & Morrison, 2015). It illustrated how power is embedded, the different ways it mediates people’s roles in the kura-school, and the everyday work required to develop and sustain co-governance (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 25).

5.6.2.2 Analysis and interpretation of learning conversations

My analytic thinking started with individual learning conversations. The learning conversations aimed to provide the reader with what Gallagher (2011) terms “polyvocality”: a range of interpretative accounts that contest a universal narrative. I aim to provide “rival musings and interpretive openings” and position these accounts “not as a place at which to arrive, but as a place to begin inquiry” (Gallagher, 2011, p. 52).

Personal accounts were explored in relation to “a generous conception of work”: dialogue revolved around analysing the actualities of how people apply their knowledge, skills and experiences in order to participate in a co-governance kura-school (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 72). Starting with individual participant explanations and descriptions, I then applied *Te Ahi* with respect to a particular cohort - leaders, kaiako-teachers, and whānau and family. As discussed earlier, *Te Ahi* is a Māori metaphor I applied to represent reflections from leaders, teachers and whānau and family about the why, what and how te Tiriti o Waitangi co-governance relationships took shape in the kura-school.

By asking “expert knowers” (kaiako-teachers, kura-school leaders, whānau and family members) about what happens in a co-governance dual-curricular school day-to-day, I was able to examine the social and cultural relations and contradictions at play. Overall my learning conversations were about “piecing together a larger picture of how the ruling relations are organizing the work of the informants” (Adams & Carryer, 2017, p. 6). In this regard the qualitative process was “open-ended” and “always oriented to sequences of interconnected activities” of the kura-school (DeVault & McCoy, 2012, p. 385). After analysing peoples’ accounts, I then shifted my focus to the wider macro determinants that are obscured or invisible to some individuals, but powerfully affect people and their relations with one another and the community they serve.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter I reflexively discussed Pākehā doing ethical educational research through the application of *Te Ara Tika*, a Māori centred research approach. In doing so *Te Ara Tika* has enabled me to challenge positivist research. My analytic approach – textual, relational and qualitative techniques – explores the particular, descriptive and heuristic. It offers a glimmer of visibility about my ethical relationships and commitments in the "research field" and beyond. I am inspired by two provocations. First, a long-standing assertion and invitation from tangata whenua that "all research in New Zealand is of interest to Māori, and research which includes Māori is of paramount importance to Māori" (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 1). I read this insistence and appeal as one imbued with relationality: it invites non-Indigenous researchers to contemplate and explicitly share how complexities of intersubjectivity and power-relations are intertwined. These relations come to life via negotiated processes of research design, analysis and dissemination strategies. The second provocation arises from te Tiriti educator and anti-racism activist scholar Heather Came (2013). Came argues that in order to "wrestle with issues of decolonisation" more Pākehā and Tauiwi must "develop research that responds to this fundamental challenge of how to do ethical research in Aotearoa" (Came, 2013, p. 8). I strive to learn from and use the findings to take action towards Tiriti relational justice (Hoskins, 2010). At a broader level, this study aims to provide valuable insights for those interested in processes and outcomes of Indigenous and non-Indigenous educational research collaboration. Next I apply the metaphor of *Te Ahi* as a guiding framework to structure salient themes that arose during my learning conversations with each cohort group.

Part four: Western Springs College – Ngā Puna o Waiōrea Co-governance: Why, what, and how?

In this section I introduce the case study, Western Springs College - Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. Here I explore the "why, what, and how" of its co-governance approach. I focus specifically on the learning taking place amongst three key groups: 1. mana whakahaere-school leaders; 2. kaiako-teachers; 3. and whānau-family. I examine the systemic and relational conditions required to create and sustain it. I discuss what a potential vision of te Tiriti-honouring co-governance could "look and feel like" in similar settings.

Finally, I posit that adoption of co-governance is inherently linked to a places' historic, political, economic and cultural context at national and local levels. There are a range of general *and* specific elements that can impact co-governance arrangements and development over time. In this sense, co-governance is not a romantic or simplistic vision of power-sharing. Like any creative endeavour that challenges the status quo and is adaptive to aspirations and needs, it inherently involves a complex combination of risk, tension and positive potential.

Chapter 6: Te Ahi Whakakā - The Initial Flare, Catalysts

6.1 Introduction

The symbolism of new fire in this chapter represents a departure from one worldview of educational leadership, teaching and learning in order to make space for contemporary te Tiriti-honouring understandings, intentions and practises. It foregrounds the insights, inspirations and labour required to depart from Eurocentric schooling structures and relations towards reciprocal power-sharing between te Tiriti partners. To set the scene, I present below reflections from mana whakahaere-school leaders, kaiako-teachers, and whānau-family. They each share perceptions on four key interrelated elements:

1. Ko te Whākōkī: The catalysts of Tiriti-based co-governance structure and relationships
2. Ngā Āheinga: The opportunities te Tiriti co-governance and relationships create
3. Ngā Wero: The challenges described by these participants; and
4. Ngā Pūkenga me ngā Waiaro tō te Tangata: The skills and attitudes that participants believe advance te Tiriti co-governance relationships.

6.2 Ko te Whākōkī: The Catalysts of Te Tiriti Co-Governance

6.2.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

For Springs-Waiōrea the move towards te Tiriti co-governance can be understood as a recognition and legitimation of pre-existing local iwi and hapū cultural narratives. Two Māori narratives and metaphors were referred to in discussions with leaders: he waka hourua and he ōrea. For the school, these images embody Indigenous self-determination, learning relationships, leadership, and innovation.

With specific reference to the first narrative – waka hourua – a Māori leader shared how hapū sea travel from Rangiātea in Hawaiki to Tāmaki Makaurau illustrated Māori determination, stewardship, and a resounding belief in collective learning. They reflected how waka hourua imagery and metaphor is appropriate for its contemporary co-governance relationships. The waka hourua relies on fostering a well-resourced co-learning relationship. In this context it engages different worldviews productively to successfully create a shared and differentiated vision of educational success

> *Kua noho mai te waka hourua hei kupu whakarite pea tō mātau noho tahi, mahi tahi, te paehere i ngā waka e rua e haere ana i te kare tai o te moana.*
> The double-hulled canoe has become a metaphor perhaps for our co-existence, for our collaboration, to bind together the two canoes which are travelling on the surface of the ocean.

The ōrea metaphor originates from the endemic presence of the longfin eel in local water-ways and their migratory pathway from the Waitematā harbour out to the Pacific ocean. The name “Ngā Puna o Waiōrea” epitomises this local ecosystem. The characteristics of the ōrea - strong, determined, and worldly - are key qualities Waiōrea aims to instil in their ākonga and whānau

> *Nō reira kei roto i te tuakiritanga, kei roto i te whakapapa ō mātau ngā kirituna, ngā kiriwai o Ngāti Ohomairangi, o Ngāti Oho, o Ngā Oho tae noa atu ki te ōrea. Ko taua ōrea e ai ki ētahi kōrero nā Wairaka… Ā i tiputipu ana, i pakari ana te tipu o ngā ōrea. Kei reira tonu i ēnei rā nei. E tika ana te hāngai o ngā kōrero ki ēnā o ngā whakapapa. Kia mau tonu ai te hitoria, ki ngā pūrākau, e tū tonu nei tō tātou kura.* Therefore, the eels and aquatic creatures, including the longfin eel, of Ngāti Ohomairangi, Ngāti Oho and Ngā Oho are in our identity and genealogy. That longfin eel, according to some of the narratives by Wairaka... And the eels were expanding and their growth was strengthening. They are still there these days. The application of the narratives to those genealogies is appropriate. We need to retain the history and the legends, so that our school can continue to exist.
>
> *When I was elected to Te Ohonga Ake I used the analogy of a hatchery of our ōrea [to represent our kura]. E pakari ai ēnei Ōrea mō te haere i te ao, ahakoa ki hea i roto i te ao rātau haere ai. We’re developing a pā tuna. E pai ai tō rātou whakatipu, whakawhanake mō te haere ki te ao whānui.* We’ve seen that already in the 30 or more years of the legacy of Waiōrea. We stand on the shoulders of great giants and they’ve paved this opportunity for us now. It’s an absolute privilege to be part of this.

Leaders were quick to explain that co-governance took many years to come to fruition. It involved over four decades of leadership, challenge, social movements, and wider community aspirations for a socially and culturally just school

> *Co-governance didn’t come from Waiōrea, it came from Newton and Te Uru Karaka. Learning, adopting and adapting has been about the advancement and success of Waiōrea. For me it’s been the key. It’s what we’ve gained from Waititi, Kahurangi, what we’ve got from Matua Rāwiri and Whaea Rhonda. Those kura and whānau throughout Tāmaki have helped us. That’s the other main support. That’s why we have a good relationship with whānau in our fellow kura. It’s aroha to share. Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi.*

Established in 1964 and originally named Seddon High School, it was then determined a materially and socio-economically poor community by the state, and received decile 1 categorisation. As one leader said, it was “one of the worst schools you could send your tamariki to.” In the face of a negative public image, and low socio-economic conditions, there was a drive from parents and teachers to ensure educational success for whānau and families. As one Board member put it “te Tiriti is in our DNA.” They explained that the heritage of te Tiriti provoked people to question if fairness and justice between te Tiriti partners is present or not.

The adoption of te Tiriti co-governance has implications relationally and structurally. School-kura leadership has always prided itself on a strong sense of relational trust and cultural legitimation of Māori and non-Māori. The relational qualities demonstrated by the late educational leader and former principal, Ken Havill, set the scene for te Tiriti commitments. Participants explained Ken understood that working across Māori and non-Māori worldviews was difficult but necessary. It included being able to accept different perspectives, being bound by a common goal of ākonga and student success. Two leaders discussed how Ken "respected the mana of the relationships" he held between Waiōrea-Springs

> *With Ken there was an innate understanding of what co-governance might be and entailed. The mana of respect between us, the ability to work together as Treaty partners. There were ups and downs, but we had common goals and understandings that we worked towards. It was in governance, management, and operations. There was that type of mana in the relationship.*
>
> *Ken was a purest, and his understanding of the fundamentals of te Tiriti as being a partnership between Māori and Pākehā was evident. The majority Pākehā should never assert their will over the minority partner, that it's an equal partnership. You walk side-by-side, you invest in true power-sharing and don't invoke the majority-minority type of concept. This is the gestation of the notion of co-governance.*

In developing their co-governance leadership approach, leaders explained how important it is to be deliberate about not following a traditional "top-down hierarchy" found in many schools. An example often cited was a leadership commitment to consensus decision-making between Te Ohonga Ake (TOA) - the formal avenue for Waiōrea whānau and tauira to be represented and accountable at a Board, kura and community level - and the Board of Trustees (BoT). For these leaders consensus decision-making between the TOA and the BoT was a practical expression of a Tiriti-honouring process. It demonstrated a willingness to walk alongside each other so as to hold multiple perspectives about teaching and learning priorities. All leaders I conversed with acknowledged that the envisioned co-governance orientation is far from simple. It is imbued with complexity. It stretches and tests the trust of relationships. It requires investing time and resources into the relationships so that decisions about equity of access and learning opportunities for Māori and non-Māori can take place openly. Developing mutually beneficial relationships and accountability within te Tiriti co-governance arrangements requires ongoing care, attention, and the holding of tensions and addressing conflict

> *Conflict needs to happen. We need to talk about issues. I'm not uncomfortable with complaints. There are some structural reasons why the complaints come about. It is about working through a way to ensure everyone's mana is affirmed. It gives us a vehicle and reason to build our relationships and support our co-governance process. We just have to work our way through it.*

The process of advancing te Tiriti co-governance has been an internal and external exercise. The gazette process - a legally binding statutory process and notice - involved consultative hui with the kura-school community about “the why” and implications of co-governance. The leaders found that these forums resulted in high levels of community support. A key message in these hui involved discussion about how this model created equitable outcomes for all ākonga and students. The external process included the kura-school community becoming enmeshed in macro level policy and process with the Ministry of Education (MoE). Leaders reflected that this work alongside the MoE involved limited school resources (human and financial), and constant justifications about why and how co-governance could benefit their students and communities. One leader described the process alongside the MoE as “exceptionally condescending” and “a mockery of MoE’s professed priority learner strategies.” Leaders explained that a central challenge was justifying a co-governance approach

> *Eighteen months ago I would have told you the biggest obstacle was the MoE. Getting them to see outside their narrow vision and box about how co-governance could work… We need to think about how this model can work in a mainstream environment and how good it can be. In Tāmaki we know that the majority of our Māori tauira are in mainstream schools. You want something to work because you have a catchment there. It’s the tunnel vision: you can only fit in that box or that box. For me that has been the most frustrating part of this journey.*

Leaders identified a contradiction between the policies of the MoE regarding te Tiriti as foundational, and the organisation's lack of understanding and awareness about how to put its policy into practice alongside schools. Leaders suggested that the MoE needed to increase their te Tiriti understanding and capability to appropriately support different schools' moves towards co-governance.

6.2.2 Kaiako, teachers

Like leaders, kaiako-teachers articulated how the vision to adopt co-governance came out of a strong sense of creating social and cultural equity for Māori and the local community. One teacher recounted the negative impacts of the 1970s dawn raids by police on local Pasifika and Māori communities. For this teacher these events were part of the community realising that “New Zealand is not a level playing field” and that “different things are needed for different people.” Another teacher recognised the impacts of the early kaupapa Māori education movements on educational innovation, and on Waiōrea specifically

> *Māori movements in the 1980s and 90s meant that reo Māori moved beyond departments to develop rumaki teaching, which is more than just te reo Māori.*

Waiōrea has stayed strong and weathered outside pressures to assimilate into the mainstream school.

A kaiako described the development in the following terms

It was about equity – space, funding and resourcing – in our education programmes and maintaining our values and beliefs. It is not just for rumaki, it belongs to the whole school. It's about finding ways to include them and feel welcome in the whare.

Newton Central primary schools work to establish, bilingual, rumaki and te Tiriti-honouring governance also set the stage for Springs-Waiōrea to work towards co-governance

It was the example laid down by Newton Central and the whānau experiences of setting up co-governance. Their kids then moved onto Springs. There was already a strong Māori unit at Springs, so it was an opportune moment to pass on that co-governance philosophy and tikanga to Waiōrea. People who were on the board at Newton became part of the board at Springs. I was one of those parents that moved over.

Kaiako-teachers spoke highly of past and present educational leaders who worked hard to put their visions for equitable learning opportunities into action. People such as Hoana Pearson, Te Kawehau Hoskins, Pā Chris Selwyn and the late Ken Havill (amongst others) were often referred to. The teachers and kaiako explained that these advocates could see the demand and potential for bilingual and immersion education opportunities, continuity and success for all students. One kaiako reflected that there was a commitment to ensure whānau and tauira opportunities and success were on par with those in Pākehā schools

In 2002 we [te reo Māori kaiako] had to teach everything. We had composite classes. We didn't want this, we wanted to separate them. So that took time to grow… In about 2010 we were still being resourced as a department, and we wanted to provide more opportunities for our tauira. While there was whānau fundraising, we wanted resourcing from the government so there was equity of access to resources for our students.

We wanted to ensure whānau had access to opportunities that the wider school had. We didn't want to be funded as a department. So we needed to find new ways to do that for our whānau, tauira and staff. Academic results enabled us to get funding. This was always a goal for our students: to leave with L1-3 NCEA and University Entrance.

Kaiako expressed that there was an alignment between what school, whānau and community members wanted: a te Tiriti co-governance approach to ensure Waiōrea would benefit ākonga and whānau. In order to ensure this became a reality, power between Springs and Waiōrea needed to be shared. This was dependent on the presence and demonstration of sustained relational trust amongst leaders. One kaiako discussed how the adoption of the consensus model as opposed to a majority vote

model, “was really uncomfortable” and “difficult” for some non-Māori leaders. From their perspective it required “a type of person that was willing to take a step into the unknown because it’s not something that had been done before.” Trusted relationships between school-kura leaders and community advocates created the conditions for structural change to take place.

Similarly to the leaders, kaiako involved in the gazetting process found that they were “stifled by the MoE.” Their perception was that the school-kura community had to “jump through different hoops to get somewhere because we didn’t fit into the box.” This left the kura-school feeling “in-between” English and Māori medium pathways

> *For example, we wanted to be resourced as a kura but they [the MoE] wanted us to follow Māori medium. We wanted to remain with our Springs peers. From the kura auraki side they couldn’t fund us for what we wanted. We were in-between. As leverage we made sure our academic progress was always at top level.*

In 2009 the school made te reo and tikanga Māori compulsory for all year 9 students. This prompted the transformation of the Māori language department into becoming Waiōrea. The current “school within a school” approach was born. Waiōrea-Springs describes this model as one where “Western Springs College and Ngā Puna o Waiōrea operate collaboratively from one location” and “students flow between the schools, according to their year level and course choices” (Ngā Puna o Waiōrea, 2023). Other structural changes included the establishment of the representative body Te Ohonga Ake, which consolidated the strength of Waiōrea as having its own unique identity, character and decision-making processes.

6.2.3 Whānau, family

Whānau and family were asked what their motivations were for enrolling in Waiōrea-Springs. A binding theme was that the cultural values and learning philosophies matched their own. One whānau spoke about the high expectations Waiōrea has for their tamariki

> *We have high expectations. It is mirrored in the kura. There’s a commitment to see things through to the end. These are the things most important to me. I think that's often a reason why kids don't do well in mainstream schools. There’s a discrepancy between what’s expected at home to what’s expected at kura. After about a month our boy ended up loving it. So for my next two children it was a given that they would go to Waiōrea.*

Families shared that Springs was regarded as a popular public school choice because of the availability of extra-curricular opportunities, kapa haka, pastoral care, strong whānau and family engagement, and an inclusive learning environment

> *It's our local, it's part of our community, and the feeling of community. My daughter has really enjoyed it all the way through. Springs is where her friends were going and where she would fit in and be comfortable. It was a very clear choice that she would be happy there. She's creative and wouldn't fit in a very conformist school. She's been happy and settled.*

The commitment to whānau engagement in the everyday life of Waiōrea, reassured whānau that they would not be "lost in the mix"

> *My niece was at a mainstream school and we believed she needed consistent guidance. We didn't want her to get lost in the mix. We wanted her to thrive with our helping hand, guidance… We're not outsiders in the kura, we're inside out. We can monitor everything such as grades, behaviours, experiences. She's into kapa haka, sports, all of what Waiōrea offered. We knew she would thrive here. We know the environment, routines, and can help her familiarise with it quickly. She has thrived.*

6.3 Ngā Āheinga: Co-governance opportunities

7.3.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

All Māori leaders spoke about how co-governance creates relational and structural conditions where local Māori perspectives and ways of working are valid in their own right. One leader expressed that co-governance "gives us that footing or base for us to be the mouth pieces for whānau and the community"

> *Te Tiriti co-governance validates and legitimises us. It gives us [Māori] that position of power and equal footing. We know that schools have often been about disempowering us as a people. It gives us the position of empowerment to operate and question the best outcomes for Māori, without us being seen as "radicals". It takes away the "aggressor" or that you're coming in as oppositional. It's more about doing the consciousness raising in the institute.*

Co-governance places explicit value on Māori and non-Māori perspectives that leaders believe are an essential part of a present and future Aotearoa. Co-governance "levels the playing field" and enables Māori "positions and questions to be just as valid as the wider school." A Board member shared how a meeting had been called to discuss "different views of the board." Members were invited "to participate and exchange views [about the issues] without consequence." While the differences between members were not reconciled at the meeting, this board member reflected that "it went a long way to help people understand different points of view because we had a forum to do this." Another leader explained that co-governance destabilised inherited Eurocentric school hierarchies. It enables Māori philosophies about teaching, learning and school development to have authority and mana

> *Last night we had this really good discussion about our school drug policy but could only go so far because our Te Ohonga Ake representatives couldn't be*

> *there. It's reassuring that our Board do value and see the contribution of a diversity of viewpoints. We're not there to represent a particular body, we're there for the whole school.*

Leaders were firm in their belief that the character of co-governance is premised on the ability of students to get the "best of both worlds." They all referred to the redesign and rebuild of the kura-school as a tangible way Western and Māori learning philosophies are legitimated and represented. These physical spaces are supported by Māori having "a voice in the school that means something" where "we have Māori voices on every committee." Leaders spoke about how the combination of culturally legitimate spaces, alongside co-management, affirms the respective mana of students and ākonga and ensures equity of learning opportunity

> *...one of the very special things that we talk about is students getting the best of both worlds. Their immersion education and their ability to pluck out of Springs the specialisms that they can't deliver themselves: physics, chemistry, history and English all at the senior levels. That's where the true benefits of co-governance and collaboration really shows.*

This leader explained that co-governance is a "microcosm" and "future of New Zealand" education because it places value on whanaungatanga: strengthening bonds between people so that holistic ākonga, student, whānau and family success is a priority. Waiōrea leaders regarded whānau support as "our ringa mātau, tō mātou tuarā, he ringa raupā." For example, whānau share responsibilities for different elements of the kura to ensure that "our kids are safe"

> *That's invaluable, those whānau who take one for the team all the time. For me that's part of the thing that's never recognised is the contribution of whānau. Being able to implicitly trust whānau is huge. Whānau show up with kai to feed everyone, not just their own, but everyone. That contribution is just invaluable.*

Whanaungatanga between the kura-school informs how policy is designed and enacted, while also affirming student backgrounds and realities

> *In the spirit of whanaungatanga we also want to be supportive of one another's achievement whether you're in Springs or Waiōrea. It's like whanaungatanga with our Pasifika students. It's about collective achievement and success. Philosophically and pedagogically we may be different, but in terms of whanaungatanga there are no barriers. It's about empowerment for all of us, not just for us [Waiōrea] "over here" and Springs "over there".*

> *Kua moea mātou i a mātou nē, tō mātou whānau me ngā whānau nō te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. Kua moe ngātahi, kua puta mai ko ngā uri. Ko āku iramutu hoki ētahi. Koira tētahi o ngā wāhanga, ko te whakapapa kia mātua kōrerotia… E kore e taea te wetewete ā-whakapapa.* We have married each other eh, our family and the families from the Pacific Ocean. We have slept together, and descendants have come forth. Indeed my nieces and nephews are some. That is one of the parts, the genealogy must be spoken about... It is not possible to release the ties genealogically.

With the steady growth of student and ākonga numbers two leaders identified the opportunity and need to recruit, retain and grow quality kaiako-teachers. Given the co-governance character of the school these leaders referred to “quality kaiako-teachers” as those who understand and are committed to teaching and learning in a te Tiriti co-governance school.

6.3.2 Kaiako, teachers

For kaiako-teachers’ co-governance creates the opportunity for tikanga and mātauranga Māori to be valued and put into practice. Kaiako reflected that they expect to have the right to determine the curriculum that best represents their values, and that is relevant to their ākonga. One kaiako explained it in these terms: “I don’t have to follow the mainstream model or curriculum guidelines if I don’t think it’s appropriate for our kids. Co-governance gives me the knowledge and the power to not do that.” Co-governance provides the opportunity for kaiako-teachers to challenge perceived “dominant” (Eurocentric) and “subordinate” (tangata whenua) relationships, and place equity of learning outcomes at the centre of their work

> *It’s about making the Treaty of Waitangi a reality: it’s not a dominant and subordinate relationship. It’s about equal voice and resources, equal access to curriculum needs, resourcing to maintain the curriculum, and what people need to maintain the delivery of our curriculum. It’s about equity. Not being told what to do. We know what our kids need; we teach them day in and day out. Their needs are different from what kura auraki students need.*

Co-governance creates expectations that mana - power and authority - is shared between Waiōrea-Springs. One kaiako reflected that this situation was unique. They compared their present experience with other schools they had worked in and explained that “you have Māori units in other schools, on boards and on staff who are totally ignored by the Principal.” For this kaiako the co-governance constitution enables staff to refer to a fair sharing of power in order to make equitable decisions

> *We’ve got the right to sit down and say we need to have a conversation about this, or say “hey this isn’t working we need to try something different.” They [Springs] have no right to shut the door on us.*

The “school within a school” model provides subject/curriculum and extra-curricular options for all ākonga-students. All kaiako-teachers recognised that providing these options are a critical and fundamental part of the “why and how” of co-governance. For example, one kaiako reflected that “first and foremost it’s about having a voice at the table… The [co-governance] partnership means our tauira have access to their specialist interests and choice of subject areas.” This kaiako reflected that present

reality and constraints wharekura face can result in ākonga missing out on the full range of learning opportunities available. For her, co-governance is about "opening up subject choices for our kids - technologies, media studies, physics, chemistry, biology, art, dance and drama, sports academy." Because of its unique ability to provide reo and tikanga Māori alongside English-medium curricular, kaiako-teachers explained that a significant proportion of Waiōrea ākonga attend who live "out of zone"(i.e. West and South Tāmaki). Kaiako and staff explained that these ākonga represent diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, which generally differ from the students in Springs.

For Waiōrea kaiako a focus on success includes a "three-way partnership" between whānau, tauira and the kura. In Waiōrea "Ngā Whakaritenga" is the guiding framework that articulates the expectations and responsibilities of ākonga, whānau and kaiako who enrol or work there. Kaiako explained that Ngā Whakaritenga is foundational to how Waiōrea operates: it clarifies the expectations and responsibilities of each group

> *Whānau, tauira, and kaiako - it's always a three-way partnership. Because of the [kura and school] growth we have to maintain our structures. Sometimes the growth happens so fast, it's hard to keep up and manage those complex dynamics. Without whānau voice and support our job would be x20 times harder.*

Because of the range of ākonga cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, kaiako make extra efforts to address their specific learning needs. A primary focus is that "our tauira come out with the tohu they need" prior to leaving. A co-governance structure creates these opportunities at a policy level, however putting it into teaching and learning practice is a complex challenge. It relies on collective willingness amongst leadership and staff to strengthen campus and inter-departmental relationships. Kaiako-teachers recognised that without a collaborative work approach, particularly at the senior years, then continuity and potential of seamless support, success and choice can be left to chance or ad hoc. To address this risk Waiōrea kaiako and a handful of Springs teachers work with year 9-11 ākonga on preparing for the transition from Waiōrea into Springs. They focus on strengthening the linguistic, cultural, relational and academic expectations of ākonga and staff. A primary example was in relation to work amongst pūtaiao and science colleagues

> *Our tauira are coming in from kōhanga and kura kaupapa, and you can't expect them to go straight into a mainstream class. So our approach has been to take hold of what they come in with - grow their confidence in reo and pūtaiao. Once that's happened, you can start teaching them the scientific concepts. You can't expect them to come in and do it straight away, particularly year 9 and 10. At year 11 we teach bilingually, and then from 12 and 13 they're expected to be able to use all the scientific language and concepts. We've found they've been ready for this.*

> *The main philosophy that grounds us is the ability of our tauira to walk confidently in both worlds - te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. That hasn't changed over the years.*

With reference to tauira transitions kaiako-teachers made two key observations. First, year 9-10 relationships between Waiōrea and Springs tauira and students were generally perceived as strained and separate. However, if a supported and planned transition occurs at year 11, positive ākonga-student peer relationships can develop quickly. Second, because Waiōrea tauira become a minority in Springs during senior years, they strengthen their own peer relationships.

All kaiako-teachers believed that te Tiriti responsibilities underpins a "Māori succeeding as Māori" teaching and learning philosophy. They explained that it is a school-kura wide priority. Kaiako-teachers talked about improving their practices in order to demonstrate the value of Māori identities, language and culture. For them te Tiriti co-governance involves all staff prioritising learning content and context that relate to Aotearoa - historic, present and future

> *My major responsibility under te Tiriti is to ensure Māori students do as well as they can. An important way to bring equity into New Zealand society is to have Māori in positions of power and influence, where they can bring their perspectives to bear. It's a responsibility beyond other students. In practice this is tricky, but the first thing is to show the value of Māori culture.*

Teachers acknowledged that they do not deliberately consider "te Tiriti and co-governance day to day", and that "more could be done", but in general they are aware that co-governance is "an overarching principle of our school" and it is a key reason "why they work here." At the same time these teachers reflected on "tensions" or "awkwardness" about their level of te reo and tikanga Māori competence as second-language learners. One teacher expressed that "it's important for auraki classes to lean in: be learning te reo, tikanga and Māori perspectives of pūtaiao and Western ones. I should be incorporating it." While this was difficult for them personally, they were conscious that making mistakes is part of the learning process. The "big picture" involved role-modelling their own reo and tikanga Māori learning for students and colleagues

> *We have moved to an open plan which means we can join up with another group to learn and practise karakia. You can't do it alone. We're learning as a group about te Tiriti and tikanga together. We're awkward together and it helps!*

For these teachers and kaiako role-modelling te reo me ngā tikanga Māori to all ākonga-students and colleagues demonstrated collegiality. This helped to break down perceived awkwardness and isolation. As one kaiako put it: "sometimes I have to put myself out there, but I always put the kids first. I'm making this relationship [with

Springs colleagues] to improve Māori outcomes for our kids." These kaiako-teachers are making explicit efforts to "bring Māori back to the front." Reflection forms and inquiry processes have helped to improve practice, learning together, and being open to feedback from Waiōrea ākonga and kaiako. For one teacher, positive and supportive feedback from Waiōrea colleagues and ākonga gave them the confidence to keep going. It was also a powerful demonstration to "the other Pākehā students to not avoid it [reo and tikanga] because it's difficult."

Overall, the potential for successful co-governance teaching and learning involved a willingness to share, practice, reflect, embed and normalise co-curricular content(s)-pedagogies amongst all staff continuously. This process was understood by one kaiako as "normalising" co-governance teaching and learning

> *It's about normalising it in practice and saying this is a big part of your role. It must be in your face. When you start a new practice it's difficult and hard, but then as it becomes normalised it becomes the Waiōrea-Springs way of doing it. Somebody has to make that first step and change the culture. We do Waiata Wednesdays and it has become expected. It wasn't the case when it started.*
>
> *With co-governance it's about sharing practices all the time. Like each month at a staff meeting, sharing what people are trying: "we tried this, and it didn't work so well in this respect, but on the other hand this is what's happened." It becomes a normal part of practice, but it's hard in school because there's so much going on. There must be people there making sure it doesn't slip.*

6.3.3 Whānau, families

When asked about the opportunities co-governance creates for whānau and families, participants shared how the kura-school prioritises their involvement and belonging. Parallel whānau and family avenues have been created so that they can be active in contributing to the culture and life of Waiōrea and Springs.

As shared previously by kaiako, Ngā Whakaritenga establishes the roles and responsibilities of the "tripartite relationship" between whānau-kaiako-ākonga in Waiōrea. It provides shared expectations and a coordinated approach to ensure whānau, kaiako and tauira collectively contribute to kura activities and support holistic learning via fundraising, wānanga, kapa haka, and community events

> *When you sign up and enrol [to Waiōrea] you agree to be part of whānau hui. All parents and caregivers have expectations on them. You're not just sending your kid here. You're expected to turn up. You're signed up to rōpū. For example, whether or not your child is playing hockey, if your rōpū is allocated to fundraise for that hockey team, you do it. It's fair across the board, each whānau has a coordinator, not necessarily led by teachers or school staff. It's whānau helping whānau.*

New Waiōrea whānau are invited to kura hui about why and how Ngā Whakaritenga works. This is where roles are explained and clarified. One whānau reflected that Ngā Whakaritenga is one key reason why there are high levels of whānau participation and contributions to the kura. They described Waiōrea as a sustainable “community” and a “village” with an “open door policy“, and that it is “not just about kaiako”

> *What the kura does isn’t possible without the whānau, and it can’t always be the same core whānau members. A lot of the parents would prefer to be there. To be sustainable we need to share the load. Your child’s here, your whānau needs to be here. It’s an open-door policy, they can check out what their children are doing in class, so long as it doesn't impede their learning, we are encouraged to come in. It’s about benefitting all as much as possible.*

Because there is no zoning for Waiōrea ākonga, some whānau travel across Tāmaki to attend events. In instances where whānau cannot attend due to the travel time, or existing commitments, whānau can “send a proxy” such as another whānau member. This ensures whānau are represented to the best of their ability and “can take away from the hui all that’s needed.”

Springs has established the voluntary Parent Action Group (PAG) in order to “create opportunities for people to come together and do something fun together - movie nights, quizzes, art auctions and so on.” PAG provides families with opportunities to help with student learning, and is a forum for parents to raise concerns or ideas regarding student learning. One family active in PAG reiterated their awareness of how important positive relationships between schools and local communities is because of its positive impact on learning outcomes

> *All the research shows that the connection between whānau and the students in the school is what makes a powerful educational experience for kids. So any way that it can be facilitated to make people feel more comfortable, to give them the opportunity to be around, is really great.*

On the one hand PAG attempts to ensure fun and relevant activities are available for families that support students holistically. On the other hand, they want to avoid the pressure to participate and contribute financially or otherwise.

Another family described their involvement in Springs family and whānau events as “ad hoc”, but the environment is “welcoming”

> *The staff are receptive, not like my own school experience… The teachers are very welcoming even though I'm sure it adds a huge amount of work for them, and they do it with a smile. I have total admiration for them. The school has been very good in their pastoral care so it inspires me to give back. My daughter has had a great education and has been very well supported.*

For these whānau and families co-governance provides parallel and different ways to contribute to kura-school life and learning. Waiōrea and Springs do this differently. For Waiōrea Ngā Whakaritenga lays out expectations and a coordinated approach to ensure whānau contribute to kura activities and tauira learning. For Springs, the Parent Action Group works voluntarily to ensure families can be involved in supporting the school and students. Families and whānau both recognised that Waiōrea expectations of whānau to contribute is “higher” than in Springs. While expectations and roles of Waiōrea and Springs families and whānau differ, there is a shared understanding and critical awareness that their participation contributes positively to the learning experiences of ākonga and students.

6.4 Ngā Wero - Challenges

6.4.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

Three key and interrelated challenges were articulated by leaders:

1. Recognising tensions that arise when working, walking and educating across different worldviews
2. Strengthening delegated authority and decision-making between Springs and Waiōrea; and
3. Succession planning to ensure te Tiriti co-governance is relevant and responsive presently and into the future.

Te Tiriti co-governance commitments are a creative response to the challenge and opportunity to address educational inequities between Māori and non-Māori due to on-going colonialism. As part of this response, Māori leaders strategically questioned how tino rangatiratanga (“Māori self-determination/authority”) can be expressed in a two-way relationship characterised by mana ōrite (“equity”) between Waiōrea and Springs. The school “Treaty co-governance policy” outlines broad policy objectives. Some of these policies have been put into place, such as the establishment of Te Ohonga Ake. Te Ohanga Ake includes x3 co-opted representatives determined by Waiōrea alongside the Tumuaki of Waiōrea and ākonga representation. These Waiōrea representatives work with the board to co-govern the school-kura via consensus decision-making. The metaphor of waka hourua is used to illustrate the co-governance structure and relationships, however in practice it remains a site of contention and debate at macro and micro levels. As one leader put it “the [waka hourua] lashings need to be tight and in good condition, otherwise you [risk] going off on your own separate journeys.” All leaders discussed how strengthening delegated authority and decision-making was needed in order to address power-imbalances, and enhance existing te Tiriti policy commitments.

Leaders explained it has been difficult to develop co-governance systems and relationships when few secondary school examples exist. Contradictions and paradoxes between MoE policy support and school-kura realities were obvious for these leaders. With "no models to follow" they explained that they have been "navigating uncharted territory without Ministry support" which has added to already stretched workloads. Macro level tensions about how best to give life to co-governance are mirrored at the micro level. Frictions amongst leaders permeated discussions about co-responsibilities. This included tensions between the school-kura and the MoE, the Board-Te Ohanga Ake, and at Principal-Tumuaki levels

> *The principal is really the only paid lead. And the chair is still a single person. The principal-tumuaki, and co-chair concepts are things that the school has to figure out and find work-arounds for.*
>
> *Things don't always come up as a "Tauiwi issue" or "Māori issue." For example there may be an auditing issue that is functional and procedural. [In these situations co-governance] isn't always obvious. That comes back to the MoE again. There are particular expectations of the chair and principal, but no expectations of the tumuaki and co-chair. We can't do things "co" if that's how things are delegated [by the MoE]. We actually need two signatories on documentation, not just one.*

Different assumptions exist amongst Te Ohonga Ake and the wider Board of Trustees regarding governance and management "accountabilities", "responsibilities" and "transparency." This poses challenges to crafting processes for sharing power and co-governance decision-making

> *Me pēhea e taurite ai, he mana ōrite ai ngā waka e rua, kei hea mai te mana motuhake? Kei hea mai te tino rangatiratanga i runga i te waka hourua?... Nā reira ko te pātai ia, ka pēhea e noho ōrite ai te Māori me te Pākehā i roto i te whakaaro kotahi. He mahi nui. Kāore he whakautu kotahi ki taua pātai i runga anō ko te iwi Māori e noho rawa kore ana.* How can it be become balanced, that both canoes have equal power, where is the self-determination? Where is the sovereignty on the double-hulled canoe?... Therefore, indeed the question is, how can Māori and Pākehā live in equality in unity of thought? It is a big task. There is no one answer to that question due to the Māori people living in destitution.
>
> *We talk about mana whakahaere and governance, but what are our accountabilities and responsibilities? Who are we transparent to? Then there's management and operational - kei te ōrite taua mana? Me pēhea e ōrite ai? How do we see that happening? We haven't gone through that exercise just yet.*
>
> *Apart from naming the selection process and they sit at the Board, I would love to see the place of Te Ohanga Ake strengthened with clearer authority and delegations. I would like them to tell us what responsibilities they want, so between us we don't have gaps and things are missed. We need to understand the responsibilities between both… We need to do work on how the school reflects co-management. Sometimes lack of articulation leads to friction where people have different perceptions of how things should be done.*

One Waiōrea leader described how they "have to live in both worlds and they [Springs leaders and staff] don't." Another leader talked about the unrecognised amount of work placed on Waiōrea to contribute to the development of kura, school and Kāhui Ako

> *I go to Kāhui Ako hui as tumuaki from Waiōrea - but there's no recognition. Every other Principal or Deputy Principal has their Kāhui Ako role in their job descriptions and appraisal goals. Yet I'm not recognised for this. Do I always need to attend hui, no, but there's an expectation that I do. That's the inequity. I'm doing the Kāhui Ako work, on top of everything else I do. The resources don't follow given my role.*

For this leader expectations, unrecognised educational work, and lack of formal remuneration was not "just unique to our Māori tumuaki, it's the workload and role of Māori teachers vs non-Māori teachers generally." All Māori leaders discussed how they and their kaiako often have two jobs: first to advance and sustain the excellence of Waiōrea, second to grow and raise the cultural capacity and capability of non-Māori in Springs. While there was a growing recognition of this double workload, the situation remained intractable

> *Is it my job to educate? Actually I don't have time. As a citizen of Aotearoa, shouldn't that education already have happened? I shouldn't have to do this. In your thought and planning process you need to already be thinking about the impacts on Waiōrea. All colleagues will recognise the additional work we do for kapa haka and so on. They empathise but there's not the resourcing that accompanies that either.*

This situation contributed to a number of risks to the co-governance relationship including individual and group demoralisation, cynicism, defensiveness, dis-trust and eroded good-will to work together. For example, Māori leaders reflected that because they may disagree with decisions Springs leaders were putting forward, they risked being perceived as "protestors", "aggressors" or the "unhappy moaning Māori"

> *Often in pragmatic and practical decision-making situations we might say "kāo." We come across as being the protestors, aggressors, the unhappy moaning Māori because we're going against the grain. Actually we're just being responsive and trying to achieve the best outcomes for Waiōrea, which impacts on Springs.*

> *Sometimes there are errors that just need correcting, which is a response that is professional and firm. Under co-governance and te Tiriti you would expect a response from your Indigenous partner. We wouldn't be coming across like this if there was prior thought done about what the decision impacts might have on Waiōrea. It's the pre-kōrero and the pre-thought that needs to happen, rather than everyone needing to react [in the moment].*

The first (March–May 2020) and second (August-September 2020) COVID 19 - lockdowns were cited by Waiōrea leaders as revealing strains in the co-governance

relationships. From their perspective, the wider school response to the pandemic was not responsive to Waiōrea tikanga, whānau and ākonga. For example, there were a number of school-kura decisions made without prior Waiōrea involvement. Waiōrea leaders questioned this process. As one remarked: “respect us and our intelligence. We can organise and run things as Māori. At least give us the respect to be able to do this ourselves.”

Leaders from Springs acknowledged that decision-making processes during the first year of the COVID 19 were inadequate. The principal reflected that the problem arose because he made “knee jerk decisions and hadn’t thought that it would have an implication for Waiōrea”

> *The reality and enormity of the problem had overtaken me. I had taken a solutions focused approach and never thought that I should have consulted Waiōrea. It wasn’t deliberate. I just hadn’t thought it through. It comes with pressure to make a decision, but it’s where I need to call on my colleagues to help, remind, and steer me, so I don’t slip on those banana skins.*
>
> *What’s often said to me is that “it’s about process, and you’ve missed out a step in the process.” I often characterise my role as a juggler: there’s lots of balls in the air, and sometimes I drop one.*

Waiōrea frustration was compounded by how the MoE managed the distribution of online resources to Waiōrea during the early stages of the pandemic

> *That’s the part that really frustrates me. The MoE talks about “Māori learning as Māori” and better outcomes, but actually, their policies are so restrictive. They don’t take into consideration our reality. Yes, Springs is decile 8 but many of our kids come from decile 1 areas such as Manurewa and Papakura… They don’t have the internet, they don’t have technology, but because they don’t fall into [MoE] categories, 23 kids went for 7 weeks without devices. How disadvantaged are they? It’s sickening.*

COVID 19 unravelled persistent questions and challenges about how to create decision-making processes that reflect the values and intent of their co-governance policies.

All leaders agreed that the sharing of decision-making power required leaders who understood and respected the history, character and complexity of co-governance relationships specific to the kura-school. However, during times of change or challenge, co-governance relationships, processes and structures became fragile or undermined. Leaders identified the pandemic, kura-school enrolment growth, and a major rebuild of new buildings have all detracted from a clear articulation and shared-understanding of te Tiriti co-governance intent and processes. This led to wider discussions about the importance of leadership succession planning. There was a

shared concern that leadership and staff who do not understand te Tiriti co-governance complexity could undermine the "school within a school" philosophy and relationships. Leadership succession planning included having a cultural fit in relation to appraisal and professional growth for leaders and kaiako. These professional development processes need to reflect the unique cultural and structural character of co-governance.

There is a spectrum and therefore inconsistency about how te Tiriti structures and relationships are understood and practised by leaders and staff. Tauiwi leaders have questions about avoiding "tokenism" and/or coming across as "patronising." These ambiguities can result in them not doing anything, or "avoiding stepping into challenges with each other"

> *There's a certain awareness from the BoT, who are all Tauiwi, that we could be seen as patronising. We want to avoid doing that. So we lean back and avoid pushing. In this way we avoid stepping into challenges with each other. We need to not see challenges as personal, but how we can do things better. There's always a higher peak to strive towards.*

Waiōrea leaders agreed that times of challenge and contestation are "not the time to walk away" but to "rise to the challenge." Their succession visions were about advancing co-governance from "good" to "outstanding." This includes remaining open and adaptable to changes in te Tiriti relationships and to allow "new blood" to drive initiatives

> *I want to be outstanding about what the kaupapa can look like. We have challenges inhouse about how that looks and delivered in the curriculum, and our own kaiako with old thinking. If we are good leaders we allow our young up-and coming teachers to progress this kaupapa to make it outstanding. We can't stymie that. That's work at the top level of leadership and operationally. That needs to happen to move this kaupapa forward. We can't keep holding stuff back, but create the platform for people to take it forward. Move it forward, so we leave a legacy for new, funky and up-coming whānau.*

6.4.2 Kaiako, teachers

Kaiako-teachers reflected leadership challenges regarding "the how" of co-governance. Like leaders, they explained that there is school-wide variability as to how departments and staff understand what co-governance means in relation to their planning and teaching practices. Some staff had developed productive relationships between Springs-Waiōrea, however for many this wasn't the case. A Waiōrea kaiako explained the challenge in the following way

> *There's nobody in the senior school saying to Heads of Departments "we're running co-governance and if Waiōrea wants to run their own curriculum they're entitled to that." Or "hey you might want to sit alongside XX to see how they work with Waiōrea." I don't know if they have these conversations at the Head of Department meetings. I suspect not. It's easier in some departments than others.*

Developing cultural capability in te reo and tikanga Māori was a key reason why some staff worked at the school-kura. However, teachers and kaiako said that structural and cultural factors combined to make the "school within a school" philosophy tricky in practice. Timetabling clashes between subjects meant transitions and exposure between both campuses was constricted or inconsistent. One teacher explained that they "just don't get much experience and exposure to Waiōrea ākonga in their junior years." Another staff member acknowledged that they are unclear how to best support Waiōrea students, particularly when they transition into their National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) classes

> *I have such a lack of knowledge. I don't know what might support the Waiōrea kids' learning. I don't know what it's like to be them as learners. The other constraint is the assessment. NCEA and the curriculum is flexible, however the perceptions of assessment are inflexible. It comes back to my own lack of knowledge and training. I wouldn't know how a biology class would be taken by kaiako in Waiōrea.*

Another teacher shared their observations of existing cultural differences between Waiōrea and Springs. From their perspective "senior Waiōrea ākonga come from this nurturing and supportive part of the school, with strong Māori cultural support." However, the friction comes about when these ākonga are "dumped into year 12 physics class" where "it's a totally Pākehā culture with only a minority, only 2 or 3 Waiōrea students." For this teacher the critical question was "how do we support these students?" This challenge was elaborated further by another colleague

> *A lot of our Māori students have been through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, then bang, at year 12 they come into auraki and a completely different system. Our students tell us the way Springs operate is different from Waiōrea. When they come to the Ken Havil centre [Springs] and they get shouted at for leaving class [by Springs staff]… It's just different. There are different behavioural expectations in the kura and school. Waiōrea students have to be two characters… So the big challenge is, how do we support these students? Being dumped into Pākehā classes surely means we need to make our classes more like Waiōrea. We're trying, but we don't know how it's going really. It's tricky.*

These teachers believed that Eurocentric timetabling, classroom and employment constraints can result in subject and cultural clashes between Waiōrea and Springs. School zone gentrification – including Ponsonby and Grey Lynn areas – also coalesced to make Springs "one of the whitest high schools in Tāmaki Makaurau." This teacher

found that gentrification resulted in non-Māori teachers having even “less experience of teaching students who are culturally different from us.”

To counter the variances among teachers suggested deliberate timetabling across campuses that focus on increasing positive contact between Waiōrea-Springs. This would enable positive learning relationships between ākonga-students and kaiako-staff to grow. The compulsory year 9 te ao Māori programme was identified as a positive shift in this direction. However, capability and capacity problems remained. Springs staff recognised that for such positive links between campuses to happen they must take responsibility for their own te reo and tikanga Māori understandings and capability. This includes fostering relationships with Waiōrea colleagues.

However, one teacher explained that routine use of tikanga and kawa, such as karakia, “can feel like cultural appropriation, especially when I don’t understand the language or have the confidence. It’s like trying to be Māori when I’m not.” Another teacher talked about how staff would be given a karakia to learn from a Waiōrea colleague. But when they use it, they have been challenged by another Waiōrea kaiako or ākonga about its inappropriate use for the specific teaching context. This demonstrated to them the complexity of developing their te reo and tikanga Māori understandings as Pākehā

> *This experience illustrated to me that you can’t just ask one Māori kaiako about tikanga. It’s a classic othering and generalising of Māori. Waiōrea is full of kaiako who have different opinions about tikanga. Just like Springs teachers who have different perspectives. It’s tricky because as an outsider I can get it wrong, but because of my white privilege because that kaiako wouldn’t have told me off. They would have told only the kids off though for teaching me the incorrect karakia. The expectation for me to walk in both worlds is much lower than for ākonga.*

The higher expectation of Waiōrea student success was reflected in the teaching experiences of Waiōrea kaiako as well. For Waiōrea the question was less about cultural capability, and more about cultural and structural capacity. Citing the year 9 te ao Māori programme, one kaiako explained how Waiōrea “are the only ones who can teach that, so we’re spread across our own curriculum areas and the Māori studies programme.” Another structural and cultural pressure of working across kura-school included being “the only one [in our department] with that [Māori] knowledge.” In some departments this meant Waiōrea kaiako had to provide extra cultural guidance and work for their colleagues. One kaiako explained that when Waiōrea and Springs staff come together to plan their work, there is a lack of clarity about collaborative expectations and processes. This can lead to an increased workload for Waiōrea staff, and mixed messages about co-curricular design and assessments for learning generally

> *I sit in Springs meetings and they talk about a whole lot of assessments I don't even do. I have to translate [into Māori] everything I'm doing if I'm using their units. When the Head of Department first started he said it's ok for me to do my own units, but he also said he needed a couple of the same units. This was so he could monitor and assess my students compared to the mainstream. It made sense for his end of year analysis.*
>
> *But I don't know if other departments do that. When I speak with other departments they say that's not the case at all. So what's the school policy on this? He's trying to do the right thing, and say our [Waiōrea] kids need more support and resources, which is a good way to use the data, but I don't know if that's school policy. Nobody talks about that stuff.*

Without explicit expectations about structural and material resources, potential curricular co-design that validates Western and Māori knowledge and experience for students is left to, as one kaiako put it, "the personalities in power."

6.4.3 Whānau, families

Whānau and families perceive that the majority of their peers have little understanding of the story behind te Tiriti co-governance or its implications on day-to-day decision-making and learning outcomes. A Waiōrea whānau member explained this in the following way

> *Yes we have this co-governance structure, but it doesn't mean it's understood or respected by everybody, apart from us being the most successful rumaki reo outside of a kura kaupapa. Waiōrea is still on their own. The attitude towards the rumaki is still the same [from Springs]… It's not much different from when we started. Attitudes from mainstream students are still the same, as are the processes and structures.*

Similarly, another whānau believed that "[co-governance] is an acknowledgement of Māori being here", and that "Springs invites Waiōrea opinion on many things" but in the end "mainstream still runs the show." Both whānau perceive that Springs continues to be the dominant partner in the relationship, and Waiōrea is expected to work, walk and educate in both worlds.

Families acknowledged that "co-governance creates a very strong community within a community", however "the school rebuild has eclipsed other discussion about co-governance recently." One of the clearest "demarcations" of co-governance for families were symbolic such as uniforms

> *Unfortunately, it is quite strongly demarcated between the two schools. The first time you're in a formal event, a prize-giving or something, and you look across the hall and think "what are all those kids doing in the school uniform?" It does*

seem [like] such a stark contrast, because part of what is so [important] about Springs is not having a uniform.

It would be interesting to understand that more. I don't know whether there would be any resistance to explaining that, because maybe people in Waiōrea would think "why should we have to explain ourselves?"

This family recognised that "there's obviously not one size fits all for Māori", yet they had questions about how (or if) to communicate cultural differences between Waiōrea-Springs. For example they perceived the general culture and attitude from Waiōrea towards Springs "as very much leave us alone." They understood that this could be an expression of "self-determination", which they "respected." However they questioned how Waiōrea leaders include a diversity of Māori voices in the way they organise themselves

It's going to be interesting to see how Waiōrea brings in [different] voices, which may bring dissonance. My feeling is that the people who run it now, are not open to listening to those [different Māori] voices. I mean, it's sort of sad because those voices are going elsewhere. It brings strength in any organisation to be able to listen to new voices and bring on new ideas and be open to learning. That does worry me because I see fractures. There's rigidity that isn't able to be more flexible.

One of the whānau members recognised the tensity of the relationship between Waiōrea and Springs, describing it as "a delicate relationship." For example, in their work volunteering for Waiōrea and Springs at different events they reflected that Waiōrea continues to "beg the mainstream to be understanding of who we are and to achieve true co-governance in the school." They perceived a strong commitment from leaders, but did not believe there was a clear and supportive commitment school-wide

It might be there at a higher level in the school, but down the chain it feels like we're constantly having to be 'better than' in order to be a part of the whole process. Is the effort we put in being returned?

We want to support co-governance and be "the good Māori", but sometimes you want to tell them that we shouldn't have to beg for them to be as involved in this as we are. When do we draw the line and talk ourselves back from the ledge, instead of getting angry?

A family member said they recalled seeing "defensiveness from both sides" and this manifested in "aggressive words, aggressive tone, scowling, vociferous headshaking, and raised voices." Like leaders, when the sharing of resources was at stake, this family member also had questions about how the kura-school understood 'transparency' and 'accountability'

I've heard [from some whānau] that there's not a lot of accountability about where [Waiōrea fundraising] money goes. And I've heard parents say "listen we thought

we were doing all this fundraising for our XX competition. But we're now told we're not getting that. So we applied to PAG to get some funding." So I think there's some interesting things going on there that need to be addressed. It comes down to accountability.

6.5 Ngā pūkenga me ngā waiaro: Skills and attitudes

6.5.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

Reflecting on the skills and attitudes that shape co-governance leadership orientations now and into the future, leaders returned to the concept and practice of "respecting each other's mana." In this context, mana was posited as being a relational quality. Leaders respect the integrity and judgements of their colleagues. Respecting each other's mana required being prepared for relational ups and downs, agreements and disagreements. Consensus decision-making, a core element of how leaders considered and determined te Tiriti deliberations and actions, encompassed these qualities and values. One leader explained that at a "board level consensus is a fundamental acknowledgement of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the foundation document of this nation" and "modelling those principles to the student community" was vital.

Leaders acknowledged that their consensus approach "can take much longer than they would in a hierarchical model." Consensus and collaborative decision-making takes time and resources. This "causes frustration for some people." People accepted that their approach goes against "traditional school hierarchies" and leaders must have the ability to differentiate between both processes. Consensus decision making involved the art and practise of holding multiple perspectives, and was critical to creating a "strong governance culture"

> *It's important to see from each other's perspectives. It's the thinking and design… I want our work to be at a deeper level. We need to understand the viewpoints of each other. We need to not beat each other up when we don't get it right. Life is like that, we don't get it right all the time. I remember my toddler asking his dad one day if he was "getting everything right"? It's impossible to set yourself up like that. We need to be mindful of the many pathways ahead of us. We can develop processes and structures along the way. If we can decide on some accepted governance practices that encourage us to view one another's viewpoint, we can create a strong governance culture.*

In a co-governance context, when working with different worldviews, understanding power relationships and privilege was important

> *We all hold a lot of different notions and ideas. Firstly, the difficulty is about land and notions of ownership - understanding two completely different cultures historically. We [non-Māori] think of buying and exchanging land. For Māori it's about relationships between land and people. As a board member it's about*

> *recognising my privilege and therefore supporting people who are less privileged, sometimes this runs contrary to one's own view. It's important in governance positions to not act in your own interests, or to act on what's good for you.*

To see one's perspective as partial, and being willing to engage with multiple perspectives involves remaining engaged in deliberations, despite the tentative ups and downs. A Tauiwi board member shared that when working cross-culturally, sometimes "it's impossible for us [non-Māori] to know what questions to ask" and "we don't know what we don't know." In their experience co-governance "has to be an iterative relationship building exercise where each other is listening." They recalled that when working with Waiōrea at times "I don't really know the answer and it's difficult." For them co-governance is "a co-responsibility of some nature" where "Tauiwi don't know everything, but we need to collaborate and do things in partnership with Māori because things Māori aspire to are important to everyone."

A member of Te Ohonga Ake referred to kōrero tuku iho and tikanga Māori as encompassing such processes and qualities

> *We talk about the prophecies from our tupuna. Through debate, conversation and dialogue - there will be many who agree and disagree with the terms - but that's all part of coming together. There has always been resistance. This needs to be acknowledged. We also need to acknowledge the aggrieved, the scars and trauma.*

Historic and contemporary Māori leaders, visionaries and prophets offer important insights into the pitfalls and positive potential te Tiriti relationships. For example, one leader referred to prophecies of Āperehama Taonui (Ngāpuhi), the early 19th century visionary. He referred to Taonui when considering the negative impacts of colonisation

> *"He taniwha kei te haere mai, ōna niho he hiriwa me te koura, ko tōna kai he whenua. Kaua e mataku i te hiriwa me te koura, engari kaua e tuku i te hiriwa me te koura hei atuatanga mou." Ko te wairua o taua kōrero rā ko te matapiko, apo, engari me titiro whānui ā kei reira ko te whenua. Mei kore ake te whenua kua kore e whai wāhi tō tātou taonga. Nā reira he kōrero whakatupato i aua wā, he whakatupato i a tātou e whakatere ana i tēnei waka hourua. Me uaua te whakarerea i ēnei kōrero i tā tāua kōrero i te mea kei reira anō ētahi kupu whakaaweawe, whakahihiri i a tātau e whakatere ana i tēnei waka me ngā whakatupato o runga nē?* "There is a powerful creature coming, its teeth are silver and gold, its sustenance is land. Don't be afraid of the silver and the gold, but don't let the silver and gold become your gods." The essence of that statement is about stinginess and greed, however, look broadly, and there is the land. If it were not for the land our treasure would have had no place. So it was a cautioning statement in those times, cautioning we who are navigating this double-hulled canoe. We seldom abandon these statements in our discussions because there are in fact words there to influence and inspire us as we navigate this canoe with the cautions as above eh?

For this leader te Tiriti co-governance includes decision-makers having an understanding of, and recognising the negative impacts of colonisation on governance, and its powerful influences on how Māori and non-Māori view the world. Another leader explained how "colonisation is so normalised" that "even as Māori we can think "kei te tika tērā" or "you do it and we'll just follow." A Waiōrea leader recalled the challenge Taonui laid down to his people in the 19th century: the art of sustaining their authority while maintaining a Tiriti relationship with the Crown

> *"Kia kaua rā e ūwhia Te Tiriti o Waitangi ki te kara o Ingarangi, engari me ūwhi ki tō tātou kahu." Nāna [Taonui] tērā kōrero. Kia kaua e takatakahi i Te Tiriti o Waitangi ki te kara o Ingarangi. Engari mā te mana motuhake, mā te kahu kiwi, te kahu taketake ake o ēnei whenua, he kahu Māori. Nā reira he kupu whakahau mō ēnei rangi tonu.* "Don't ever let Te Tiriti o Waitangi be covered by the flag of England, instead it should be covered by our cloak." That quote is by him [Taonui]. Don't violate Te Tiriti o Waitangi with the flag of England. Rather via self-determination, with the kiwi cloak, the original indigenous cloth of these lands, a Māori cloak. Therefore, it is a direction for these very times.

There was broad agreement amongst Māori and non-Māori decision-makers that they are "not sure how well versed our [non-Māori] Treaty partners are in understanding that part of our history." For example, one leader acknowledged that "there's a general lack of awareness [from local families] about the co-governance consensus approach", and that "some people acknowledge it respectfully, because it's acknowledging the Treaty and partnership, whereas others mistake it as a power grab." To "talk te Tiriti" is one thing, but to put into practice is another. For leaders it is about making "a philosophical change and understanding… thinking about what te Tiriti means day to day, as the basis of how you operate, or what you actually do"

> *You can't leave Māori out of the equation. People need reprogramming on how to do this, and what co-governance can be. You can't talk about it; you need to walk it. That's for our kaiako and students too. We stand here as an equal partner. If our kaiako aren't doing this, it's not going to transfer to the kids.*

These perspectives have a vital bearing on the state of the relationship historically, in the present and future. For one of the Māori leaders the strategic question was to ask: "what is binding us about the Treaty?" For them, it was critical to review and revisit the why, how and impact of co-governance relationships on the kura-school. This ongoing relational inquiry has material implications. Leaders expressed it is important to identify the common or different needs and/or aspirations; explore diverse options for addressing it; and given this information, respect the autonomy of each Tiriti partner to make their own next step decisions. They went on to explain that te Tiriti co-governance involves being able to answer at an individual and governance level "what are we willing to relinquish in this process, and what do we continue to hold dearly to our chests?" For them, te Tiriti co-governance is a "partnership" akin to a marriage

> *What are the prenuptials? Do we have them? Do we share the same bank account if we're in the same whare? What is yours is mine, and what is mine is yours - e tika ana tērā? Is this a true marriage, or is it just a "co-governance look"? He aha te hononga? He hononga ā-wairua? He hononga ā-kikokiko? Kua moe tāua? He aha tēnei moenga, tēnei pānga, tēnei piringa? What is the connection and relevance? What's binding us about the Treaty? These are questions we need to ask ourselves, and some of them are hard ones. This needs to be facilitated in a way that won't be threatening. We've broadcast it, we've labelled it, now what? What have we got ourselves into?*

Another Māori leader explained that "different people sit on the spectrum of co-governance relationships." For them effective co-governance is about collective responsibility, and all people "must feel empowered" to contribute. This leader explained that Māori "can't be the instigators" of te Tiriti; rather non-Māori must become active in the Tiriti relationship. From their perspective, to become an active partner requires all people to "not be scared of power-sharing." This means being at "a stage where [non-Māori] encourage and initiate kōrero about equity, acknowledgement and working together." This leader referred again to the relational and decision-making qualities of the late Ken Havil as an example of active non-Māori partnership with Waiōrea

> *With Ken it was never "here's the pūtea, keep the natives happy." It wasn't about that. It was about saying "here's the resource, and I'm not going to determine how it should be spent." Ken would offer some ideas, explain the pitfalls to be aware of, and provide a model and best practice examples for us to consider. Some may say that's paternalistic, but I never found that. It was about saying "how do we bring the threads together?" It's about working together and being a kaitiaki of students' education.*

A Tauiwi member explained that the kura-school are fortunate to have "huge expertise in our catchment, and people that are keen to be involved and offer new ideas." They believed that having an "ecosystem of ideas" at the decision-making level involves "being comfortable in who you are", and avoiding putting "people in boxes, because each individual defies this." All leaders recognised that te Tiriti co-governance relationships evolve. Similar to long-term relationships they consist of a range positive and negative learning experiences

> *It's about working with people to help them have another point of view. Everything should have a Waiōrea overview in it, such as our kura and school response to COVID-19. It's about creating co-governance processes and policies that are coherent and transparent. It's about cooperatively working together.*

6.5.2 Kaiako, teachers

Like leadership, kaiako-teachers expressed that having the courageous attitude and skill set to "step outside of our comfort zone" can address ambiguity about the best

ways to build collegial relationships between Waiōrea and Springs. There was recognition that this is not always easy. As one kaiako put it: “you have to work with the personalities in power and realise what they’re capable of or not capable of… This waxes and wanes depending on the people involved. It’s about the personalities in the end.”

Another kaiako reflected that some of their Waiōrea colleagues “are stuck in the whakaaro that they [kura auraki/Springs] have to make the first step [towards us in Waiōrea].” This was reiterated by a teacher who chose to work at Waiōrea-Springs because of the strength of Waiōrea, and the “school within a school” philosophy. They believed that working in the kura-school environment would enable them to grow their Māori cultural capabilities. The process of developing these skills and attitudes was not as they had expected

> *Coming to Springs, I had hoped to increase my understanding [of te ao Māori]. When I arrived here this is what I heard: “It’s not our [Waiōrea] job to teach you [Springs teachers] te reo and become culturally competent.” This shocked me.*
>
> *In our reo Māori class I realised that if we want to understand more we have to lean towards them. For too long the rumaki has had to lean towards us, the kura auraki. [For Waiōrea there is] a clear line that they’re here for their students first. It’s a clear line, and this helped my understanding.*

Springs' teachers explained that to “not know” or “get it wrong” can be challenging and uncomfortable. They found that it requires remaining open to listening, learning from one another, making sincere and consistent efforts to be seen in Waiōrea and Springs spaces, and staying engaged in the conversations and/or actions over time.

One kaiako shared that correcting ākonga, student and/or colleague behaviours, was challenging for some, but it also helped to build intercultural relationships of trust

> *According to a Springs teacher some year 10s from Waiōrea were “playing up” in class. The teacher asked the students “who is your Dean?”. They responded “It’s Whaea XX”, and the teacher responded “what’s that?” So the students were upset about this. I didn’t get angry. But the students said “Yeah Whaea she said “What’s that?!” like you weren’t human!” I said you could have explained to her what “Whaea” meant. They said “nah..” It turned out that she was a young and new teacher to our kura. So I met with her and we talked through the situation. She relaxed. Then I checked in with the kids. They said she was much more relaxed and nicer.*
>
> *Non-Māori teachers just don’t know. It’s kūare. But with some kids they’re quick to say it’s the teachers fault! I have to explain that it’s just as much our responsibility to teach our colleagues, as it is theirs. This teacher has done some reflecting and with her own Dean to ensure this type of thing doesn’t happen*

again. So again it's up to all of us to build relationships with one another - as a community to support and educate each other.

Stepping outside of one's comfort zone or realm of expertise involves risk. However as one teacher explained, non-Māori staff have an important role in demonstrating the value and place of te ao Māori i.e. role-modelling to Māori and non-Māori students that staff are committed to learning, exploring and using te reo me ngā tikanga in legitimate ways

There's tension because I do karakia so badly. If I speak Māori, I get told off by fluent kids because of my bad pronunciation. Fair enough! I don't want to murder the language. Yet how do we gain enough skills to be functional? The answer is you keep trying and upskill… I've learnt that badly spoken reo still means the students see me learning. We should be modelling learning - it's a collective thing.

Another teacher reflected that throughout their "whole education up to PhD level none of my internal racism was ever challenged." They explained that they were "never exposed to te reo or tikanga." The question for them now is

How can I ensure this doesn't happen for our year 9 Pākehā students? Well I can help to grow their confidence in biculturalism, even if my bar is low! Positive feedback from Waiōrea students gives me confidence. They are so supportive because it's important to them. I want to show the other Pākehā students to not avoid te reo and tikanga Māori as non-Māori because it's difficult.

6.5.3 Whānau, families

Similar to leaders, kaiako-teachers, whānau and families believed that for co-governance to be productive there must be a willingness to work together to identify issues of common concern, and develop ways to communicate through differences. When relationships become strained one family discussed the importance of "dropping defences", harnessing "a spirit of constant evolution", and "stepping up to have a just, open and connected relationship"

[You need to] have people feeling confident that they are able to make new suggestions and that they won't be shut down. If people do find that confidence to make a new suggestion, you try and keep operating above the line: ownership, accountability, responsibility, and avoid that whole [below the line] blaming system. Without defensiveness then there's going to be a willingness to learn. There's going to be a willingness to go into that area, a sense of discomfort: "OK, this is really uncomfortable, but we need to figure it out."

6.6 Summary

The idea that "co-governance doesn't happen overnight" illustrates the imaginary and practical efforts required to restore te Tiriti-honouring relationships in the face of on-

going colonial education. The adoption of a Tiriti-honouring co-governance set of relationships and structures arose out of a number of interrelated elements. Local iwi and hapū narratives of the ecosystem, combined with waka hourua navigation, provided conceptual and practical inspiration. The previous 40 years of leadership, social movements and community aspirations contributed to the kura-school cultivating a socially and culturally just vision for young people and their families. Local primary school communities set the stage for Springs-Waiōrea to work towards te Tiriti co-governance.

The 2018 gazetting of a co-governance constitution signalled a move from informal (interpersonal relationships and allocation of resources) to a formal (institutionally recognised and legitimated) “school within a school” educational philosophy and structure. These changes continue to highlight this kura-school’s commitment to wellbeing, belonging and equitable learning opportunities for Māori and non-Māori.

While co-governance aims to recognise and legitimate Māori and non-Māori governing authority, learning philosophies and practises, tensions and challenges remain about the “why, what and how” of co-governance. It has been difficult to develop co-governance systems and relationships when few (if any) secondary school examples exist. This work is far from romantic or easy. Persistent challenges revolve around how to create equitable decision-making processes that reflect the values and intent of te Tiriti. These challenges result in tensions that span macro (MoE) and micro (leadership, staff and community) relationships. The strength, durability and quality of these relationships have financial and material implications for types of teaching and learning that legitimate Māori and non-Māori worldviews.

A perception of inequity of resources (human, time and financial) exists between Springs and Waiōrea. The COVID 19 pandemic response combined with a rebuild and increased ākonga-student enrolments, unveiled these tensions. Different assumptions exist between Springs and Waiōrea regarding governance and management “accountabilities”, “responsibilities” and “transparency.” This poses challenges to progressing sharing power and co-governance decision-making. It led to increased levels of stress amongst leaders and staff. The result was individual and group demoralisation, cynicism, defensiveness, dis-trust and eroded good-will to work together. This stress and contention mirrors national and international debates about how to effectively share power between indigenous and settler peoples.

Māori leaders - historic and contemporary - offer important insights into what to avoid and what to cultivate in order to advance mutually beneficial te Tiriti relationships. These perspectives have a vital bearing on the state of the relationship historically, in the present and future. At the same time, non-Māori have demonstrated their potential and ability to be active in the Tiriti relationship.

Te Tiriti relationships are expressed by participants to require and invite a diversity of ideas and perspectives to be put forward. The art of engaging with multiple perspectives, to let go of our assumptions of “knowing” is challenging and uncomfortable. This requires developing iterative relationships over time, and remaining open to learning from one another and staying engaged in the conversations and/or actions.

Participants were clear that co-governance is unique and offers many opportunities for positive development for mutual benefit. Given this, questions are arising about what skills, attitudes and expertise are required at leadership and operational levels to sustain co-governance. People remain steadfast in finding ways to “work our way through” the mutual and differentiated challenges ahead of them.

The next chapter outlines mana whakahaere-leader, kaiako-teachers, and whānau-family perceptions regarding the:

1. Impacts of te Tiriti co-governance on ākonga, students, whānau and families; and
2. Professional learning and development required to sustain and further advance the relational and systemic nature of co-governance.

Chapter 7: Te Ahi Kongange - The Growing Blaze

7.1 Introduction

To put te Tiriti-honouring understandings, intentions and practises into action relies on the support of a broad range of actors. Once the fire is ignited, it needs to be stoked and cared for in order to grow. This chapter of the case study focuses on three related elements that contribute to the sustainability of co-governance. Participants reflect on:

1. Te Pānga mō Ngāi Māori: Impacts for Māori students and whānau
2. Te Pānga mō Tauiwi: Impacts for non-Māori students and whānau; and
3. Ngā mahi whakapakari i te Tiriti o Waitangi: Advancing understandings and application of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

7.2 Te Pānga mō Ngāi Māori: Impacts for Māori students and whānau

7.2.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

At the time of conversations with participants Waiōrea had recently unveiled their new learning spaces. This process, alongside the general re-development of both campuses, was at the forefront of many leaders' minds. They discussed how the redesign and rebuild of Waiōrea-specific learning and performance spaces were a practical expression of co-governance. They believed the engagement of the Waiōrea community strengthened belonging and ownership of the process. One leader suggested that the design and building processes allowed kaiako, ākonga and whānau to ask “hard questions”

> *Co-governance allows kaiako, ākonga and whānau to ask hard questions when decisions are made. In the last couple of years with the rebuild and consultation with whānau, they could ask if “innovative learning environments” or “modern learning environments” are best for Māori student learning. Are we going to get the best educational outcomes for them? In the past these questions would be brushed off. There wasn’t a level of depth of response by the issues raised by whānau. They feel it’s their right to ask those questions.*

All leaders explained that the co-governance arrangement has meant a shift from Māori being “passive passengers” in schooling; to one where they can determine their own teaching and learning programmes and spaces

> *In the past our people would be passive, especially when teachers were working with Māori students. A tauiwi parent will often ask the question “why didn’t Johnny achieve?” I’ve found that often our whānau haven’t been empowered to ask these questions. That’s because you have a superior white institute, so who are whānau to question that? But now our whānau will challenge that.*

Another leader explained that “finally our Māori students occupy class spaces that show they are valued.” Having high quality and culturally responsive learning facilities and spaces “demonstrate that things Māori have mana and have importance.” The advancement of Waiōrea brought into mind the notion and meaning of “kura Māori”, which one leader explained as a multidimensional concept and practice. As they put it, “kura” relates to the holistic wellbeing and advancement of ākonga and whānau

> *Nā reira he kura hei whāngai i te tinana, he kura hei whāngai i te hinengaro, he kura hei whāngai i te wairua, he kura hei whāngai anō i te tinana o te tangata/tāngata rānei… Ko te kura Māori, ko te kaupapa ā-whānau. Matua rautia tō mātou tamariki ki roto i taua ariā, i taua whakaaro.* Therefore, a school to feed the body, a school to feed the mind, a school to feed the spirit, a school to again feed the body of the person or the people... That is the Māori school, the family initiative. Firstly place our children into that concept, into that philosophy.

When asked how Waiōrea ākonga experience co-governance one leader said “there’s a range of responses on the spectrum on what a Te Tiriti relationship looks like.” On one end there are ākonga who “don’t know anything different other than the co-governance they’ve experienced, and they’re quite privileged in that regard.” On the other end of the spectrum are those who “would not know what it is.” This spectrum impacted teaching and learning experiences between ākonga and non-Māori staff in “nuanced” ways

> *On one end it’s about teachers who care, wanting the best for the students and student interpretations of that. On the other end are teachers being ignorant and their approach is racist. It’s nuanced. Sometimes it’s about the defensive barriers from students, other times it’s about calling it [teachers’ racism] out. For some of our colleagues who care about the tauira, they will follow up and the immediate response from tauira is “oh you’re being racist and following up”. Then again, there are those teachers who are racist towards our students.*

A key feature of co-governance has been the ability to sustain te reo and tikanga Māori in a culturally affirming learning environment with access to a broad range of NCEA subjects. Recruiting and retaining kaiako for secondary immersion units was identified by some leaders as an on-going challenge. However, leaders pointed to the steady Waiōrea growth and demand as a positive impact of co-governance. For example, Waiōrea has maintained their “ability to attract more and more fluent speakers who are trained teachers into that programme.” The “best of both worlds” philosophy necessitated Waiōrea creating ākonga and whānau educational sessions about how to successfully navigate NCEA. These “interventions” aim to build whānau knowledge in order to have a positive impact on educational choice and outcomes for ākonga and whānau. A Waiōrea leader reflected that many whānau have had “little working knowledge about how NCEA works”

> *We help them understand internal assessment, external assessments, and credits achieved. It is about empowering them with that knowledge to ask about how to achieve their credits.*

Because Waiōrea is not zoned, it serves ākonga and whānau from a range of socio-economic areas. This broad catchment mixed with kura growth has created budget tensions when allocating resources between the kura and school. One leader explained that "budgets for Waiōrea is a major sticking point." This "sticking point" was an internal (Waiōrea-Springs) and external (Ministry of Education) challenge. A Waiōrea leader reflected on the internal challenge

> *What I'm learning is that we [Waiōrea] walk in two-worlds. We live co-governance, but the journey for our Springs colleagues is not the same as ours. I can get frustrated. They [Springs colleagues] don't automatically think cooperatively at the board and operational levels. We can't discuss finance and not have a Waiōrea perspective, because we have funding from Waiōrea coming in too.*
>
> *It's constant work to get people thinking in that realm; to think in partnership and cooperation across the entire school. It's at all levels. I have to pull myself back sometimes, and find ways to work with people. Otherwise it's a waste of time.*

When asked about the impact of co-governance on Māori who were not enrolled in Waiōrea, leaders recognised that an Waiōrea and immersion education is not always the best fit for "all Māori." To recognise diverse whānau choice the school has established a specific role to support Māori success in Springs. One leader characterised this role work as being consistent with "the spirit of whanaungatanga." They went on to explain that leaders were "supportive of Māori achievement whether they're in Springs or Waiōrea"

> *As Māori, our interests are in the best interests for all Māori. That's been a natural progression as well. We now have someone to track and monitor Māori performance and achievement in Springs. It's based on what Springs whānau want. Waiōrea have played a supporting role in regards to that.*
>
> *It's not about Te Ohonga Ake being "over here just worried about Waiōrea and rumaki". Philosophically and pedagogically we [Waiōrea and Springs] may be different, but in terms of whanaungatanga there are no barriers. It's about empowerment for all of us. It's about collective achievement and success.*

7.2.2 Kaiako, teachers

Kaiako and teachers were not unanimous about whether co-governance specifically created positive learning impacts. However, they collectively believed that it did enhance ākonga and whānau mana and belonging. For Waiōrea ākonga and whānau

one kaiako believed “they get the best of both worlds” and “Māori are on an equal footing with their Pākehā cohort”

> *For some it’s an advantage that they can send their kids to us and then they could also access mainstream, which often kura kaupapa don’t have. That’s a big reason why parents send their kids to us, because they think they get the best of both worlds. The kids can leave with a sense that Māori are on an equal footing with their Pākehā cohort, so Waiōrea is a good place to choose.*

Creating conditions for belonging were associated with a set of mutually reinforcing elements. For example, curricula offered academic and cultural support and success. Teachers and kaiako talked about how a strong Waiōrea sense of belonging is created via the value placed on Māori success, strong pastoral care, and consistent whānau contributions to the life of the campus. Because the majority of ākonga live “out of zone” Waiōrea kaiako have an enhanced sense of responsibility to create holistic success for whānau. All kaiako recognised that whānau who choose to attend Waiōrea make “an investment”, and that “there’s an expectation that we do everything that we can to support them; we’re obligated to do our best.” They credited Waiōrea enrolment increases at junior and senior levels to successful cultural support and the academic choices available because of co-governance. They strive to assure ākonga and whānau have “have access to all areas” and that they “are confident walking in both worlds.” This “tripartite” relationship aims to “ensure the best opportunities are provided for our students, across staffing, curriculum delivery, pastoral care, education outside of the classroom opportunities.” For these teachers and kaiako a strong sense of belonging breeds learning confidence, and a prominent positive impact was when they could see, hear and feel that ākonga

> *…know who they are, and are confident in who they are, never backing down. We have some very outspoken students, who can back themselves up with evidence. They’re confident in being Māori. Their voices are heard. They speak up, that’s how I know they are succeeding. We encourage them to do this in a positive way.*

The prominence of kapa haka as a culturally sustaining pedagogy was identified as having transformational positive impacts on ākonga and staff. For ākonga, it created the conditions for them to “believe in themselves” and “they had opportunities to be leaders in all parts of school life.” For staff, their perceptions of ākonga changed when they attended kapa haka practice and events. Kaiako commented that Springs' colleagues would often say “we had no idea how amazing he is” after seeing them practice and perform. One kaiako suggested that

> *…maybe the teachers didn’t have a great relationship with the kids, but seeing them on stage makes them think about their own practice and how they can relate positively to them. That is beautiful and powerful. You see the lights turn on and it’s enlightening for them.*

Two Springs teachers spoke to these moments of "beauty and power" in the following ways

> *Some Waiōrea ākonga don't talk to me, they keep to themselves. But when I went to their kapa haka practice, I told one of the students how great his performance was. I saw his confidence and success. He was incredible. Because of that, we can talk openly about his learning in chemistry. We need to see students in contexts where they really succeed.*

> *I think there's a really positive impact when compared to Māori in other schools. Students [in Waiōrea] are just more confident in themselves than in other schools - they value their culture, which improves learning. One measure of our strength is that we value kapa haka in school, and therefore te ao Māori in the school. In other schools I've worked in, kapa haka isn't prioritised or given a budget for tutors. Year 13 had to teach it. Kapa haka is about learning.*

A key success element was the pastoral support ākonga received when transitioning to and from Waiōrea-Springs. Positive staff and kaiako relationships support the transition experiences of Waiōrea tauira. At the same time they demonstrate the potential benefit of collaborations to other teachers and kaiako. A kaiako explained the initial two weeks of transition were critical in this process

> *In the first two weeks we have to really watch them. We have to encourage tauira to build a relationship with the teacher. It's about encouraging them to give the relationship time, which is harder at year 12s, because there are four new teachers from Springs that they have to develop a relationship with. Sometimes they want out straight away.*

> *To help, I made time to go visit them and be in the class during my non-contact time. This way the students can see me in class or around the buildings. It's role modelling for my colleagues too. The kids then know that we do actually talk to our kura auraki colleagues. Students would say to me "Oh Whaea, you know her too!"*

Overall, the impacts of co-governance for Waiōrea ākonga and whānau were summarised by a kaiako in the following way

> *They have a stronger sense of belonging, of knowing their place and that they have mana and status in the school. Some parents just want to come because of kapa haka or high academic standards. But for a lot of whānau it's that we have the same mana in the school as mainstream.*

When reflecting on the impact of co-governance on Māori not enrolled in Waiōrea, participants acknowledged that these effects are generally unknown. As a leader explained previously, the Māori liaison role in Springs was established to support Māori academic success in Springs. However, kaiako and teachers were unsure about the impacts of this role on ākonga and whānau enrolled in Springs. One kaiako involved in the establishment and implementation of this role, speculated that Māori in Springs may choose this option for different reasons

> *One reason why some whānau and students enrol in auraki is that they don't want to know their Māori side. There's also the urban drift; some have lost their connection to their Māori side so they just follow what they know. Also they find coming into rumaki intimidating. Some have been through kōhanga and kura, and they don't want to do it anymore, but sometimes they feel lonely and come back.*

Generally all participants believed that kura-school wide initiatives such as kapa haka, within school and external events, all have potential to advance interactions between Waiōrea-Springs. But more could be done. It was acknowledged that apart from the year 9 te ao Māori programme and kapa haka events, interactions between Waiōrea-Springs staff is generally limited. One kaiako explained that "I don't see that connection happening anywhere else; they're [Waiōrea] just another culture over there." Another kaiako suggested that "the gap" between Māori in Waiōrea and Springs was "unintentional", and that they needed to work "to find other ways to inspire our tamariki." Participants acknowledged that they were unsure about how best to access and create shared learning spaces. Kaiako perceived that their Springs colleagues were uncomfortable in "popping over." There were practical protocols, such as when and how to access Waiōrea spaces, that had not been created yet. These relational and structural issues impacted cross-campus relationships and collaborative efforts. To make Waiōrea-Springs collaboration happen it required extra kaiako and teachers' efforts.

7.2.3 Whānau, family

A common view amongst whānau and family is that co-governance creates a sense of "empowerment" for Waiōrea whānau and ākonga. When prompted about how this sense of empowerment manifests, one whānau talked about how their son has always had an affinity to their Māori heritage. Waiōrea nurtured this affinity through providing cultural leadership opportunities in kapa haka, which changed his perception of school: "he used to hate going to school, but at Waiōrea he just blossomed and it suited him much better." Again, the redesign and rebuild of Waiōrea was another sign of empowerment. Whānau noted that ākonga and kaiako had been "given the biggest learning space", which reaffirmed their ability to determine the teaching and learning programme

> *They get to feel comfortable in a place, just being who they are. The rumaki gives them confidence. They select their own subjects, and they have the courage to extend beyond what they're comfortable with. Waiōrea has the autonomy over the New Zealand Curriculum and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa.*

Families hoped that co-governance created a sense of whānau and ākonga empowerment through the knowledge that "co-governance is in operation", and that "Te Tiriti is being taken very seriously and is part of everyday life and decision making."

One family reiterated that Waiōrea empowerment is felt and seen in palpable ways during prize giving and kapa haka events. They observed how kaiako interact "differently" with ākonga and whānau compared to Springs colleagues

> *The difference in the way the Waiōrea teachers engage with their kids is totally different. It's eye-opening to parents because it's so emotional, tactile and supportive. The Waiōrea students seem very confident. They greet the teachers with a hug. Their peers are very vocal in their support of those who've won prizes. It has that extra feel of emotional connection. I'm not saying the other teachers don't have this, but it's a great example for the whole school. It's not just a school thing, it's a cultural thing. If they were not separated that wouldn't stand out.*

When considering the impacts of co-governance on Waiōrea whānau a common theme was the power of "whanaungatanga." This philosophy and value was expressed in a variety of ways: from attending trips, coaching, fundraising, up-skilling whānau te reo and tikanga Māori, to making shared cultural and academic decisions that best fit. Whānau explained that they "upskill through their children", which "are concepts that seem foreign to many mainstream teachers." Whānau know that their kids will be "looked after " and be "as Māori as they want to be, and still have all the other options too." The whānau identity in Waiōrea is strong and purposeful

> *The commitment you make is huge. Expectations of whānau help are big. You turn up, and you do it for the kids. But you're really supported. It's a whānau environment and you build friendships. The support system was great for the kids and it helped the parents: wānanga for whānau, scholarship wānanga, study wānanga, helping prepare kids for what's coming up. These are all things that you don't get at a mainstream school. It helped me and whānau awhi the process instead of just being responsible for it. I appreciated that support aspect.*

Whānau recognised that the power of whanaungatanga required commitment from everyone. As one whānau member said, "if you're going into Waiōrea it's hard out and you're expected to be on-board." Whanaungatanga fostered a sense of belonging and togetherness. At the same time it also created tensions. Two key pressures were raised: the expectations of whānau contributions, and sustaining kura expectations as it grows.

Whānau expressed that some new families "struggle with the commitments'" and "underestimate what they're signing up for because no other kura is doing what Waiōrea is doing." This whānau believed being "part of the kaupapa" meant whānau needed to shift to become more active than they had been previously. This increase in participation can be a shock because "they've got nothing to reference to." They went on to explain that some whānau become reluctant to contribute "not because they don't care, but because they don't know how." The second related tension - sustaining expectations as the kura grows - meant "the intimacy within the whare and teachers

has diminished." One whānau observed that the growth of Waiōrea has meant that more whānau support is needed. From their perspective, the workload amongst whānau was not always shared equitably

> *I stepped up quite a bit for my son at the rumaki. I noticed a distinct shift when the growth is huge and you need people on board to maintain a vision. When the growth happens questions need to be asked like "are the whānau here for the kura or for the kapa haka?" I found a lot of energy was put into trying to convince whānau to come on board to help, and not sit back and expect everything to be done. That's when I felt like stepping back. I'm not willing to put the mahi in if I don't feel the rest of the whānau are there for the right reasons.*

Reflecting on the impacts of co-governance on Māori ākonga and whānau in Springs, there was a general sense that they do equally well as their peers in Waiōrea. One family, whose nephews are Māori and take te reo Māori as a subject reflected that "they're very happy, they have different interests, and Springs gives them the opportunity to know their Māori heritage." Apart from this personal experience, and a general hunch that Māori ākonga and whānau were also succeeding, these families and whānau were unsure how co-governance impacted on Māori enrolled in Springs.

The cultural differences between Waiōrea and Springs were a mix of positive and negative experiences. For one whānau this was pertinent when ākonga moved to and from campuses. They explained that when ākonga "cross over to the mainstream" that they "feel inadequate"

> *When they cross over to the mainstream, it's rerekē. They feel inadequate when they cross over to the non-Māori side of kura… I don't know why. They go over there and go into a shell. They're not as open. They're whakamā over there. When you go and visit them over there, they'll be the kids sitting at the back of the class. They won't ask many questions out of fear of asking a dumb question in front of all their non-Māori peers.*
>
> *I've talked to some teachers who say 'I'd love to go to Asia and teach.' I think "you're willing to go to another country and teach, but you have a raru with teaching your native culture from your own country?" I don't know if it's intimidation, they just don't want to teach Māori, nervousness, or all of the above. If you can't relate to students because they are Māori, well then you have a problem. These kids are just like the other kids, they're still interested in the same stuff. It's having the skills to form a relationship, you have to form relationships.*

Another whānau raised the negative effects of racism directed towards ākonga. They talked about a teacher who discouraged their daughter's learning by saying "oh this standard is all that's expected from a rumaki student." The impact was that "my daughter didn't want to go back to class, and it broke my heart." Ākonga talked to their parents about a range of racist comments and attitudes directed at Waiōrea from Māori and non-Māori staff

> *I see racism in the subtle attitudes that my kids have brought home. It's from Māori and non-Māori teachers. It's what's being said to their classmates, statements like: "Māori stomping their feet", "Waiōrea making everything take 10 times longer" "typical rumaki students wanting a free ride"; "rumaki wanting to be in charge", "you're behind because you're at a pōhiri - why should we take the time for you, when you're misusing your time?" There's eye rolling from staff and kids being subtly made fun of. But when dignitaries come to the school, they trot out the Māori students to perform. The new buildings are beautiful. But the core of racism in our country doesn't stop them being affected or automatically mean they are immune.*

This whānau explained that other "Waiōrea whānau are aware of racism, but it's a survival thing" and "it's tiring when you're only one voice amongst ten." They expressed worry that when exposed to racism "Māori are expected to take the upper ground: grin and bear it, suck it up", and "now I've just taught my kids that same thing: to grin and bear it." They reflected how they "feel whakamā that sometimes our kaiako have to fight those battles" and they "feel sorry for Waiōrea."

Racism was also directed towards some Waiōrea parents. While working with a sports team, this whānau made a request for funding to support a Waiōrea team trip. The funding request was denied, and included the response that "we don't believe in co-governance" and "why should you get money for that because you carry some brown kids?" The whānau explained that the most difficult thing for them was that "these words are coming from mainstream teachers who are Māori who don't support co-governance in terms of sports." When asked how they responded to this situation they replied "I was a little bit scared to be honest, because the tensions between Waiōrea and Springs were already high and I didn't want to make it more tense." However, they explained that when the situation came up again – Waiōrea needed financial support for a trip – they changed their approach

> *I thought no, I'm just going to do it. I followed through instead of listening to voices who are so intent on not rocking the boat. In the end we got the money! I don't know their motivation to begin with, and it did lead to a breakdown of relationships with some.*

In another instance the whānau observed different behavioural responses from some teachers towards her (Māori) and her husband (Pākehā)

> *When my husband comes to school with me, people treat us differently. When I approach something I'm seen as confrontational and aggressive. I'm seen as using "race" as a thing. Whereas my husband, who is Pākehā, can come across as confrontational but will be appeased by teachers. The school's response to him is quite different. I'm known as "Angry XX" whereas he's "Nice Mr. XX". There's more questioning towards me if there's a problem. Whereas with him they're more likely to say "Yes we understand where you're coming from - how can we fix the situation?"*

In contrast, another whānau explained that “sometimes the Waiōrea kids are little kakas”. In their experience “it’s not always the kaiakos' fault.” They recognised a heightened fear teachers have of being “labelled a racist, when I know they’re not.” This whānau offered the following example

> *Our kids may want to accuse a kaiako of being racist if they aren’t getting their way. Sometimes we have to do a reality check: “well hold on, were you listening in class? Is that why the teacher yelled at you?” Then they say “Oh I was only on my phone!” Well there you go. Now we’re talking about the real problem - not focusing or being respectful.*

7.3 Te Pānga mō Tauiwi - Impacts for non-Māori students and whānau

7.3.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

In their experience, non-Māori perceptions of co-governance were generally positive and enjoyed broad support. Leaders talked about how Waiōrea-Springs is located in a “liberal” and “progressive” part of the country. This local political context shaped non-Māori attitudes towards the adoption of te Tiriti co-governance

> *We’ve got a liberal catchment, our families want more exposure. If there's disappointment, it's that people want more te reo Māori and more participation. Many local parents are asking for their students to have greater exposure and involvement with Māoritanga and te reo Māori. For the most part, non-Māori whānau will welcome as much exposure and involvement as the school can resource.*

This broad support was evident during the consultation process with the local community about gazetting te Tiriti co-governance structure and policy. Leaders commented that only one parent and one staff member raised questions about adopting the structure and process. As a leader put it, “I dreaded the thought of barriers and fences being put up in relation to where we can find the space in the curriculum… But none of that transpired.” They went on to say that the kura-school transition to co-governance was “very smooth” and they “never had to deal with rednecks saying “why does my kids have to do this?” Coupled with the broad community support, leaders spoke in different ways about how a positive societal shift towards te reo and tikanga Māori worked in their favour

> *Kua tahuri mai te hunga ūpoko māro ki te Tiriti me ōna pānga. Kua āhua pirimai, kua uimaki hoe haere ngā tāngata ki te āta titiro ki te whare Māori, ā, he aha kei roto i te whare Māori. Ana, ko ētahi kua tino rata mai, kua tino hihiko mai, kua tino ngata i ō rātou hiahia i te haeretanga atu. Ehara i te mea he wāhi kīkino ai te wāhi, te marae, ngā whare Māori. Ko ētahi kua tau tō rātou noho ki roto i te whare Māori. Kua horopa taua wairua. Ehara i te mea he kaupapa kotahi i rata mai ai,*

> *engari i runga anō i te waiaro, nā runga anō i te ngākau nui, i te ngākau mahaki te whakarata mai, ana, kua rangona nuitia te reo Māori e kōrerotia ana ki runga i ngā reo irirangi, ki runga i te pouaka whakaata.*The stubborn have now turned to te Tiriti and its impacts. People have come closer to some degree, and are asking rhetorically to look closely at the Māori realm, and what is contained within the Māori realm. Indeed, some have really come to like it and have been very inspired, their desires have been totally satisfied through going there. It's not as if Māori places, marae and houses are bad places. Some have settled in the Māori realm. That spirit has spread. It's not as if they liked it because of one thing, but based on the attitude, and also the kindly disposition and pleasant people, behold, the Māori language is now often heard being spoken on the radio and television.
>
> *Some of the criticism that te reo has no use relevance outside of New Zealand has faded fast. As Māori gain more and more traction in the economy of our society, and if you can speak te reo Māori, you've definitely got a head start in the employment sphere.*
>
> *Schools are creating the future culture for our nation - we're setting kids up with an expectation of how to operate in the world. We're setting up the expectation that a Māori viewpoint is a really important part of our nation that deserves an equal seat at the table.*

The redesign and rebuild increased Māori physical symbols and spaces. At the same time there are regular tikanga and kawa processes such as morning karakia, pōwhiri, kapa haka, and compulsory year 9 te reo and tikanga. While these elements potentially create positive non-Māori student and family engagement in te ao Māori, when asked about non-Māori student perceptions of co-governance and its impacts on teaching and learning, responses were mixed. One leader wondered whether there was any impact at all. They reflected on their own "white middle-class family" and remarked that

> *My kids have a comfortable life and they expect things without even realising it. They're not arrogant, but the statistics show who is suffering in the system we currently have. It's not people like me or us. I wonder if it does have an impact. They are already entitled. They get and see the advantages of the education system.*

Leaders talked about how some non-Māori staff and students have expressed a range of negative perceptions about Waiōrea. Examples include calling Waiōrea "privileged", "spoiled", or "that *they* get everything", "*they* don't mix with our mainstream school", "*they're* turning their back on us [Springs]." Staff have also raised questions such as "aren't *we* [Springs] good enough?" Some leaders did empathise with the "perception that Waiōrea is separate" because "in a way we are." However they had to explain and remind colleagues and students that "until very recently we had the oldest buildings and pre-fabs on site, and what we were doing was about the vision of Māori success as Māori." Student leader representatives with Waiōrea-Springs leader support took action to dispel the attitude that Waiōrea received unfair advantages. They initiated and lead ākonga-student cross-campus interactions and events

We set up more teacher hui in the wharenui. Springs had senior leadership in the wharenui. We have Board hui in the wharenui. We invited all student leaders to karakia; student leadership hui were hosted in the wharenui, alongside a noho at the beginning of the year. We rolled this out to staff too. We say to everyone that this whare is for everyone, and we'd love to host people. But In the end we can't be the instigators all the time. There needs to be a stage where non-Māori encourage and initiate kōrero and come over to us.

7.3.2 Kaiako, teachers

While compulsory te reo Māori in junior secondary schools is not uncommon and growing in Aotearoa, kaiako and teachers did believe that their year 9 programme "shows its value" to non-Māori students. For them this move signals that it is "a visible sign that it's important." Like leaders, they believed that the new architecture, design and buildings "allow us to see the students being themselves in a powerful and successful way." This teacher went on to say that "this must change the way Pākehā students see Māori; I know it has changed my thinking."

Others talked about how proud non-Māori students and families are of Waiōrea kapa haka, and the opportunities for all non-Māori students and staff to learn and participate in tikanga Māori. One teacher commented that having morning karakia open and accessible to all "may seem like a little action" but "it's massive when you see 300 kids on the mahau." They added that this tikanga and kawa had a ripple effect on ākonga and students

Morning karakia developed into our Ko Wai Ake Mātou waiata, which identifies landmarks in our Waiōrea community. This was driven by our year 13 students who mentored year 9s. It was ākonga from rumaki teaching auraki students. The idea was that everyone could participate in pōhiri processes.

Ākonga and student-led co-governance structures included dual student representation and leadership in the school, at Board of Trustees level and Te Ohonga Ake. For teachers this demonstrated "partnership within the school". Another kaiako talked about how their local Community of Learning - Te Kāhui Ako o Waitematā - has emulated a commitment to te Tiriti co-governance structures and resource sharing between rumaki and Pākehā schools

They come together under co-governance. There was a fight to have an equivalent status of funding, but the Ministry of Education wasn't set up to do that at the time. Because of the drive, we established it. The people who have Kāhui Ako portfolios now receive resources in an equitable way. Previously it was all one-way. This made a difference to how our Kāhui Ako could be structured. It offered Māori medium and rumaki in our contributing kura the opportunity to look at co-governance as an opportunity, and as an example.

While these were all positive signs of co-governance for non-Māori students and families, because the adoption of co-governance was recent, participants reflected that

little evidence had been collected about impacts on non-Māori student learning and attitudes. One teacher perceived that it had not had a "huge impact." They speculated that compulsory year 9 reo Māori may increase "confidence in te reo and tikanga generally when compared to other non-Māori students their age", and that "they may say less racist things when they encounter Māori culture, but not much more." They went on to reflect that

> *I hear my year 9s feeling weird about learning te reo. Again, it's not Waiōreas role to educate us. It's also not their job to educate the Pākehā in Grey Lynn! It's our job as their main teachers. The year 9 programme is great, but how can we re-emphasise more the support for the te ao Māori programme? In Springs there is a base-level belief that Māori culture is important and we should respect it. In that way it's positive. But there's not much more.*

While kapa haka provokes pride, these teachers said that non-Māori students would be "intimidated to join", and therefore "not many Springs kids go to kapa haka." When asked why this is the case, one teacher explained that

> *How can you sign up for kapa haka if you can't speak te reo? Secondly, it's built into the Waiōrea timetable, not Springs. It wouldn't be easy for students with little reo to join the kapa haka group. While the kapa haka group is open, it's not easily open. If it was open and people saw the value, you'd see a lot more people sign up.*

These teachers noted that primary school students are often exposed to kapa haka and te reo and tikanga Māori. Yet this cultural continuity is limited or severed at many secondary schools. While they supported the year 9 programme and broader reo and tikanga initiatives promoted by Waiōrea, they believed non-Māori students and staff would welcome more opportunities to build their Māori cultural capacities.

Similar to leaders, there was a sense that non-Māori families were generally supportive and open to te ao MāorI, and the co-governance character of the kura-school. One kaiako exclaimed that "if you were racist or anti-Māori you wouldn't come to this school." While this was the case, they also surmised that a range of active and passive attitudes existed amongst families

> *There will be families that support Māori aspirations and Treaty rights… I know that they feel comfortable and want to progress tikanga and be part of the Treaty partnership. This is their way of contributing, by sending their kids to Springs. I'm also confident that there are lots of kids who go to Springs because they're in-zone and their parents don't think about it. There'll be families who don't even know about co-governance. There would be families who would just say "oh there's a school pōhiri, what's that about?"*

Kaiako and teachers were interested in knowing more about the types of information the school shared with new students and families about co-governance, and how this shapes teaching and learning expectations.

7.3.3 Whānau, families

There was unanimous recognition that a strong Waiōrea positively benefits non-Māori students. One family explained that co-governance "exposes the main school to Māori culture in a meaningful way", as opposed to schools where "Māori students were just blended into the mainstream." This family discussed how their daughter had consistent, positive and meaningful exposure to te ao Māori

> *It's impacted our daughter in a big way. The kapa haka contributes to the whole school. Her focus on history this year included writing a very long essay on the Treaty. Being able to engage with the Māori culture, her interest in our history, and the inclusive culture of the school has impacted positively.*

A whānau member who coaches a combined Springs-Waiōrea sports team explained that it is "pretty positive for non-Māori." When asked how this manifests, she reflected that Springs members of the team are

> *…really excited to go over to the rumaki. They're scared, but also excited to be a part of it. Some say to me "am I going to do something wrong?" But once they get comfortable they love it. The rumaki students always make it fun. You hear the other Springs students break out their pidgin Māori!*

Another family highlighted the inclusive culture and character of Springs. In their experience the school "encourages diversity and expressive freedom." For them this contributes to positive family and student attitudes towards co-governance. A whānau member also speculated that "because it's a diverse kura we get a lot of parents who are really open to Waiōrea and are open to co-governance." Whānau and family believed that Springs and Waiōrea was a positive choice for those who want te reo and tikanga Māori continuity for children and families.

While families spoke about positive academic and cultural options available for Springs and Waiōrea students and families, they also acknowledged that "intimidation" and "nervousness" exists between both sites. One family explained that "as a parent of the school over many years, I've noticed that some parents are almost intimidated by what goes on [in Waiōrea]." Another whānau member shared how non-Māori staff are "nervous" about teaching Waiōrea ākonga, which they struggled to understand

> *The non-Māori teachers also are very nervous to come to Waiōrea. They draw their own imaginary lines. Maybe it's the intimidation factor of "I can't control a class full of Māoris." I don't know. Sometimes the rumaki kids are being treated*

like international students. Waiōrea don't treat non-Māori students like that when they come to the rumaki.

7.4 Ngā mahi whakapakari i Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Advancing understandings and application of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

7.4.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

Participants on the whole expressed that there has been inconsistent learning about Te Tiriti o Waitangi at a governance level. Leaders acknowledge that their colleagues have come to their decision-making roles with different interests, experiences and expertise. This posed questions, as one leader explained, as to how well-equipped people were to engage in te Tiriti issues

> *Kei te whakakā mai te whakaaro i roto i ahau, engari me pēhea te whakakā i te whakaaro i roto i te whatumanawa, i ngā ngākau, i roto i ngā hinengaro o ō tāua hoa? We all come in at different levels and understandings. Ēnei mātāpono e whakahuahua mai, e mārama mai ana te katoa i Te Tiriti o Waitangi?* The thought has been ignited within myself, however how does one ignite it within the emotions, hearts and minds of our friends? We all come in at different levels and understandings. These principles that express and elucidate the entirety of Te Tiriti o Waitangi?

A leader explained that they "had around 9 years experience with school governance" but "it took me about a year to become familiar with the school." Given the complexity and size of Waiōrea-Springs, this leader went on to say they would "be reluctant to be a first time board member in a co-governance secondary school because it would be difficult to understand it." All leaders expressed that constant change, school leadership pressures, competing priorities, and the voluntary role of the BoT and TOA all inhibit on-going dialogue about the "why, how and what" of te Tiriti co-governance

> *With any school there's a huge number of distractions that take time away from these important discussions. Te Tiriti will be in our charter, strategic plan and annual plan. These are the overall structure of the whole school. But they are not necessarily documents we engage with on a day to day basis. From time to time we do talk about these three overarching documents, but this is where those things should be embedded.*

Given the foundational nature of co-governance to the kura-school, all participants expressed a sense of urgency to address gaps in people's understanding and application of te Tiriti. Leaders explained that the Board and Te Ohonga Ake have agreed to do this work, however it had not yet transpired. A top priority was to review induction and professional learning for existing and new leadership members. This work needed be on-going in order to best represent the evolving nature of te Tiriti relationships and structures at a governance and operational level

> *In relation to whole-school co-governance professional learning and development, it must be ongoing. When changes for staff take place how do we continue to educate them in relation and Treaty partnerships? It's not something that you do once and that's it. There has to be ongoing work and mutual understanding.*

Another leader expressed a hunch that Springs teachers were not asking themselves critical questions such as "have I done the thinking about what Māori perspectives might be in my curriculum, pedagogy and assessments?" Overall, leaders believed that it was important to be exposed regularly to the lived realities of Waiōrea and Springs: their differences and similarities. It was suggested that spending regular time on Te Rehu, the kura-school marae, to begin this process would bond and strengthen these relationships. In general, leaders believed that opportunities must be created where they could better grasp the potential and challenges of teaching and learning in a co-governance environment. Inviting Māori and non-Māori who have experience working in these settings was supported by leaders. As one participant said: "we need to learn as we go, and allow for some organic stuff as well."

7.4.2 Kaiako, teachers

Kaiako and teachers believed that the co-governance character of the kura-school attracts teachers who want to learn about and put into practice co-design thinking and pedagogies

> *Teachers know we're a co-governance school, so people are pulled to work here. I wanted to be around teachers who encourage me, and try to push the boundaries of biculturalism. The potential is there to learn from each other.*

Kaiako and teachers wanted more opportunities and structured time to explore co-construction of teaching and learning programmes between Waiōrea-Springs. This co-design was happening in a number of ways. The collaboration between pūtaiao and science was an example of where co-curricular was being trialled. At a foundational level inter-departmental meetings were being held between science and pūtaiao colleagues. The science department "provided space, took notes, followed up on actions", but "Waiōrea bring their knowledge and they make decisions about standards, content and units that are most important." Conversations were at "a starting point", with one teacher describing this process as "a move from "me" to "we"." For example, colleagues were considering the cultural meanings and underpinnings of "pūtaiao" and "science." They had also started to explore general links between the *New Zealand Curriculum* and *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*

> *In pūtaiao and science are we talking about two ways of the same thing, or two different understandings? Our Waiōrea colleagues have said that pūtaiao is*

> *based on their own whakapapa knowledge, and the whenua, where we are. We've just started looking at Te Marautanga and the achievement standards of pūtaiao at L2 and 3. Is that also what Springs could do? It's exciting to look at the whole system! We haven't done anything else like this before.*

Another example of collaboration included a working relationship between a Waiōrea kaitiaki group and a Springs and an environmental education initiative. In this instance Waiōrea had been planting and caring for local waterways for nearly 10 years. A few years later a Springs environmental education initiative began. However, when the Springs project started "Waiōrea were never invited or part of it; we never knew what they were doing so we just did our own thing." This situation changed when a Springs colleague from the science department who had been working with Waiōrea colleagues got involved

> *Over the last 4 years the Springs group suddenly realised that kaitiakitanga should be part of their work too. It was Jenny from our science department who changed it. It wasn't up to me or Waiōrea to say that or get it moving. Now Waiōrea are really important and valued. It's the people, like Jenny, who realised that something wasn't right and it needs to change – then you're invited to the table. It's great now. People are receptive to following Māori tikanga and inviting our voice in a respectful way. In theory, if the kids see both groups working together they might have some exposure and sense of what that means.*

This kaiako believed that external programme facilitators and Jenny were critical to enabling the collaboration. They surmised that "if it was left up to the other teachers I don't think they would have thought about it." When asked about why teachers would not have considered working with Waiōrea in the first instance, they explained that "it's not because "they don't want to"; they just have no idea that it's important, or how to do it." They added that a lot of teachers "only have so much energy and they decide where they will put it, and that's it." At the same time they questioned "why should I or Māori always be the one to bring things up or make suggestions about doing things differently?" For them that was the "beauty of Jenny and her department", they had "taken te Tiriti on-board and didn't wait for the Māoris to do it."

In addition to growing collaborations with Waiōrea, these teachers prioritised and accessed "professional development around pūtaiao to educate ourselves and bring that into our classes." As one person said, they were aware that their cultural world "is very Pākehā focused" and "in our space of science and technology there've been 180 years of te reo and tikanga Māori suppression, so there's much we're up against." In response, they took responsibility in growing their cultural capability by seeking external Māori educators and initiatives that integrate mātauranga Māori into teaching and learning

> *The Landcare fungi project is available in both languages, using Māori contexts as a base. We now use it in our teaching - that daily use and fungi were used by Māori in a scientific way. We also work with Hōhepa, a Māori educator with Auckland Zoo, who provides Māori knowledge about their ecosystems. I think about how to link this into our daily teaching. The science resource hubs are helpful, such as the Tātai Arorangi resource. It's not co-constructed, but we're moving closer to using te Tiriti to inform our teaching and learning.*

Kaiako and teachers welcomed diverse examples of how Māori and Western content and pedagogies can co-exist, or in some instances be integrated. They suggested that these examples could enable others to reflect on departmental practices that align to co-governance intent and practices. They welcomed more encouragement from leadership to apply co-curricular teaching and learning philosophies.

On the other hand participants were clear about the relational and structural barriers that prevented co-curricular from starting and being sustained. One kaiako explained that co-curricular had not "been very coordinated and thought through" at student and staff levels

> *The kids know we have co-governance, but they don't know how it came about and what that means. Apart from doing te reo Māori in year 9, some kids could go through their whole schooling and have nothing to do with Waiōrea. Some teachers and departments have tried to bring it in, but I don't think it's been very coordinated and thought through. A lot could be done about co-governance and what this means for juniors and seniors. It's about continuity.*

It was recognised that kaiako and teachers have variable understandings and skills to be able to co-design and implement co-curricular programmes. A teacher commented that non-Māori "need to get our feet under ourselves." For them this meant "structured time in parts of our course that reflect co-understanding", otherwise "when I'm under pressure I fall back to what I know - White and Western understandings"

> *I'm culturally Pākehā, and everything I design means it's tainted by that worldview. Until I ask what Māori want, it's one-sided. If I plan by myself, and because my time is so short, mātauranga Māori will be missed. But if a Waiōrea-Springs group comes together regarding a topic, such as "energy, home and heating", we could discuss how we are going to plan to ensure it's Treaty responsive and Māori knowledge is reflected.*

While teachers wanted more collaborative opportunities with Waiōrea they did not want to add to the demands of already stretched kaiako. Teachers perceived that disproportionate demands were placed on Waiōrea to work "outside of scheduled school time" to ensure ākonga academic and cultural success

> *One of the things that is inequitable in our school is the amount of time Waiōrea gives compared to us. I already feel like I'm overworked, but for them it's beyond lifestyle. For example, they have lots of meetings to maintain kapa haka and*

> *whānau relationships. They work all day on weekends with students. That's what it takes for them to hold that school together. It's insane. My colleagues who work in both campuses say it's harder. It seems unsustainable to me.*

A common theme for these teachers was the tension of not wanting to create more work for their Māori colleagues, while also needing cultural support because they "don't want to get it wrong." As one teacher put it: "how can we give away power without creating more work?"

> *What we're doing, to co-construct, is the dream. At the same time there are huge demands of Waiōrea teachers. How can we give away power without creating more work? It's so much work to plan a unit. That's why the small professional development sessions about mātauranga can be useful, because I can do the work. I just don't want to get it wrong!*

A lack of consideration by some Springs staff about the work demands and expectations placed on Waiōrea colleagues added pressure too. Expectations and assumptions by Springs colleagues that Waiōrea colleagues were always available to help was ubiquitous. Kaiako described this ubiquity as "the little things" that took place in "the little moments." These included situations where kaiako had to constantly correct Springs colleagues assumptions so that Waiōrea ākonga could be visible, valued and access learning opportunities. In one example, a kaiako was reviewing online career information for students and ākonga. They pointed out to their colleague that core Waiōrea subjects were invisible

> *I said "te reo Māori and te reo Rangatira aren't on there, and our kids love these subjects". His response was "oh it's only the core subjects." I said "those are our core subjects", and he asked "oh, do they have to do it?" I said "yes!". Then I had this big backwards and forwards on the e-mail about it with him. Only afterwards did I think that maybe he just doesn't know what te reo Māori and te reo Rangatira meant. There are just little things like that. They have no idea about how it rocks over our side!*

Some Springs staff expect that kaiako are available to provide on-going cultural advice. Kaiako talked about an instance where a "colleague wanted a translation from English into reo Māori" but they were short-staffed and could not help. They went on to say that some Springs colleagues have the "expectation that someone from Waiōrea will always be here to help with translations." For them this was "an unrealistic expectation", and "it happens daily, every hour, it's like dial-a-Māori."

Under current educational conditions, teachers and kaiako believed that co-governance is difficult to implement because it competes "with all the other pressures that schools and whānau have to contend with." They recited "administrative" and "relationship" blocks that get in the way of working together effectively. Examples included colleagues saying "I'm too busy and I need to do my marking", "that would

mean I need to reorganise my whole teaching plan", or "the new build is a priority right now." Kaiako expressed exasperation about "why we have to keep justifying ourselves all the time." Kaiako said they had to account for why "we need different approaches for our tauira", and they had to continuously ask their Springs colleagues about "why kaupapa can't be delivered in different curriculum areas from a Māori perspective?"

Participants identified two actions that could be taken to advance co-governance learning. Both actions involved refreshing two learning initiatives already underway. The first involved annually revising the kura-school induction processes for ākonga, student, whānau, families and staff. As one kaiako explained

> *If you don't have a proper induction programme new teachers and kaiako are trying to learn by osmosis. At the moment induction doesn't include what co-governance means in day-to-day practice. People just learn as they go. If it's not in their face or talked about via professional development and committees then it's just a piece of paper. A pōhiri at the beginning of the year and then what?*

To begin, teachers talked about being provided with the time, space and resources to "learn about Waiōrea as a base before starting the school year." For them it was critical to "learn about the whenua and place before you teach and learn." Teachers would like to see a programme that includes explanations of key events, people and places - Māori and non-Māori - that contribute to the unique character of Waiōrea-Springs. They suggested that this would give people a deeper understanding about the significance of the kura-school. It would also counter the reality that "most kura auraki teachers feel uncomfortable in Waiōrea spaces because they don't know the names of places, and then they feel bad or racist because of this." In order for this learning "to stick", teachers suggested that induction needs to be "tailored and regular" with "more than just a tour of the kura and a piece of paper." They want to see induction be interactive and include examples of the teaching and learning that goes on in both spaces.

The second learning opportunity included broadening the existing staff-initiated te reo and tikanga Māori learning group. Teachers explained that these sessions were successful because the "group was super safe, judgement free, inclusive and it allowed people to be awkward, ask stupid questions and learn." However, it was dependent on Waiōrea colleagues to voluntarily provide the programme, which created more work for them without remuneration or release. Teachers and kaiako suggested creating internally funded and external te reo and tikanga Māori opportunities for a spectrum of learners: from beginners, intermediate to advanced. It was suggested that this learning be incorporated into staff learning goals

> *I would like to have regular differentiated learning regarding te ao Māori in my goals, which includes making a commitment and accountability to use it in my class. It would be awesome to empower each other and hold each other accountable for our learning of te reo and te ao Māori. It's about confidence building - talking about it with other teachers, and being reminded of its importance to teaching and learning.*

Linked to this were opportunities for Waiōrea and Springs staff to share learning about effective behaviour and learning strategies for Waiōrea ākonga. As one kaiako explained

> *Our kids and whānau are different. We have kids from vastly different backgrounds. We know the whakapapa of them and the whānau dynamics. We look at things holistically. We do things differently. We make decisions differently. It's about getting our Springs colleagues to learn how we roll.*

Overall participants recognised that co-governance "is not normal in our society." Their efforts were going against "the norm." To this end, kaiako said that Waiōrea-Springs is "unusual." Another kaiako said that they are a "Pākehā institute that does things in a different way, that looks at things differently, and tries new things." They went on to reflect that they

> *…hope that a better understanding of the Treaty will support us going forward, and will support our co-governance body. It's about how this can be implemented in our teaching and learning practices across the school. It's about continuous discussion about what this looks like for ourselves and our colleagues.*

7.4.3 Whānau, families

Whānau and family held different understandings about the context for co-governance and its impact on teaching and learning. Whānau speculated that despite the success and growth of Waiōrea, whānau and ākonga do not necessarily attribute its success to the concept and application of "co-governance." This was primarily because the articulation of co-governance organisation-wide was still fairly recent. One whānau recalled initial wānanga and meetings amongst Waiōrea about the formalisation towards co-governance, but since this time and due to COVID 19, little has been done to revisit its significance

> *This year has been hard because of COVID. For rumaki, when co-governance became a thing, we were offered lots of wānanga about it; what we saw as important and how it would be applied. That was three to four years ago now.*

One family acknowledged that they were unsure about the schools specific role in growing community awareness and engagement about co-governance. They were aware that "co-governance goes way back but I don't know quite how it happened." They felt "under qualified to comment" because they "only had a superficial experience

and impression." They went on to explain that te Tiriti was important because "it's something we live with as a country" and "it's our responsibility as adults to be learning about the Treaty." However, they remained unsure about the schools role in growing community understanding

> *I don't know if it falls to Western Springs to educate us. I don't expect that from the school. I don't know how they'd go about that. It'd be a bit of a tall order. But if we're not understanding it well enough to make the school function then we should be given an understanding. I don't envy them working out how to combine the two cultural ways into the curriculum. I wouldn't know how that can be done. They wouldn't have a lot of time to do all this extra work. I'm not sure what the school can do.*

Another family shared that as far as they were aware when new families enrolled "there's no sense of induction at the school in any way, shape or form regarding co-governance." They had a hunch that "most parents may have a passing idea if they've read something about it, but they wouldn't know what it means in reality." In their experience there is no

> *meaningful engagement with parents about it. If you're a family that just goes along to the school because it's local, you wouldn't really know anything about co-governance. You might see a reference to it in the newsletter or if you were searching the website you'd find something. But you wouldn't really know what it means.*

When asked whether and how the school could grow family and whānau awareness and engagement about co-governance, this family responded by saying "the more transparency about co-governance the better" and "it comes down to communication." They suggested practical communication such as regular online and physical messages about the background, present priorities, and future of co-governance. Sharing the cultural narratives behind the redesign and rebuild, and the way this illustrates co-governance was an example they cited

> *…having information about the way the school has been designed and what it means. There was this amazing Māori artist who worked on the designs: all the patterns hold meaning for this place. It was amazing, holistic, and beautiful. There should be photos explaining that, a little video to show people talking about the designs and why it's important. I just happened to go to a Ministry of Education meeting about it. This was the only time I'd ever heard anything about it. Otherwise I wouldn't know. People have no idea. There's been no communication that I've seen with the wider school. There was communication within Waiōrea, but it was quite separate.*

Whānau agreed that more awareness about the learning impacts of co-governance could take place. They suggested that clarifying the "why, what and how" would benefit everyone: "at the moment co-governance isn't voiced enough, and the student's say "oh ok it's a partnership", but they really don't understand how they benefit from it." Like

leaders, staff and family, whānau felt a revised induction programme would enhance awareness about the character of co-governance

> *Have Māori and non-Māori te Tiriti educators involved in induction. Role modelling together. Do everything side by side: it's a visual representation. I think to some extent Māori take on the role of teaching non-Māori. It's hard for Māori kaiako to engage with other non-Māori on these topics. Everyone needs to hear from Māori and non-Māori about what is important about te Tiriti.*

7.5 Summary

Waiōrea-Springs is located in a "liberal" and "progressive" part of the country. This local context, matched with a growing societal appreciation and value of te reo and tikanga Māori, meant non-Māori perceptions of co-governance were generally positive and enjoyed broad support. The positive impacts of co-governance on Māori students and whānau were wide ranging. For many it represents a powerful shift from being "passive passengers" in education, to having the ability to determine their own teaching and learning programmes and spaces. For other whānau and ākonga they may have a superficial understanding of its significance, or no knowledge or interest at all.

A prominent example of co-governance benefits included the redesign and rebuild processes of Waiōrea. Kaiako, ākonga and many whānau worked alongside the project building team to ensure the new spaces represented their unique identity. Secondly, co-governance enabled Waiōrea to sustain te reo and tikanga Māori in a culturally affirming learning environment, while also having access to a broad range of NCEA subjects via the relationship with Springs. In this way ākonga and their whānau "get the best of both worlds." The prominence of kapa haka as a culturally sustaining pedagogy was identified as having transformational positive impacts on ākonga and staff. Springs teachers expressed that being with their Waiōrea ākonga in environments that promoted their success and leadership had a profoundly positive impact and transformed their learning relationships with ākonga. At the same time positive staff and kaiako relationships support the transition experiences of Waiōrea tauira across both campuses. They demonstrate the potential benefit of effective collaborations to other teachers and kaiako.

The growth and success of Waiōrea was also due to deliberate whānau-centric pastoral care systems. Whānau-specific cultural capabilities had been enhanced by learning and strengthening their own te reo and tikanga Māori, and making new "lifetime friends" through a range of Waiōrea community activities. Combined, these contributed to positive educational choices for whānau and rangatahi across Tāmaki Makaurau. Participants also recognised that a Waiōrea learning environment will not

be the best fit for all whānau. Based on strengthening whanaungatanga – realising collective Māori success – a range of actions have been undertaken to support ākonga and whānau enrolled in Springs. The Māori success coordinator role in Springs is the latest iteration of this commitment. The impacts of this role were not well understood by the vast majority of participants, however there was a general sense that Māori enrolled in Springs do equally well as their peers in Waiōrea.

Because the adoption of co-governance was recent, participants reflected that little evidence had been collected about impacts on Māori and non-Māori student learning and attitudes. However, there was a collective belief that a strong Waiōrea positively benefits all non-Māori students because of their ongoing exposure to te ao Māori. Whānau and families believed that Springs and Waiōrea was a positive choice for those who want te reo and tikanga Māori continuity for children and families. Participants also surmised that a range of active and passive attitudes existed amongst families about co-governance and its impacts on student and ākonga learning.

A range of nuanced issues emerged that mitigate the positive impacts of co-governance. While whanaungatanga fostered a sense of belonging and togetherness, it also created tensions. Firstly, the expectations of whānau to contribute, and sustaining this active participation in the face of Waiōrea growth was difficult. Secondly, while the out-of-zone characteristic of Waiōrea enabled greater educational choice for whānau across Tāmaki, it also created budget tensions. This was particularly evident when allocating resources between the kura and school. Budget allocations between Waiōrea-Springs was an internal (Waiōrea-Springs) and external (Ministry of Education) source of friction. Enmeshed in these problems were participants' experiences relational and structural forms of racism.

Racism takes form in explicit and implicit forms at relational and structural levels. Not surprisingly these enmeshed forms of racism erode and undermine co-governance. As kaiako explained, racism takes place in “the little things” and the day-to-day “little moments.” For example the implicit assumption amongst some Springs staff that Waiōrea colleagues were always available to provide guidance regarding “things Māori” was ubiquitous. At the same time, if Waiōrea colleagues were not vigilant or involved in processes organisation-wide, Waiōrea would miss out on accessing valuable learning opportunities. Explicit examples of interpersonal racism included racist statements and attitudes from Māori and non-Māori teachers towards Waiōrea students and whānau being “privileged.” They also included degrading comments about te ao Māori generally, and low expectations of Waiōrea students.

Structural racism included inequitable work demands and expectations placed on Waiōrea colleagues. This raised critical questions about fair remuneration of Waiōrea kaiako and leaders. Structural barriers to this collaboration included creating time and space to grow trusting relationships, and share knowledge and experiences. Timetabling clashes between subjects and campuses, and existing workload inequities were two prime examples of this. The calibre of staff and kaiako relationships, and the type of structural conditions for collaboration, were found to determine the successful or unsuccessful transition experiences of Waiōrea ākonga in and out of Springs, and vice versa. Relational anxiety and structural barriers prevented co-curricular from starting and being sustained. Effective co-design and co-teaching were based on individuals as opposed to inter-departmental. As a result kaiako and teachers have variable understandings and skills to be able to co-design and implement co-curricular programmes. Co-curricular design and co-teaching were in their infancy. Racism, or a fear of being accused of racism, created relational ambiguity and tensions about how to respectfully initiate cross-campus collaborations.

The heightened awareness of racism amongst staff and students culminated in some ākonga falsely accusing their teachers of interpersonal racism. Both instances and a general fear of teachers' cultural inadequacy – a "fear of getting it wrong" or "not knowing what to do" – had negative impacts on the confidence, willingness and capability of Springs staff to work with their Waiōrea colleagues and ākonga. While these teachers welcomed more collaborative opportunities with their Waiōrea colleagues, they did not want to add to the demands of already stretched kaiako.

Waiōrea-Springs leaders and student representatives have taken conscious anti-racism actions to dispel or challenge negative attitudes. Ākonga-student-led initiatives that bring Waiōrea and Springs together via a range of tikanga and fun events made a positive difference. Teachers were also taking professional responsibility to grow their cultural capability: they sought internal and external Māori educators that integrated mātauranga Māori into teaching and learning. Identifying how Māori and Western content and pedagogies can co-exist, or in some instances be integrated, enabled them to reflect on departmental practices that align to co-governance intent and practices.

The work of "conscious raising" about racism and its different manifestations across campuses was identified as requiring on-going critical attention. Constant organisational change, school leadership pressures, competing priorities, and the

voluntary role of Trustees all inhibit on-going dialogue about the “why, how and what” of te Tiriti co-governance. All participants expressed that these factors result in inconsistent learning about te Tiriti o Waitangi at all levels.

There is a sense of urgency to address gaps in people's understanding and application of te Tiriti. This base support creates the conditions for co-governance to be advanced further. Participants suggested creating, or in some cases retrofitting initiatives about the why, what and how of co-governance. There was potential to activate general support into meaningful, nuanced and targeted educational action. Suggestions included reviewing induction processes, regular communication about co-governance impacts on teaching and learning, profiling ākonga-student and kaiako-teacher learning collaborations, and ongoing te Tiriti theory and practice staff professional development. This suite of actions, alongside the cultivation of new ideas and initiatives for staff, students and family, were suggested as practical ways to address the current community spectrum of understandings and practices of co-governance.

The next chapter outlines what other schools and organisations can learn at this point from the co-governance experiences of Ngā Puna o Waiōrea and Western Springs College. It concludes with an imagining of what a “decolonised and Tiriti-honouring co-governance and curricular” could look and feel like.

Chapter 8: Te Ahi Pūkauri - The Sustained Glow

8.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates what other schools and organisations can learn at this point from the co-governance experiences of Ngā Puna o Waiōrea and Western Springs College. It concludes with an imagining of what a “decolonised and Tiriti-honouring co-governance and curricular” could look and feel like.

8.2 He kōrero hei aronga whakahaere-ngātahi mō te Tiriti - What others can learn about te Tiriti co-governance

8.2.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

“The why" and rationale of co-governance at Waiōrea-Springs is inherently linked to its unique historic, political, economic and cultural context. Leaders identified social and cultural struggles amongst tangata whenua and supportive Tauiwi for the adoption of co-governance. There was a growing awareness and affirmation that te Tiriti can be a platform towards a just education for all. Creating a fair and inclusive education is pivotal to their co-governance character.

Metaphor and analogy were useful devices in illustrating what the kura-school community have been learning so far. For example, one leader talked about tending to a garden. For them the gardening process involves suspending judgement for a period, and not rushing into the process and expecting quick results: “ara ngā kākano, engari anei ngā hua. It takes a long time to grow a tree. People want quick results, but actually it is a journey.” Another leader returned to the analogy of a waka voyage. This trip relies on the accumulation and critical consideration of what the conditions for co-governance change are. It involves posing strategic questions about how well prepared people are for voyage, and clarifying what the intended destination(s) is

> *Kia āta kimi, kia āta inoi, kia āta rangahau i ngā rākau e tōtika hei tua, kia turaki, hei tārai i tō waka i ō waka rānei. Ko te horopaki o taua kōrero, ko te āta whakatau i ngā whakaaro, te āta rangahau i te huarahi hei whakatere nei i tō waka. He aha te whakarautaki? E haere ana tō waka ki hea? Ki hea whakatere ai tō waka? E ahu ana tō waka ki hea? Ko hea wāhi haere ai tō waka?* By carefully seeking, requesting and researching the trees which are appropriate to fell, to pull down and sculpt your canoe or canoes. The context of that statement, is to carefully decide the thoughts, and to carefully research the path by which to navigate your canoe. What is the strategy? Where is your canoe going? Where is your canoe being navigated to? What direction is your canoe going in? To what place is your canoe going?

Leaders were unequivocal that co-governance is the “logical way” to run any school. They pointed to three key reasons for their position: the foundational role of te Tiriti in

educational legislation and policy; the high proportion of Māori in English medium; and the need to increase educational equity for their community. One leader explained that "it's a no-brainer to show your commitment to the Treaty" because "that's what the system requires of you." They were aware of "lip service" that goes along with te Tiriti. In response they urged schools to take "a really tangible step as organisational leaders", and "give Māori an equal voice at the governance level"

> *With co-governance often people see it as positive discrimination, where you put more resources in to raise standards. There is no doubt there is a group of people who see this as unfair, as inequitable. In fact it's the complete reverse of that. Māori need their levels lifted. How do you do that? By putting the resource in. It's trying to level off so many inequities Waiōrea kids experience as Māori in day to day life and society.*

Leaders welcomed the opportunity to share their experiences with other secondary schools; however they also encouraged others to "modify their approach according to their own needs and history at any point in time." To ignore local and national calls for change, and consider your approach on both levels, risked "an exciting build up, and then you hit a brick wall." Given local and national contexts, it was important to carefully consider the potential positive and negative implications of the change. Leaders urged people to take stock and inspiration from the learning of others who are on a similar path.

As part of the establishment process, it was important to ensure that structures are in place to exchange a multitude of Māori and non-Māori perspectives on the purpose of education, and the types of graduates people want to nurture. To research and deliberate on the type of te Tiriti relationships people want to establish, support and advance involves the complex work of surfacing, holding and considering different perspectives. Co-governance creates a framework for these big picture discussions to happen. To this end, a leader likened the process to asking the question: "is it the kūmara or the potato you want?"

> *One of the main challenges is understanding both sides. For us, it's not just the traditional English model of success we want, it's also a truly indigenous educational successful student. Is it the kūmara or the potato that you want? If we're talking about successful ākonga what is our common understanding about this? What is the common goal or objective? I'm coming at it from this angle, and you're coming at it from that angle, so we may have differences. What is the true common goal?*

Another leader explained that "there's not necessarily one answer to each question." In their experience, if schools or organisations do not create clear processes for an exchange of views "people will meander all over the show." They shared one approach to uncovering and considering multiple ideas they had found useful

> *If you bring me one idea and I don't like it we'll spend the entire conversation with me telling you why I don't like it, and you defending why it's the right idea. Whereas if you bring me three ideas it creates a conversation about the merits of each. The reason we have arguments is that you have one idea and I have another and we don't agree. We have to have an expression of different ideas that is beneficial. The key is to find an idea that we agree on.*

The whakataukī – "ko te pae tawhiti whāia kia tata, ko te pae tata whakamaua kia tina" – was used by a leader as a useful guide for acting on short and long term goals in tandem. In this instance "the long term goal is co-governance" but there are "incremental things you can do towards this goal." Examples included creating the year 9 te reo and tikanga Māori programme for all students; expanding the resource base and decision-making power of Waiōrea; and physically changing the environment so that Māori and non-Māori worlds are represented. Small and incremental steps towards legitimating te reo and tikanga Māori – within the school and local community – helped establish the foundations and normalisation of co-governance. While schools may feel that their steps are "small", a leader emphasised that people need to "have respect for the small steps you take" because "the payback is one hundred times over." These were examples of power-sharing at the micro level that matched macro level policy calls for recognition of te Tiriti as foundational to compulsory education in Aotearoa.

To this point leaders emphasised the importance of understanding and engaging with the macro level of power-sharing dynamics. For example, developing a productive working relationship with the MoE was a challenge; and others need to be mindful of this potential when developing their own co-governance structures and relationships. All leaders identified the contradiction and disconnection between te Tiriti policies of the Ministry on the one hand, and lack of understanding about how to put these policies into day-to-day practice. As one leader put it: "we've broken the box, and the Ministry needs to understand the challenges of co-governance." For them, the disconnection between the local and national level of te Tiriti change will be difficult "if the Ministry doesn't know what co-governance is." They questioned how prepared and equipped the Ministry is to support schools who want to adopt co-governance

> *We're out of the norm and doing something different. Schools are not resourced to do any of this. They're teachers and well-meaning volunteers. Most of the work done on co-governance is voluntary. Shouldn't the Ministry be doing this? They should be providing us best practices when they can see us doing it. They know we have struggles for resourcing, but they're making it hard for us every step of the way. They don't mean badly and they have financial constraints, but they should be the ones pushing for co-governance, because they're a level of governanc*e.

All leaders believed that co-governance would be picked up by other schools, and the Ministry alongside other allied educational professionals needed to increase their understanding and capability to support them appropriately.

8.2.2 Kaiako, teachers

One kaiako talked about the importance of organisations recognising the foundational integrity of te Tiriti agreement: “honouring the Treaty means honouring the kōrero from our Tūpuna; it’s about their vision of partnership.” How this “vision of partnership” is put into practice evolves depending on circumstances. For example a kaiako explained that due to colonisation “you have all the broken shell bits, but you don’t know how to put it all together.” For them “the shape and how to do co-governance has been lost.” In this sense, it was important for people to recognise the fractured nature of te Tiriti relationships. This includes *not* expecting “your Treaty partner to say “this is how to do it”, because sometimes they don’t know either!” Providing all-staff te Tiriti workshops was critical to understanding the structural and relational potential and pitfalls of co-governance. It was important that schools understand te Tiriti power dynamics

> *Do a Treaty workshop first. If schools don’t understand colonisation and power dynamics they will never be able to give up power with their Treaty partner. It’s all well and good to say they want co-governance with Māori, but until they understand the power dynamics of that, they will never be able to do it.*

Kaiako and teachers reiterated how important leadership is in the intricate process of putting the broken shell bits of te Tiriti back together in new and innovative forms. When asked what the qualities of such leaders might be, participants talked about a leadership team who take an active, positive and realistic interest in the culture of the kura-school. These are leaders who can communicate openly about the relational and structural opportunities and challenges of co-governance. They demonstrate relational habits that are “kind, upfront, push the change in mentality and make sure that people face the challenges together.” Te Tiriti leaders are those who work on developing core relational skills such as “considerate and compassionate listening, and coming to an outcome that benefits both sides”

> *There needs to be a leader and senior team who are willing to do it. People who are willing to sit down and hui together every time there’s a challenge. It’s about open dialogue when they meet challenges. That’s the hardest thing to do. It’s like any relationship. Sometimes it comes down to personalities and how they can talk through issues. If the team has difficulties communicating about challenges generally, and they don’t understand the Treaty, then that’ll be one more difficulty to add to the mix.*

These Tiriti leaders did not shy away from the messiness of relationships; rather they fostered a climate of collegial respect and trust. One teacher talked about a previous leader who worked in this way. This particular leader "would come to every staff meeting and tell everyone what she was working on and thinking about." This leadership style maintained momentum amongst staff, and helped everyone "see opportunities right under our nose." Kaiako believed that such leaders set the cultural tone in order to "build trust between Māori and non-Māori." When "open and clear communication" is present, then there is a "patience to understand."

Like leaders, teachers and kaiako believed that collective kura-school understanding, commitment and responsibility can emerge in small but significant ways. For example, in order to grow their understanding and confidence of te reo and tikanga Māori non-Māori staff initiated "waiata Wednesdays." This group meets every week to learn and practise waiata specific to the kura-school or appropriate for different occasions. Participants talked about when they started it felt strange and foreign. They said it was "like learning any new skill." However, now the waiata sessions are a normal occurrence and everyone is invited to participate. As one kaiako described it, waiata Wednesdays is one example of how cultural change can happen in "the little things." For kaiako, they observed non-Māori colleagues taking responsibility for their own learning avoiding the assumption "that Māori would lead it", which lessened the "burden" on their Waiōrea colleagues. Kaiako shared how proud they were of their non-Māori colleagues who took ownership of their own learning about co-governance and cultural capabilities. They described these colleagues as those who have a "willingness to step outside of the box and try something new."

Many of the suggestions made by kaiako and teachers, perhaps not surprisingly, have direct relevance to co-curricular teaching and learning. For example, kaiako talked about when "staff are willing to participate in Māori elements of the school then kids realise it's important as well." Linked to this, teachers discussed how co-teaching can be an exemplar of Waiōrea-Springs collaboration. In their experience Waiōrea-Springs co-teaching "enables us to share our knowledge and expertise, such as Western science and mātauranga Māori." Co-constructing content knowledge and expertise was one thing, but positive relational habits and time were equally important

> *Co-teaching requires a lot of trust between each other. But once trust is built, it creates a learning opportunity. Last year we organised meetings between us and Waiōrea. We would meet every week to talk about year 10 and 11 science learning. It created a tuakana-teina relationship. We learnt a lot from each other about all sorts: pastoral care, communications, behaviour, student capabilities. It challenged my assumptions about what the potential of the students are.*

> *With mixed ability groupings there can be so much drama in the class. Whaea Mereana cut through all of that. I was empowered because I could offer science resources that mattered. But it can take a lot of work. It was only possible because I was on a reduced teaching load. I would have liked to have done it this year with Whaea Roimata, but a full teaching load means it's overwhelming.*

Kaiako and teachers believed it was important to be discerning about where to put collaborative efforts. One kaiako talked about being "careful about how I build relationships with different departments and where my energy is best placed." Another talked about taking "baby steps and starting small", suggesting starting "with one year level and building your co-teaching around that." This approach demonstrated that teachers and kaiako can take small steps within their spheres of control to breathe life into respectful co-governance relationships for the students and ākonga. One kaiako reflected that "now our Waiōrea kids know Matua Dan from Springs, and they're all good to hui with him; they know we're all on the same waka together as teachers and students." This style of co-curricular collaboration and relationship building "starts from the ground up" and "we found that students go from merit to excellence."

When co-curricular collaboration was not possible, teachers explained that they could continue to plan their teaching and learning programme in ways that valued Māori and non-Māori knowledges and experiences

> *The first thing to do is to go away and make connections with Māori who have an investment in my topic. Then it's about finding the resources. When I'm looking at my water topic before class, I have to find resources on different ideas about this. I need to start learning a different world view and understanding. This means learning the language, which carries meaning from another cultural worldview. If we are going to do this well we need people who we know are culturally competent to have these learning relationships.*

The relational capacities and capabilities of these kaiako and teachers were determined, in large part, to structural conditions. Timetabling clashes between campuses and subjects were a significant barrier

> *It's really important that the Māori partner has an equal voice in all the really important things that matter in the school, like timetables. In the past we've had total clashes for our kids. The way a timetable was put together meant kids could do te reo Māori, but not science. Kids had to drop te reo rangatira or a particular subject and do correspondence. It has gotten better because we've been having conversations about dealing with these clashes.*

This kaiako explained that "previously it was just the Deputy Principal that made timetable decisions, and they had a lot of power, and it was arbitrary." At this time timetable changes to align Waiōrea and Springs would not happen "unless you were their [Deputy Principals'] mate, then it was all good." When asked how the change to the timetable occurred this kaiako explained that Waiōrea raised the problem with

Springs leadership. They articulated the negative impacts the clashes were having on Waiōrea academic and cultural choice. As a result leaders established a Waiōrea-Springs timetable committee to avoid clashes and improve alignment between campuses. The committee is “inclusive and now Springs understand our position because we work with a consensus approach; we’ve moved away from one person having all the power.”

Concern about kaiako burnout is another structural impediment that those thinking about co-governance need to consider. Teachers and kaiako talked about the importance of leaders rethinking their allocation of management units to address inequitable workloads and demands. For example, if staff members take up more responsibility for supporting colleagues and students, but are not allocated the units, this can become a source of contention

> *Other schools I know of, where Māori and Pasifika staff have huge responsibilities, haven’t been recognised with units. Teachers are told to be collaborative and work together, but when you start bringing in discussions about management units and how much people are being paid, perceptions of inequity creates stress between people. There are Kāhui Ako implications too. It’s all about school politics. It’s difficult!*

Because management unit allocation has major resource implications in schools, teachers and kaiako suggested that leaders need to provide a clear rationale about why and where they go. Aligning such justifications to co-governance development can support this process, otherwise “it can be pretty stark when units aren’t explained to us all”, and “this can get in the way of co-governance.”

8.2.3 Whānau, family

To have co-governance buy-in and ownership whānau and families believed that the school and kura must articulate its vision, and demonstrate what the day-to-day learning outcomes of co-governance will have on students and ākonga. For example, a family explained that “trying to have two or more perspectives is vital for our community to be harmonious, and when both sides of the school can be brought together, it makes better students.” Another family suggested that kura-schools align co-governance to existing school and kura values. For them, adopting co-governance made sense because the school’s “heart”

> *At Springs the heart is there to be a progressive, positive, thoughtful, kind, co-sharing, power-sharing, and connecting school. The intention is always there to be that kind of place. For any of its faults, that heart has got to be a positive thing. We are lucky to have it. It's like a microcosm of society. In order for it to be a positive space, no one should feel threatened on either side: another's strength*

> *is astonishing and awe inspiring, rather than a threat or a freaky thing. It's Aotearoa/New Zealand that I would like to be part of going forward into the future: good citizens who are thoughtful and caring and compassionate and empathetic to other people.*

When asked how they would describe the specific potential benefits of co-governance to others, they shared two key messages. First, co-governance has the potential to ensure Māori knowledge, culture, experiences and communities are promoted and sustained. A family expressed that "a school within a school benefits both parties." They discussed how for their child co-governance has provided "a very positive exposure to a Māori community", while at the same time Māori have "their culture validated, they can retain their own support and networks." They did not believe this would be the case if Waiōrea-Springs were "merged." They were "proud of the fact that our daughter has experienced a co-governance approach, it's been positive because it's enhanced the school experience in a way that's hard to articulate to others."

The second key point was that co-governance is a model that enables non-Māori and Māori to value and hold multiple perspectives about themselves and society at-large. For example, one family reflected that their "husband was raised in a very different time when there was not any thought of the Treaty", but now "there is a big change and acceptance amongst younger people, and opening perspectives up is way way better."

When asked what cautions they would share with others, they returned to the importance of communicating what the co-governance vision is, and how it impacts on teaching and learning day-to-day. One family explained that students need to understand the lived reality of co-governance "otherwise they just go home believing we're separate and different." A whānau picked up on this idea and expressed that

> *The biggest challenge is to help people understand what it actually means. At the very basic level it's about understanding what co-governance actually is. It's awesome. Yes it's Māori but everything about that is conducive to a positive community. It's positive for everybody, not just Māori not just Pākehā. For me Māori is about service and whakawhanaungatanga. If it's understood properly, the positives are bilingual children, culturally sensitive children, higher achievement for Māori and for everyone, every other ethnicity. No one should be disadvantaged.*

8.3 Tētahi kura "pure ihomatua, me te whakahaere-ngātahi, marau hoki e whakamana-Tiriti ana" – Imaging a "decolonised and Tiriti-honouring co-governance and curricular" school

8.3.1 Mana whakahaere, leadership

When invited to imagine what a "decolonised and Tiriti-honouring co-governance and curricular" could look and feel like, leaders talked about "empowerment" and

“flourishing” being at the core. A Waiōrea leader talked about taking conscious actions to disrupt education processes that have been “disempowering” towards Māori. For them, the historic and present educational experience of many Māori “leads to disengagement because you’re made to feel lesser than everyone else.” They held a vision that graduates could be anywhere in the world, and have confidence in the fact that “their Indigenous education” would negate any sense of “educational inferiority.”

Participants acknowledged that “there’s a huge amount of work to do” to create such realities. One leader talked about the need to “shift cultural baggage out of the way before we start to truly craft a curriculum that values what’s here.” Processes of decolonisation were discussed as one way that would enable a learning community to be reinvigorated and equipped to make te Tiriti co-governance a reality

> *We need to go through the exercise of challenging ourselves, to peel back the layers of colonisation, a process of decolonisation, to be well determined, informed and educated around the Treaty. It’s about the instantiation of the Treaty in all things that we do within education, and the various responsibilities that come with that.*

Leaders spoke in different ways about “curriculum integration” as a concrete example of a Tiriti-honouring curricular. In general, this included teaching and learning where Māori and non-Māori knowledge(s) and practices are “the norm”, as opposed to “the exception.” This syllabus would be a “seamless and lack of differentiation between cultures: there wouldn’t be us and them, it would be a collective that represented and recognised everybody.” Curriculum integration would be expressed and legitimated through the fluency of all students to succeed in “Māori” and “Western” worlds. A Tauiwi leader described this vision as a “bold and a bigger journey than a single school could take.” Two Māori leaders framed this imagined syllabus in the following terms

> *It’s the blended learning of the two philosophies that go hand in hand, not at the expense of the other… How do we take the knowledge of Shakespeare and relate that to Indigenous knowledge? The two aren’t mutually exclusive. There is connection and relevance. There’s universal knowledge and learning that can happen.*

> *Ko te hua o ngā tamariki. Ko te ngakingaki i te māra, te ngakingaki i te purapura, kia tupu kia rea. Ko te puāwaitanga o ngā ao e rua, ko taua āria kei reira: kua oti kē te ngakingaki, ā, ko aua wāhanga ko ngā hua, kua puāwai. He kura ā-rangi, he kura ā-nuku.* It is the benefit of the children. It is cultivating the garden, cultivating the seeds so they grow and multiply. The fruition of the two worlds, that concept is there: the cultivation has been completed already, and those parts, the fruits, have come to fruition. Sacred learning in the heavens and on earth.

The metaphor of the “warp and weft” was used to describe the deliberate weaving together of worldviews. This Tauiwi leader explained that Māori and Tauiwi “both

require the threads of the other to be strong." In this sense they are "an intrinsic, interdependent part of the whole: the fabric is complex, and we just need to keep working with it." For them, effective co-governance power-sharing relationships is about everyone remaining open to learning

> *[It's about] a continual awareness and acceptance that we will make mistakes or missteps. The mistakes themselves are less important than how we resolve them. People just have to keep working at it, create a shared understanding of what needs to happen, and their respective roles, otherwise people will continue to talk past each other. This is a vision of continuing to lean against the edges until more ground and acceptance is gained.*

Ultimately leaders described crafting a Tiriti-honouring decolonised curricular as productive work: it inherently involves tensions, but is ultimately beneficial for all learners – young and old

> *The ideal is that every curriculum subject had a co-governance board or chair. They put it together for all students, and our kids are immersed in te reo as well. If you immerse everybody in co-governance that would be ideal. This isn't just about Māori or other ethnicities in the school, it's about us as a collective.*
>
> *The result would be a much stronger and richer education for our students and wider community. It is like ecology. Diversity is crucial. We need to stay open to not having all the answers immediately and be able to work through different solutions. It is worth the effort.*

8.3.2 Kaiako, teachers

Kaiako and teachers envisioned that a te Tiriti honouring curriculum would have a "hum and wairua" expressed between staff and students. As one kaiako put it, the learning would include a diversity of cultural expressions and experiences, a form of "organised chaos"

> *It's engagement with the best of both worlds for our kids. It's about opportunities and options. It's not just about kapa haka. It's the opportunity to take them out of their comfort zone. The kids are having a tutu and it's hands on. Devices, science experiments. It's designing options for the future and I'm learning from them as well. We would be able to see that the kids are engaged and asking questions. There would be organised chaos! It's a hum and wairua that goes on.*

A kaiako said that "it would be normal to hear te reo in the community before you even get to the kura." Another remarked that the kura-school would use "Te Marautanga o Aotearoa and the New Zealand Curriculum as a basis of learning programmes, alongside the mission statement and charter." This teaching and learning approach was described as "blended". Its unique blend would be made up of "equal weighting for the topics that are important to us, with te ao Māori right through the curriculum and more co-teaching." The syllabus would include fostering "a deeper understanding of

Māori culture and what it's like to be a Māori living in New Zealand, which would be reinforced through the curriculum into the senior levels."

Practically, teachers and kaiako said people would experience and participate in tikanga and kawa for different occasions. Waiata, mihimihi, pōwhiri, and learning on marae would be "expected" and "held collectively." Professional learning and structures would be in place to ensure "everyone has earmarked time to learn te reo and tikanga Māori, and the school timetable would reflect co-teaching opportunities and planning." They went on to talk about creating opportunities for collaboration, based on "whakawhanaungatanga"

> *There would be an explicit focus on whakawhanaungatanga: Waiōrea and Springs students would have opportunities to get to know each other. This would be a formal system that is specific and scaffolded together. It's not just that you share a space, but you actually know each other and work together. Small and explicit connections would happen. We would buddy up between year levels and topics, and shoulder tap students to be involved in the teaching. We would base this on the importance of te Tiriti. We would help our students bridge the cultural gaps and feel emotionally safe together. All our students would belong.*

Teachers and kaiako believed that a decolonised and te Tiriti honouring curriculum involved staff "sharing the work of educating our students in two cultures." Reflecting on the current barriers, one teacher said that "it wouldn't be about Waiōrea being time poor, doing all this extra work such as the homework centre and kapa haka." For them a Tiriti-honouring teaching and learning curricular would ensure that "there would be just as many management units for mātauranga Māori as there are for Pākehā knowledge." Overall, there would be shared the confidence and openness to learn, work and be in cultural spaces that differ from their own

> *The ideal is that our colleagues are equipped with other knowledge to walk into different spaces. That our colleagues can come into kaupapa Māori spaces and teach our tauira with a Māori world-view. That's my ultimate decolonised vision. Feeling ok about this, it's not being forced upon them, but they have the tools to walk and enter into that space. It would be great if our non-Māori students can find a place in our world and be comfortable. They can be fluent in both. We expect our rumaki students to do that; I don't know why we don't expect all our students to do that.*

8.3.3 Whānau, families

A common perspective amongst participants was, as one family put it, "when there's meaningful, positive change for Māori, it's positive for everyone in that school and society." Whānau and family talked about a future te Tiriti honouring curriculum in relation to young people and adults. Reflecting on their own schooling experiences one whānau said they "always felt less than." They believed a "decolonised system"

would counter that experience by giving “Māori equal respect to the other people in the classroom.” When asked to explain what “equal respect” for students meant, they responded that “Māori wouldn’t just be those brown kids in the class falling through the gaps; there would be avenues for all different cultures, for everyone.” Another whānau member said a sense of belonging for all students would be embedded through an ease and fluency in Māori tikanga and kawa

> *If I was to come into a Tiriti-honouring world, what would I feel? Karakia and mihimihi at the start of each day. It's so normal that you're comfortable. I could be Indian, and walk in and be comfortable and aware of tikanga Māori, and know why it's happening. Everytime you introduce a new kid it's automatic that they go to the mihi and pepeha, then they might roll to their English side. Students would understand how they connect to each other. It's something of this whenua.*

This whānau believed it was difficult to retain and sustain te reo and tikanga Māori because it “falls away” in education. To counter this they supported te reo Māori being made compulsory. Whānau and family envisioned a future curriculum that placed te reo and tikanga Māori “alongside English as a core subject because that creates understanding of cultures.” Another family talked about this educational experience being “emotional, less structured with more connected learning across the school.” A te Tiriti honouring curriculum would have a “sense of collegiality, collaboration and connectedness.” For young people this would create the conditions for them to “feel really at ease with each other, not to have defensiveness towards the other.” When asked what this would look and feel like, they went on to say that there would be “respect regardless of what part of the school you’re in: you're doing your learning your way, and we're together in this.” Finally, a whānau member explained these ideas in the following holistic terms

> *There would be a better understanding between adults: a willingness to be more open with each other. It has the ability to create and change mindsets. It’s a wairua base. We need to take care of wairua, otherwise we will continue to see failings in society.*

8.4 Summary

The adoption of co-governance is inherently linked to a places’ historic, political, economic and cultural context at national and local levels. This entails understanding the dual logics of the local (kura-school community dynamics) *and* the national power-relationships at play (central government dynamics). In this sense, there are general and highly specific elements that organisations can learn about co-governance. Ultimately, moves towards co-governance includes everyone being committed to an on-going learning relationship. Co-governance, in this sense, is not a romantic or simplistic vision of power-sharing. Like any creative endeavour that challenges the

status quo, it inherently involves a complex combination of risk, tension and positive potential.

All groups talked about being clear about the “the why" and rationale of co-governance. For them it has the potential to ensure Māori knowledge, culture, experiences and communities are promoted and sustained. Secondly co-governance is a model that enables non-Māori and Māori to value and hold multiple perspectives about themselves and society at-large. Metaphor and analogy – from both Māori and Western knowledge(s) – were helpful devices in articulating such co-governance development and goals. Metaphors helped people “step back” from the issues at hand, and ask strategic questions about how well prepared they were for co-governance. It involved clarifying what the intended co-governance destination(s) is or are. For kura-schools, this included deliberations about the purpose of co-governance education change, and the types of vision for graduates people wanted to see in the world. At the same time the kura-school needed to be prepared to step into macro level discussions with the Ministry of Education about the “why and how” co-governance. While macro-level educational and public service policies recognise the foundational role of te Tiriti, Waiōrea-Springs found that this rhetoric does not meet the reality. As kura-schools consider co-governance as a possible set of structures and relationships, leaders urged that the Ministry alongside other allied educational professional groups, urgently increase their understanding and capability of co-governance to support these learning communities well.

With any adjustment to existing structures and relationships there are potential positive and negative implications. It is important that organisations take stock of these potentials as best they can, stay open to surprises, and take inspiration from the learning of others who are on similar paths. Putting into place structures and relational processes that ensure an exchange of a multitude of Māori and non-Māori perspectives aided the change process. Leaders who take an active and realistic interest in the culture of the kura-school, and who communicate openly about the relational and structural opportunities and challenges of co-governance are vital.

Exploring and articulating these “big picture elements” were important, but they should not be at the expense of “the small things.” Participants believed in the power of small and incremental steps individuals and organisations can practically take. For Waiōrea-Springs legitimating te reo and tikanga Māori - within the school and local community - helped establish the foundations and normalisation of co-governance. At the same time non-Māori colleagues took responsibility for their own cultural capabilities and

capacities. This lessened the “burden” on their Waiōrea colleagues to constantly provide cultural guidance and advice. Overall, Māori and non-Māori took ownership of their own learning about co-governance, and how they could enact it in their own teaching and learning programmes. All participants demonstrated a “willingness to step outside of the box and try something new.”

The relational capacities and capabilities were determined, in large part, by structural conditions. For example, addressing timetable clashes between campuses and subjects; or ensuring the equitable allocation of management units amongst Māori educational leaders. Individual and group burnout can take place if considerations are not made about how they appropriately articulate, and take actions to address inherited structural inequities between Māori and non-Māori in compulsory education. To provide a clear rationale about why and where resources are being used, and how these decisions aim to give practical expression of co-governance supports this process. Participants suggested framing such decisions in relation to kura-school values and characteristics. In general the school-kura must articulate its vision, and demonstrate what the day-to-day learning outcomes of co-governance will have on students and ākonga.

Imagining what a “decolonised and Tiriti-honouring co-governance and curricular” could look and feel like, revolved around notions of “empowerment” and “flourishing”. As one kaiako explained, a Tiriti-honouring curriculum “would have a hum and wairua to it”, with a good dose of “organised chaos.” Expressions of whakawhanaungatanga and whanaungatanga would enable small and explicit connections between students, staff and local community to take place. This would support people to confidently understand and bridge cultural differences, feel emotionally safe, and cultivate belonging. However, these were not naive ideas. They were imbued with a critical understanding that in order to engage in worldviews and languages that differ from one's own, it demands on-going encounters with creative, unsettling, disruptive and formative learning situations. Exercises in decolonisation and re-Indigenisation were viewed by some as effective means for this to happen. It was suggested that these learning activities would support people to re-order and refocus relational responsibilities. This reorientation would enable people to lean into theories and practices of relational justice between Indigenous-non-Indigenous people and/or institutions. Finally, as one whānau member remarked, these imaginings are dependent on a positive wairua base; a sense of caring and investment in self and one another.

Part five: Interpretations and implications

In these final chapters I offer my interpretations of the learning taking place at Waiōrea-Springs in relation to co-governance education, and this studies broad implications. To frame my interpretations I return to the four interpretive tools and aesthetics outlined in part three: Indigenisation; settler-colonial change; institutional change and praxis; and relational justice. I use these four elements to analyse the theories and practices at play when two forms of governing authority meet in schooling. As a moment in time, the interpretations are not aimed to be summative; they are open-ended and open to further critique.

Finally, I discuss key implications of this research. I categorise these implications into five areas: 1. Implications for decision-makers; 2. Implications for me and my family; 3. Implications for Tauiwi; 4. Implications for schools and organisations; and 5. Implications for research methods. I conclude with final reflections about the potential and pitfalls of co-governance power-relations between settler and Indigenous groups.

Chapter 9: Interpretations: Towards independence and interdependence?

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I return to the interpretive tools and aesthetics outlined in part 2 to guide my analyses of what can be learnt from co-governance in education at Waiōrea-Springs. I revisit the following theories:

- *Indigenisation*: I explore the different ways Māori express physical, spiritual, and intellectual relationships to a local place, while challenging and shaping the institution of schooling and co-governance more broadly.
- *Settler-colonial change:* Here I examine how non-Māori hold in tension the various ways Western ways of knowing and being can erase *and* enable just relations with their Māori colleagues.
- *Institutional change and praxis:* This section analyses te Tiriti discourses and its material impact on macro and micro levels. I examine the shape of institutional praxis via educational leadership and contested ideas of "responsibility" and "accountability" between the kura and school.
- *Relational justice*: Here I inquire into relational and pedagogical differences and collaborations between Waiōrea-Springs. I suggest these relations have the power to amplify *and* mitigate positive and negative perceptions and experiences of co-governance.

Taken together, these fields of knowledge assist me to interpret the co-governance experiences of Western Springs College and Ngā Puna o Waiōrea. These discourses provide a careful, critical and generous approach to shape my interpretations. This is a community of iterative thought and action about how to legitimate – relationally and structurally – Māori and non-Māori independence and interdependence in compulsory secondary education. My analyses of the learning taking place are open-ended. In highlighting different layers of complexity found in the narratives I aim to name and counter the "doctrine of distrust" (Dennison, 2022) that erodes the potential of relational trust between Indigenous and settler groups.

My analyses extend on the interpretations of Te Kawehau Hoskins (2010) and her case study of Newton Central schools co-governance experiences. Here, Hoskins (2010) pays critical attention to why and how Māori and non-Māori develop their political, cultural and relational capacities in order to foster practices of independence and interdependence in dual-medium education. These overlapping capacities at individual and institutional levels emerged in my inquiry and remain a critical feature of the shifting terrain in Indigenous-settler governance. Given the few detailed studies about

the learning outcomes of educational leaders, this thesis adds another layer to public knowledge about what can be learnt from co-governance in education. The interpretations below illuminate a snapshot in time regarding the shifting terrain of current dual medium and potential future of co-governance education in Aotearoa and internationally.

9.2 Indigenisation

9.2.1. "Pūrākau" and "pieces of paper"

> *Nō reira kei roto i te tuakiritanga, kei roto i te whakapapa ō mātau ngā kirituna, ngā kiriwai o Ngāti Ohomairangi, o Ngāti Oho, o Ngā Oho tae noa atu ki te ōrea. Ko taua ōrea e ai ki ētahi kōrero nā Wairaka… Ā i tiputipu ana, i pakari ana te tipu o ngā ōrea. Kei reira tonu i ēnei rā nei. E tika ana te hāngai o ngā kōrero ki ēnā o ngā whakapapa. Kia mau tonu ai te hitoria, ki ngā pūrākau, e tū tonu nei tō tātou kura.* Therefore, the eels and aquatic creatures, including the longfin eel, of Ngāti Ohomairangi, Ngāti Oho and Ngā Oho are in our identity and genealogy. That longfin eel, according to some of the narratives by Wairaka... And the eels were expanding and their growth was strengthening. They are still there these days. The application of the narratives to those genealogies is appropriate. We need to retain the history and the legends, so that our school can continue to exist.
>
> *If you don't have a proper induction programme new teachers and kaiako are trying to learn by osmosis. At the moment induction doesn't include what co-governance means in day-to-day practice. People just learn as they go. If it's not in their face or talked about via professional development and committees then it's just a piece of paper. A pōhiri at the beginning of the year and then what?*

How schools create awareness and sustain accurate tangata whenua narratives, and their relationship to teaching and learning, remains a critical question. This is particularly pertinent, given the introduction of *Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories* and *Te Takanga o te Wā* curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2023a). From 2023 schools and kura are required to "ensure that all ākonga in our schools and kura learn how our histories have shaped our present day lives" (Ministry of Education, 2023a). In order to centre and strengthen the tangata whenua narratives and characteristics of Waiōrea, Royal's (2005) three-dimensional articulation of Indigeneity and Indigenous knowledge is applicable here. For example the presence of ōrea as a valuable contribution to the local ecology, and as a metaphor for teaching and learning success, becomes a tangible and provocative frame to think with. Ōrea narratives intentionally privilege mana whenua and tangata whenua experiences and knowledge bases of local places historically, presently and into the future (Webber & O'Connor, 2022). Being attuned to the layered stories of tangata whenua relationships with local ecosystems opens up the potential to strengthen an institution's place-based connection politically and culturally.

The hopeful possibility of amplifying the accounts of Indigenous nations in teaching and learning hold a number of structural and relational implications for liberal schooling. Hoskins and Jones (2022) distinction between "Indigenous inclusion" and "Indigeneity" discourses are pertinent. Relationally Māori leaders used Māori terms such as "whanaungatanga" to describe how they affirm relationships of difference amongst each other: "*In the spirit of whanaungatanga we also want to be supportive of one anothers achievement whether you're in Springs or Waiōrea."* In this sense, pedagogical and philosophical differences are not a zero-sum game; rather *whakapapa* becomes a source of engagement between people and ideas, guided by an ethic of endorsement *and* responsibility. In this way tikanga Māori "makes ethical and practical demands on everyone: they are not simply about 'including Māori' (Hoskins & Jones, 2022, p. 5). This is an unsettling proposition for schools who at best aim for Indigenous 'inclusion' and 'equity', or at worst continue to ignore Indigenous conceptions of teaching, learning and success. As Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) and Milne (2017) argue, such settings preserve a form of schooling that privileges Eurocentric, monolingual, standardised terms. The reality is that these Eurocentric environments are out of step with the growing political and cultural power of Māori nationally, and Indigenous revitalisation efforts internationally. Antiquated, Eurocentric, monocultural schools are racist because they disadvantage local communities by ill-preparing them to engage skilfully in a complex world of intercultural relations.

Tikanga such as whanaungatanga and whakapapa are key Māori philosophic values and co-governance schools are provoked to structurally and relationally reposition themselves in light of their strategic implications. It involves reconstructing and/or refining governance arrangements so that previously incommensurable Indigenous political and cultural demands are legitimated in their own right (Hoskins et al., 2011). Here institutional policies, practices and resources would be based on and embody growing Indigenous values, beliefs and knowledge about the world. From an Arenditian standpoint, there is a re-aligning of teaching and learning activities and goals; they become open-ended in order to avoid 'mastery', and invite 'plurality of thought' amongst Māori and non-Māori (Nixon, 2020). This is a direct challenge to the current new public management technocratic and assimilationist assumption that schools "teach to the test" in order to ensure a "quality education" for all (Milne, 2022). Rather, it suggests that teaching, learning and assessment methods centre on recovering and sustaining Indigeneity (Tawhai, 2020).

The inference is that school leaders develop and advance holistic and dialogic content that is meaningful to Indigenous learners and their local communities (Ford, 2020;

Hoskins, 2018; Milne-Ihimaera, 2018; Smith, 2009). In Aotearoa pūrākau have been a powerful means to illustrate the diverse ways Māori have strategically integrated historic and new knowledge into their own evolving worldviews (Hoskins et al., 2020; Lee-Morgan & Martin, 2021; Murphy, 2019; Webber & O'Connor, 2022). By prioritising Māori accounts of reality, curricular subjects are structured so that topics are not "ticked off" by teachers and students alike, but remain open to the possibility of learning as the class goes on. The guiding assumption is that learning design is infinite and limitless, as opposed to "knowing all that there is to know" about the subject or one another. These concepts are not new to Indigenous ways of being and meaning making of their world. In Aotearoa the fluid and dynamic learning between teacher and learner and vice versa is commonly referred to as the process of "ako" (Riwai-Couch, 2021). Heke et al. (2018) and Hipkins (2021) argue, curiosity about the complexity of phenomena, and a humility in the face of heteronomy, become key ways of designing, implementing and evaluating teaching and learning. In co-governance the potential is there for learning spaces to enhance the quality of relational difference *and* similarity amongst students, staff and their environments.

Under co-governance arrangements the notion that public education is neutral is disrupted (Freire, 1972b; O'Sullivan, 2021). The re-centering of Indigenous narratives in liberal schooling invites a plurality of thought and being (Kincheloe, 2011; Nixon, 2020; Tawhai, 2020). In this sense, Seddon High School's origins in the 1960s become complicated when multi-layered Māori political and cultural discourses are recognised, shared and traversed. This is a powerful counterweight to inconsequential or shallow value placed on tangata whenua accounts of a schools location and purpose. Honouring Indigenous accounts of survival, creativity and advancement strengthen the teaching and learning potential of critical curricular and pedagogies for all (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008; Milne, 2017; Paris et al., 2020). Critically, this ensures that local pūrākau maintain their vibrancy and relevance to the local learning community (Murphy, 2019; Webber & O'Connor, 2022). Here Māori learning discourses are not constricted to paper-based reified explanations, nor are they at risk of perpetuating a domesticated singular 'taha Māori' or tokenistic approach (Metge, 2010; Smith, 2012). Rather they reinforce the teaching and learning values and aspirations of Indigenous ancestors, and their relevance today and tomorrow.

In this setting an interpretive approach to using Māori accounts, based on political and cultural elements that impact on Māori lives, are applied (Tawhai, 2020). These become artfully adapted to engage the senses of the human body, which inspire and match the aspirations and needs of present and future generations. The school

changes its direction of travel away from mere “inclusion” of Indigenous people and values, to the “normalisation of Indigenous knowing and ways of being” (Hoskins & Jones, 2022, p. 3). As Hoskins (2010) found in her study of co-governance in education: “Māori are positioned to creatively determine their own educational priorities and practices rather than merely adopting the concerns of schools", which results in Māori teachers being “pedagogical examples for broader school practice” (p. 187). To restate the emphasis of the Waiōrea leader above: “*Kia mau tonu ai te hitoria, ki ngā pūrākau, e tū tonu nei tō tātou kura.* We need to retain the history and the legends, so that our school can continue to exist.”

9.2.2 “He kura ā-nuku, he kura ā-rangi” and “A school within a school”

> *Ko te hua o ngā tamariki. Ko te ngakingaki i te māra, te ngakingaki i te purapura, kia tupu kia rea. Ko te puāwaitanga o ngā ao e rua, ko taua āria kei reira: kua oti kē te ngakingaki, ā, ko aua wāhanga ko ngā hua, kua puāwai. He kura ā-nuku, he kura ā-rangi.* It is the benefit of the children. It is cultivating the garden, cultivating the seeds so they grow and multiply. The fruition of the two worlds, that concept is there: the cultivation has been completed already, and those parts, the fruits, have come to fruition. Sacred learning in the heavens and on earth.
>
> Western Springs College and Ngā Puna o Waiōrea operate collaboratively from one location. Chris Selwyn is principal of Ngā Puna o Waiōrea, a Te Reo Māori immersion kura; Ivan Davis is principal of Western Springs College, a state co-educational, co-governance secondary school. Students flow between the schools, according to their year level and course choices (Ngā Puna o Waiōrea, 2023).

The first quote above, from a Waiōrea leader, typifies how kaiako and whānau referred to Waiōrea – they described it as a “kura.” For them this included a way of weaving together esoteric and practical elements of te reo and tikanga Māori into teaching and learning. The esoteric or hidden treasure of learning entails a humble recognition of Indigenous wisdom and divine laws: *“He kura ā-nuku, he kura ā-rangi.* Sacred learning in the heavens and on earth.” These teachings and learnings are made practical by applying intergenerational methods – both traditional and contemporary – for ākonga and whānau. This is a primary foundation of the very existence of Waiōrea.

The discourse of “a school within a school” is the public articulation of its co-governance philosophy. Linked closely to this expression is a “best of both worlds” discourse. Kaiako and teachers used this framing to explain how “space” for the rumaki was enabled to develop and respond to kaupapa Māori and bilingual aspirations of local whānau and wider community. For example, leaders and staff talk about Waiōrea “students getting the best of both worlds” through “their immersion education” and their ability “to pluck out of Springs the specialisms that they [Waiōrea] can’t deliver

themselves: physics, chemistry, history and English all at the senior levels." A tangible outcome of this is that "subject choices for our kids" are available for Māori immersion ākonga, which can be difficult to access in other Māori immersion environments. Because Waiōrea is not zoned they attract a large proportion of diverse whānau and ākonga throughout Tāmaki Makaurau who philosophically align to the two-worlds philosophy of the school and kura. Participants explained that these educational provisions, and the unzoned characteristic of Waiōrea, means their ākonga come from diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Participants acknowledged that the socio-economic and linguistic backgrounds of Waiōrea students contrast significantly to Springs students who generally come from monolingual and middle to higher socio-economic households.

A "school within a school" and "best of both worlds" discourse ensures that Waiōrea has a "*voice at the table.*" As one leader explained: "*that's where the true benefits of co-governance and collaboration really shows.*" That is, the ability to *"pluck out"* curricular from te ao Māori and Western-based disciplines is foundational of its co-governance character. Based on this expression of te Tiriti o Waitangi co-governance educational administration, Māori benefit, but so do non-Māori students and families. For example, non-Māori also have the opportunity to benefit intellectually and spiritually from the fusion of Māori and Western curricula.

The principle that Māori have a voice in decision-making, and by extension curricular choices on-par with their non-Māori counterparts, align to liberal egalitarian, fair and inclusive governance regimes (Dahl, 1998). In these contemporary constitutive structures, governance aims to hold in tension "partially conflicting and partially complementary interests or goals" in order to achieve "peaceful coexistence" (Aligică et al., 2019, p. 23). By extension liberal governance regimes exist on a spectrum and are shaped by the cultural and political aspirations of those who create and implement them (Freire, 1972a; Jackson & Mutu, 2016; O'Sullivan, 2021). With reference to co-governance, local expressions of power-sharing between two sites of power – Indigenous and non-Indigenous – largely depend on the political, cultural and relational capacities and capabilities of those involved (Bargh & Tapsell, 2021; Grey & Kuokkanen, 2020; Hoskins, 2010; Mika et al., 2019). Carroll et al. (2020) argue that paradox "flourish in contexts of complexity and adaptability", and are made up of "competing frames or discourses which seem to contradict themselves, involve an "and/and" logic, or play on oppositions, but nonetheless represent some form of truth" (p. 7). During my learning conversations, a continuum came into view: I noticed that different assumptions of what is and what is not "co-governance" created paradoxes

and tensions at all levels of the school-kura. The contradictions were amplified because of the variable political, cultural and relational capabilities of those involved in the kura-school.

I deduced that a core feature of the continuum was the paradox related to fundamental differences between Māori discourses of “kura”, and Western discourses of a “school within a school.” At the base of this tension are divergent understandings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its governance implications. For example, if a “kura” is at once esoteric and practical, it also sits within an ecosystem of related whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori governance values. A critical part of this ecosystem is its own Māori authority and self-determination (Marsden, 2003; Mikaere, 2016; Mutu, 2022). Waiōrea and co-governance originated primarily out of Māori, and non-Māori allies' aspirations for an education system that recognises and values Māori teaching and learning philosophies in their own right. However, during my fieldwork these commitments to Māori authority became troubled and strained. The cumulative impacts of the COVID 19 pandemic and ensuing kura-school decision-making responses, amplified historic and present conflicts between the kura and school. At a philosophical level there is a mismatch between the purpose and pedagogical philosophy of a “kura” and a “school within a school.” These are fundamentally different conceptions of teaching and learning.

Given Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the basis of the kura-school co-governance approach, I suggest it be used as a durable, albeit imperfect, framework to understand these mismatches *and* point to potential responses. Implicated here are tensions between Article 1 (Kāwangatanga – Crown/Western governance) and Article 2 (tino rangatiratanga – Māori authority, self-determination). When the pandemic hit, Waiōrea became subsumed *within* Western Springs structures and processes. Waiōrea leadership and authority to determine their own response – in concert with Springs – became negligible. They became subject to the wider Western Springs umbrella. As one leader reflected: *“Respect us and our intelligence. We can organise and run things as Māori. At least give us the respect to be able to do this ourselves.”*

The kura became subsumed: it became “the school *within* the school.” This dynamic mirrored macro power-sharing challenges between Crown and tangata whenua groups in response to te Tiriti the pandemic (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). Despite the best of individual intentions, during times of challenge and stress such as the pandemic, the relationship defaulted to a top-down kāwanatanga response. This default had the impact of obscuring and marginalising the potential of tino rangatiratanga and

honourable kāwanatanga responses to critical issues of shared concern. This instance was a neglect and contravention of the kura-school te Tiriti relationship and character.

Spence and Sekercioglu (2023) found that during times of crises the status quo of unequal power-relations between settler governments and Indigenous nations is reinforced. What could be a productive te Tiriti response that disrupts this default? While disagreements are inherent in the expression of dual authority, the political glue of the relationship exists in the preamble of te Tiriti. Under the preamble there is an explicit intention towards a committed, relational and peaceful co-existence. When times of challenge arise, which is the nature of political relations, the preamble can act as a circuit breaker to these conflicts. It is a reminder of an enduring relationship. It recognises and respects the mana and dignity of each group. Importantly it redirects leaders towards the potential of the "relational sphere" to address common questions and problems (Came et al., 2021; Charters et al., 2019; Jackson & Mutu, 2016). Investment in growing te Tiriti political, cultural and relational capacities will help to consolidate the spirit and character of both institutions. Advancement of these capacities would unveil the differences between "kura" and "school." It extends the multilogic and courage required to be active in, and respectful of, co-governance relationships and structures. To neglect this nuanced learning erodes relational trust by allowing seeds of distrust and cynicism to grow (Dennison, 2022).

9.3 Settler-colonial change

9.3.1 "Is it the kūmara or the potato you want?"

If the reclamation of te Tiriti-making for non-Māori in Aotearoa involves, as Casey-Cox (2014) argues, being attuned to the conflicts and contradictions between Indigenous and Western values and institutional logics, what attunement strategies emerged for non-Māori in the kura-school? The question posed by a Waiōrea leader - *"is it the kūmara or the potato you want?"* - is a rousing place to start

> *One of the main challenges is understanding both sides. For us, it's not just the traditional English model of success we want, it's also a truly indigenous educational successful student. Is it the kūmara or the potato that you want? If we're talking about successful ākonga what is our common understanding about this? What is the common goal or objective? I'm coming at it from this angle, and you're coming at it from that angle, so we may have differences. What is the true common goal?*

A considered response to these questions requires an understanding of the significance of *kūmara* (sweet potato) as both a delicacy and a figurative expression in te reo Māori. In some Māori language contexts kūmara is a symbol of Māori voyaging,

settlement and sustenance. In others kūmara is used as a discouraging remark about a person displaying hubris about their skills and expertise. In yet others, such as in private or closed settings, the kūmara allegory describes pride in human effort and success. Depending on the context, kūmara paints a rich image of Māori society and different human characteristics. The other side of the binary - *the potato* - can be used in Māori contexts to describe Eurocentric thought and processes, the arrival of Europeans, people of European descent, and/or the impacts of colonialism. On the face of it, "is it the kūmara *or* the potato you want?", is a binary question. Yet upon deeper reflection, it is about discerning the purpose and process of co-governance education. It is an invitation and challenge to enlarge one's views about the very basis of education in Aotearoa by considering the implications of both educational philosophies. For example, there may be contexts where growing potatoes – European knowledge, expertise and skills – are desirable. In other environments nurturing kūmara – Māori knowledge, expertise and skills – takes precedent. In others still educationalists may determine that both are of value and complement each other in a variety of ways. In staying with the metaphor, next I analyse non-Māori responses to the different learning environments that produce either and/or both crops. I suggest these contemplations affirm and contribute new understandings to non-Indigenous change in bilingual and dual-curriculum education.

9.3.2 "The way the Waiōrea teachers engage with their kids is totally different."

Exposure to Māori performing arts, in this instance Waiōrea kapa haka, powerfully reshaped non-Māori perceptions of ākonga and Waiōrea as an institution. They suddenly became aware of the varied leadership roles, responsibilities, commitment and passion required by ākonga and their Waiōrea colleagues to be successful. An alternate world of ākonga and kaiako came into view for non-Māori participants. Being with ākonga and their kaiako in Waiōrea spaces-places created what Williams (2017) terms a "decolonizing conscientization". Kaiako and teachers talked about how these experiences resulted in *"the lights being turned on."* They witnessed ākonga *"confidence and success."* Classroom implications of this consciousness included strengthened relational pedagogies as teachers better understood ākonga and their learning potential: "*We need to see students in contexts where they really succeed."* A holistic-view of success came into view. Similarly, non-Māori families linked the presence, strength and support of Waiōrea kapa haka with an institutional culture of student belonging and care. These parents came into contact with the warmth, support and challenge involved in kapa haka for ākonga, kaiako and whānau: *"The difference in the way the Waiōrea teachers engage with their kids is totally different. It's eye-*

opening to parents because it's so emotional, tactile and supportive." The role of kapa haka in shifting consciousness of non-Māori countered the "white spaces'" - stereotypes and negative ideas about what Māori can achieve or not (Milne, 2017).

Non-Māori emotional responses to kapa haka contributed to a new appreciation of Māori worldviews. Specifically, these experiences helped to legitimise Māori authority in supporting educational success for Māori (Bright et al., 2023; Hall & Bowden, 2021). People experienced the sweetness of the kūmara. In Huygens' terms (2011) this sweetness contributed to "building a conscious collectivity" (p. 76). A corollary of the sweetness of the kūmara revealed the labour – time, love, responsibilities and demands – required of Waiōrea colleagues to sustain their institution. As a consequence, teachers started to consider their own responsibilities in supporting the kūmara garden. These processes affirm Huygens' (2011) analyses that when non-Indigenous people become part of a conscious cultural collective they "take responsibility for the impact that settler colonial culture has on indigenous people" (p. 76). For these teachers two uneasy power dynamics between both institutions came into view: 1. awareness of inequitable workloads of Waiōrea colleagues; and 2. teacher uncertainties about how to support their Waiōrea colleagues. Next I interpret these related views.

9.3.3 Non-Māori paralysis: "How can we give away power without creating more work? I just don't want to get it wrong!"

Like Hoskins (2017) I interpret the establishment of Waiōrea, and dual-medium learning environments generally, as contributing to a vital form of Aotearoa politics. These are politics that contribute to Māori cultural survival and access to political authorities, which are critical for a relational and dynamic political life. For non-Māori teachers in dual-curricula and bilingual settings the consequences of these politics are manifold. It prompted them to reconsider what particular tasks may or may not support Waiōrea colleagues. More broadly, it put te Tiriti responsibilities and potential into thought and practice. This aligns with Nairn (2002) and Bell's (2014) assertion that disrupting the colonial status quo – dominant Western values, ideologies, logic and processes – results in a new awareness that different kinds of decolonisation work is necessary for non-Indigenous people. First, they critically considered the institutional realities, both material and relational, that faced Waiōrea and Springs respectively. They were critically aware of the inequitable *"amount of time Waiōrea gives compared to us.*" For example, in order to "*maintain kapa haka and whānau relationships*" and "*hold that school together*" they witnessed their colleagues working *"outside of scheduled school time"* such as evenings and weekends. In comparison to their own

workloads, teachers concluded that kaiako workloads are "*insane*" and "*unsustainable.*" They discovered a mismatch between the time demands in Springs and those in Waiōrea. Given this disjuncture, they began to reflect on a second step - what considered actions they could take to affirm "mana relationships." Hoskins and Bell (2021) describe mana relationships as a form of "embodied politics" between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups that "interrupt particular flows of power" in order "to ignite commitments to justice" (p. 519).

In this second step they asked themselves the following anxiety provoking question: *"how can we give away power without creating more work? I just don't want to get it wrong!"* Here they questioned and owned their own majority culture worldviews. This process helped them *"to get our feet under ourselves."* They wrestled with concerns about potential misappropriation and assimilation of Māori knowledge and practices in their personal and professional lives. For example, they acknowledged their variable confidence in understanding, let alone applying, tikanga and te reo Māori. They did not want to try *"to be Māori"* when they were not. As one teacher exclaimed, *"I'm culturally Pākehā, and everything I design means it's tainted by that worldview."* The notion that a Pākehā cultural worldview would "taint" engagement with te ao Māori reinforced a paralysis orientation. This recognition did not put people off. Instead they were excited about pushing "*the boundaries of biculturalism*" through learning from one another about co-curricular design.

Given their concern and anxiety about taking responsible actions, the third step included growing their own te Tiriti confidence and capabilities. Early in their work with Waiōrea they received the message that "*it's not our job to teach you te reo and become culturally competent.*" While "*shocking*" at first, they began to release that "*for too long the rumaki has had to lean towards us.*" In response they accessed professional learning and development about mātauranga Māori and its relationship to their subject areas. At the same time they invited Waiōrea to inter-departmental meetings to brainstorm shared and different goals. There was a collective commitment to design and lead out a curriculum that legitimated Indigenous and Western knowledges. At this point expectations and boundaries of the group were articulated. A co-teaching approach was agreed to and put into place. The group agreed to remain open and adapt this model as they went. Importantly, they ensured there was structured time in the course to check-in with one another to see if content and pedagogies *"reflected co-understanding."* When under pressure, this helped them resist the default to "*white and western understandings.*" Being together and holding the learning lightly with a sense of humour was important: *"You can't do it alone. We're*

learning as a group about te Tiriti and tikanga together. We're awkward together and it helps!"

It is out of the scope of this research to ascertain the impacts of this work on the success of their Māori and non-Māori students. Neither is it possible to gauge the ramifications for systemic professional and institutional learning and change. Nevertheless, this snapshot affirms and contributes to theories and practices of settler-colonial change in dual-medium learning environments. With te Tiriti as a guide, as opposed to a set of dogma, they intentionally cultivated personal and professional growth together *and* apart. The process these teachers are engaged in corresponds to Hoskins and Jones (2022) consideration of "how to be non-Māori" in processes of Indigenisation. In these instances of confluence Hoskins and Jones (2022) argue that "non-Māori have a level of comfort with discomfort. They do not demand to know everything about Māori, or that Māori become fully comprehensible to them. They relax a bit and orient themselves to the relationship, its limitations, and the richness it holds" (p. 11). Teachers and kaiako demonstrated responsibility, humility, courage, humour and a foundational commitment to walking an unknown path together *and* apart. To positively contribute to co-governance they realised that strategies and practices must be active, dynamic and discerning.

Next I analyse the institutional changes and praxis I noticed in Waiōrea-Springs. I pay particular attention to discourses about te Tiriti co-governance at macro and micro levels. I then turn to educational leadership, and focus on contested ideas of "responsibility, accountability and transparency" that emerged.

9.4 Institutional change and praxis

In order to counter injustice, educationalists are turning towards theories and practices of institutional change and praxis that disrupt racism and colonialism. Co-governance at Waiōrea-Springs is located within these wider societal and educational discourses. In Aotearoa, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is often promoted as a platform to identify Māori and non-Māori educational aspirations and inequities, and creatively consider a range of just alternatives and responses to both. A unique characteristic of this approach is the systemic and relational belief that two forms of educational authority working in concert can and will benefit Māori and non-Māori in different ways. Next I interpret two institutional contradictions in my fieldwork and their potential to spark positive institutional change. First I explore the disjuncture between macro and micro policies regarding Māori educational success, the Ministry of Education and the kura-school.

Second I interpret contrasting discourses of “responsibility” and “accountability” held by Springs and Waiōrea and their consequences for co-governance decision-making.

9.4.1 “We’ve broken the box, and the Ministry needs to understand the challenges of co-governance”

Historically strong relational trust between leaders, kaiako and teachers led to growth and success of rumaki education in Springs. This dynamic - alongside a local primary school being the first to establish co-governance - resulted in the conception of a potential Springs-Waiōrea co-governance relationship. However, if a dual authority was to be established and adequately resourced, it required national-level endorsement from the Ministry of Education. Carroll et al. (2020) assert that alternate governance arrangements are characterised by bridging “micro conversations happening often at a local or community level and macro conversations happening in the government or institutional sphere” (p. 3). In this sense, co-governance can be understood as a form of adaptive governance. For example, at a macro level Māori education strategies such as *Ka Hikitia* and *Tau Mai te Reo* focus on Māori achieving educational success by giving “practical effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the education system” (Ministry of Education, 2023c). For the kura-school at a micro level, a co-governance approach made practical sense: there was mounting community demand for a dual-medium and dual-authority secondary school learning option.

Ka Hikitia - Ka Hāpaitia (Ministry of Education, 2023c) sets out five interrelated outcome domains and creates a commensurate conceptual framework for co-governance. These domains are based on a range of educational evidence and public consultative rounds with Māori and non-Māori about their aspirations for Māori education now, and into the future (Tomorrow’s Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018a). One of the rhetorical domains includes *Te Rangatiratanga*, described in *Ka Hikitia - Ka Hāpaitia* as “Māori exercise their authority and agency” in education (Ministry of Education, 2023c). Under this domain it asserts that:

- We will support whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori to develop and lead Kaupapa Māori pathways within our education services.
- We will support whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori to participate in the governance and leadership of education services.
- We will grow the ability of education agencies and education services to give practical effect to the Kāwanatanga roles in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
- We will monitor our performance and report to Māori learners and whānau so they can hold us to account (Ministry of Education, 2023c).

Kura-school narratives about entering into, and expressing agency and authority over Māori education with the Ministry yielded institutional inconsistencies and tensions. The

kura-school found themselves in a liminal space. One Waiōrea leader described this as being “in-between”: they were neither an independent kura, nor were they a department of the school. Instead Waiōrea wanted to “*remain with our Springs peers.*” They wanted to leverage existing relational trust by creating an adaptive governance approach that fused the best of te ao Māori and Western education. However, this adjustment was nonlinear and presented an uncertain challenge to the Ministry of Education. This was new educational territory for all involved. There was a shift away from a traditional unitary governance model towards a more complex co-governance approach, where relational and structural authority was to be shared. The proposed shift represented a tipping point. Leaders experienced this tipping point in two key ways: perceived contradictions in Ministry to kura-school rhetoric; and a lack of human and financial resources to assist the shift towards co-governance.

When meeting with Ministry officials, leaders experienced a disconnect between macro policy rhetoric of “Māori success as Māori” and applying this at the micro level of the kura-school. Leaders laboured to justify how their collaborative approach between Waiōrea and Springs “*can work in a mainstream environment and how good it can be.”* They found Ministry responses to their proposed alternate arrangement as “*exceptionally condescending*”, “*a mockery of MoE’s professed priority learner strategies*”, and made bare the Ministries *“narrow vision and box about how co-governance could work.*” They likened Ministry understandings of te Tiriti and co-governance as a form of “*tunnel vision”* where the kura-school could *“only fit in that box or that box.”* Critically, this study did not elicit the perceptions of Ministry officials involved in this process. Despite this limitation, from the perspective of participants, the rhetoric and practice of Māori exercising agency and authority in education risked becoming symbolic. It lacked substance and commitment from the State. In order to temper this the kura-school “*made sure our academic progress was always at top level.”*

I suggest that such justifications, based on national standard data, correspond to what Nichols and Griffith (2009) call “evidential accountabilities” in schooling (p. 243). The possibility of an adaptive model of shared relational and structural power was undermined by macro level exercises of power and control. Within a new public management paradigm, the school was disciplined to conform to a results-based vertical management regime through the provision of quality student outcomes (Burns & Köster, 2016). Local relational trust and commitment to the Tiriti-based power-sharing became obscured by national level policy and administrative patterns. These patterns prioritised standardised monitoring procedures over local community expertise

and visions of social and cultural justice. Leaders valued vertical forms of accountability such as standardised test scores. Indeed they leveraged this data as required. However, as Milne-Ihimaera (2018) found in her case study of State interventions in Māori education, officials focused "entirely on literacy and numeracy measures as the only definition of real success", which "rendered all other indicators to the margins" (p. 268).

Like Hooge (2016), I posit that this dynamic unveils tensions between vertical and horizontal forms of educational governance. This presents a conceptual and material challenge about how the Tiriti-based educational success is understood and accounted for at macro and micro levels. In my research, this mismatch resulted in Ministry and kura-school disputes over human and financial resourcing of co-governance. As a school leader remarked: "*we're out of the norm and doing something different. Schools are not resourced to do any of this."* If co-governance is to be trusted and adopted in other educational environments, I suggest terms of te Tiriti-based accountabilities and responsibilities be analysed for their material and relational implications at macro and micro levels.

I have found Pence's (2021) institutional analyses applicable here. This examination brings into critical view the range of concepts, theories, linkages, administration, education and training resources that reinforce unilateral forms of governance. Pence's (2021) process of institutional analysis inevitably unveils mismatches between the rhetoric of Tiriti-based purposes and functions. It holds in view the everyday consequences of te Tiriti-based co-governance for Māori and non-Māori. Related forms of institutional analysis, such as Came's (2021) Critical Tiriti Analysis, also become a resource for institutional change. Its emphasis on institutional te Tiriti orientation with a focus on practical application of the preamble and articles in policy and practice, provide politically and culturally responsible inquiry. Combined, I suggest these forms of institutional analyses assist educational and allied agencies identify how te Tiriti is actioned or not. Importantly such inquiries do not assign blame to individuals or one agency. Instead, responsibility for te Tiriti understandings and actions are collectively held by Māori and non-Māori. Here vertical evidential accountabilities become balanced and integrated with horizontal accountabilities. In this instance Crown agencies move away from a position of power and control, demanding standardised Western norms of achievement. Instead, institutions are repositioned as facilitators and enablers of adaptable co-governance where unequal power relations between Māori and non-Māori in education are identified in order for cultural and political justice logics to emerge.

9.4.2 Questions of “mana”, “responsibility” and “accountability”

> *Me pēhea e taurite ai, he mana ōrite ai ngā waka e rua, kei hea mai te mana motuhake? Kei hea mai te tino rangatiratanga i runga i te waka hourua?... Nā reira ko te pātai ia, ka pēhea e noho ōrite ai te Māori me te Pākehā i roto i te whakaaro kotahi. He mahi nui.* How can [co-governance] become balanced, that both canoes have equal power, where is the self-determination? Where is the sovereignty on the double-hulled canoe?... Therefore, indeed the question is, how can Māori and Pākehā live in equality in unity of thought? It is a big task.

I noticed that participants' worldviews diverged about what constitutes “co-governance.” Participant ambiguity became most vivid to me when complex questions arose about the ways responsibilities and accountabilities are shared and delegated. The quote above is a powerful example of this ambivalence. Can multifaceted Māori descriptions of “mana” co-exist alongside Western notions of “responsibility” and “accountability”? Is it possible to be self-determining within a co-governance arrangement, and if so, what are manifold structural and relational implications? In order to interpret this complexity, Seo & Creeds’ (2002) dialectical examination of institutional adaptation in the face of contradiction was a productive way of understanding and harnessing these incongruities. This dialectical approach brings into focus Metge and Kinloch’s (1978) enduring observation of the pitfalls of “talking past each other” in cross-cultural educational leadership. During exchanges Indigenous and non-Indigenous people inherently bring their cultural assumptions to bare, which shape contours and boundaries of the conversation. An extension of this are institutions that encode these assumptions in their policies, processes and administration. Existing imbalances in power relations can result in a misread of words and actions.

The first contradiction included external dimensions, that is, the relationship between the kura-school and Ministry of Education. In this instance leaders shared how the Ministry of Education funding policy and processes were not amenable to a co-governance administration. Based on a standardised process the Board Chair and Principal were accountable to Ministry of Education auditors in order to receive funding. Here, a one size fits all pattern of school administration is assumed. I found Balls’ (1999) description of discourse economism relevant. Under new public management paradigms, financial compliance was imposed that aims to hold the kura-school accountable for the standard of education they provide. However this formulaic process undermined the co-governance character of the kura-school. It demonstrated to school leaders that “*we can’t do things “co” if that’s how things are delegated*.” Like Came (2011), I suggest that these Crown funding processes marginalise te Tiriti considerations by not adapting to a changed operating environment for and with Māori

(p. 249). It does this by positioning one set of partners over the other in relation to funding and resource distribution. This key macro-micro accountability disconnect puts co-governance relationships at risk. Unless there is strong relational trust and shared strategic directions, a default hierarchical position of educational administrative power and control goes "unchecked" by Māori governance partners. In essence the relational capabilities of the Board Chair and Principal are left to chance. Conversely, if administrative processes recognise and encode te Tiriti co-governance, differential cultural and language considerations are afforded institutional legitimacy.

Applying Seo & Creed's (2002) theory of institutional change, I noticed that this shift in awareness contributed to a new form of kura-school decision-making praxis. On the one hand co-governance has been mandated by the Ministry via the gazetting process. On the other hand, the current Ministry funding and accountability process does not appropriately account for the unique dual-authority features of Waiōrea-Springs. This incompatible macro-micro administrative process altered leadership consciousness about the operation of co-governance. Subsequently, leaders are now in a position to rethink institutional processes and interactions with the Ministry and amongst each other. I suggest that this re-examination frames and mobilises kura-school interests, and this leads to praxis. The contradictions between the Ministry rhetoric and reality resulted in kura-school leaders advocating for differentiated language and cultural schooling opportunities that represent their co-governance qualities.

9.4.3 Inequitable Waiōrea workloads: "It happens daily, every hour, it's like dial-a-Māori"

The second linked contradiction concerned power-sharing dynamics between Waiōrea and Springs. I observed that a disjuncture between workload and cultural responsibility demands exists between Springs and Waiōrea. Discourses of "responsibility" and "accountability" expressed themselves differently in each site. This resembles philosophical - ontological, epistemological and ethical - differences in conceptions of governance. As Paterson-Shallard et al. (2022) argue, negotiating two governance worldviews inevitably throws up challenges *and* potential (p. 71). Davis (2010) explains that in examining social alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada, divergent discourses mirror national and international debates about why, when and how to effectively share power.

As Hancock (2018) explains, the co-production of Māori-Pākehā pedagogies involves efforts to "actively work the hyphen in their relationships" (p. iii). In this context, the hyphen metaphor is used to describe Indigenous-settler relationships that are politically charged, never neutral, and in a constant state of development. For Waiōrea "working

the hyphen" was characterised as every day on-the-spot requests by Springs colleagues for English-Māori and Māori-English translations or interpretations; compulsory attendance in departmental, school or district-wide meetings as the only te ao Māori representative; making Māori options visible and viable school-kura wide; and unpaid teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori to non-Māori colleagues. These relational and cultural tasks were on-top of their existing teaching responsibilities in Waiōrea. Assumptions that Waiōrea colleagues were always available to help Springs colleagues were omnipresent. As one kaiako said: *"it happens daily, every hour, it's like dial-a-Māori"*. Working the hyphen included in *"the little things"* and *"the little moments."*

How management units – additional remuneration for leadership roles and responsibilities – were distributed or not was linked to concerns about inequitable workloads, Waiōrea burnout and collegial jealousy. This corresponds to what Torepe and Manning (2017) call "cultural taxation", or what Haar and Martin (2022) call the "cultural double-shift." Haar and Martin (2022) describe this phenomenon as those situations where Māori employees "feel cultural responsibility (kawenga) placing pressures on them to continue the engagement with Māori stakeholders, even if beyond the job description" (Haar & Martin, 2022, p. 18).

There was a perception from Māori and non-Māori that Waiōrea were expected to take on responsibility for supporting Springs, but were not allocated the appropriate management units for these tasks. Essentially a cultural double-shift manifested in the kura-school because Waiōrea staff work to sustain its own identity, while also being responsible to advance the Māori cultural capacity and capability of non-Māori colleagues. This cultural double-shift and "taxation" exists when the appropriate institutional recognition and resources required are insufficient for the labour required. Waiōrea leaders talked about how they "*have to live in both worlds and they [Springs leaders and staff] don't*" but that financial resources "*don't follow given my role."* Torepe et al. (2019) found such professional cultural tasks "often went unrecognised financially or otherwise by their employers and fellow colleagues" (p. 48). The paradox is that without these efforts ākonga and Waiōrea risked being ignored.

The responsibility to step up by these kaiako is what I call "generous advocacy." In this case "generous advocacy" refers to an open-handed commitment to the legitimation of Māori authority regardless of the challenges. Here advocacy happens in the micro-moments such as the hallways, doorways, staff rooms, and community events. Depending on the context, Māori make conscious choices to act or not in response to

non-Māori demands of them; they turn up or turn away. Hoskins (2012) describes this phenomenon as a "fine risk": Māori make choices about asserting their positions and identities in some contexts, while in other contexts they "close against others in self-preservation" (p. 95). This has practical and ethical implications. As one Waiōrea leader explained: *"in pragmatic and practical decision-making situations we might say "kāo."* In these instances Waiōrea risked being perceived as "*protestors*", "*aggressors*" or the "*unhappy moaning Māori.*" Yet from te Tiriti-based standpoint Māori leaders believed that they were "*just being responsive and trying to achieve the best outcomes for Waiōrea, which impacts on Springs*." This discrepancy is not uncommon in dual-medium learning settings. As Horne (2017), Torepe et al. (2019), and Hunia et al. (2018) found the complex demands of sustaining rumaki are daunting. Building and sustaining relationships amongst ākonga and whānau, coupled with teaching and leadership roles results in 'constrained', 'fragile' or 'unsustainable' institutions. As discussed, this situation resulted in a form of decolonised conscientisation of non-Māori taking responsibility for their learning, while also extending their work relationships with Waiōrea.

A co-governance analysis of change and praxis has the potential to interrupt inherited Eurocentric school hierarchies. Hoskins and Jones (2022) argue that in an Indigenising organisation there is an opportunity for "Māori leadership" to transition away from perceptions that they are "informal resources, consultants, 'Help Desk' assistance and 'native informants' for the organisation" (p. 14). I concur with this position, and suggest that a co-governance context is amenable to re-creating relationships and structures where Māori philosophies about teaching, learning and school development are recognised and rewarded. This recognition is another step towards the "mana relationships" suggested by Hoskins and Bell (2021), or in Tully's (2004) phrasing, a "dialogical turn." At a structural level, such a commitment would involve a contestation of interactions internally and externally. Applying Seo & Creed's (2002) schema for institutional change, I found that these conflicts created tensions, they also ignited new kura-school praxis. For example, inherited school hierarchical accountability would be interrupted, and new channels of accountability would need to be created. This process could be perceived as new and threatening to some. An imperative would be, as Hoskins and Jones (2022) argue, to ensure open-ended notions of whanaungatanga and rangatiratanga lead the dialogue. Processes and logics of reciprocity, exchange and learning would remain at the centre. Learning from progress and setbacks would be shared collectively and individually. This ensures that the relational sphere continues to be a site of creative and in-situ responses to challenges that will arise. Here each governing authority can contribute positively to

identifying and acting on inequitable demands, and co-creating alternative paths of travel. As one teacher put it, co-governance involves a "*co-responsibility of some nature."* How those roles and responsibilities are understood, shared and acted on remains an open question. I will explore these dynamics next.

9.5 Relational justice

> *Kia āta kimi, kia āta inoi, kia āta rangahau i ngā rākau e tōtika hei tua, kia turaki, hei tārai i tō waka i ō waka rānei. Ko te horopaki o taua kōrero, ko te āta whakatau i ngā whakaaro, te āta rangahau i te huarahi hei whakatere nei i tō waka. He aha te whakarautaki? E haere ana tō waka ki hea? Ki hea whakatere ai tō waka? E ahu ana tō waka ki hea? Ko hea wāhi haere ai tō waka?* By carefully seeking, requesting, and researching the trees which are appropriate to fell, to pull down and sculpt your canoe or canoes. The context of that statement, is to carefully decide the thoughts, and to carefully research the path by which to navigate your canoe. What is the strategy? Where is your canoe going? Where is your canoe being navigated to? What direction is your canoe going in? To what place is your canoe going?

For the purposes of my research I draw on and contribute to Hancocks (2018) description of relational justice between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Hancock describes these relations as "a meaningful exchange that is at once always already political, profoundly ethical, deeply human, powerfully pedagogical, and cultivates a way of life that, for some, is spiritual" (Hancock, 2018, p. iii). It recognises an injustice has occurred and continues to permeate relations between groups. In order to interrupt these unjust relations, both groups embark on learning and unlearning in order to live well, and apart. The resulting process is a revised set of relations directed towards visions of justice. Based on this conception, I suggest that relational justice begins with a re-centering of Indigenous knowledge and experiences while also examining non-Indigenous responses to these claims. I conceive of relational justice as a critical exploration of interpersonal relations within wider social, political, cultural and spiritual environments. It is a form of relational ethics that encapsulates fleeting mutuality and recognition as contingent.

What follows are three every-day examples of relational justice dynamics in action. First I explore the instances of racism experienced by participants in the kura-school. The embedded nature of racism – structurally and relationally – in public services, and education specifically, is a key experience of Māori people (Came et al., 2021; MacDonald, 2018; Skerrett & Ritchie, 2021). The second focus is on, as one participant articulated, the search for "*a just, open and connected relationship."* I follow Hancock's lead (2018) and locate this quest as one that resists "false promises of clarity and certainty embedded in the fantasy of formulaic responses." Here I interpret the implications of this position in relation to decision-making. Finally, theme three

concerns adult perceptions of young people's teaching and learning experiences. I interpret these perceptions with reference to what young people's contributions could be to the field of relational justice, and co-governance education generally.

9.5.1 "I see racism in the subtle attitudes that my kids have brought home. It's from Māori and non-Māori teachers"

There was a recognition amongst the majority of participants about how different forms of racism undermines the theories and practices of co-governance. Racism has a shape-shifting constitution to it, finding expression at relational and structural levels, both explicitly and implicitly. Interpersonal racism manifested in utterances - verbal and physical - that were perceived as dismissive, stereotypical and patronising of Māori generally, and Waiōrea specifically. As one kaiako explained, racism occurred in the daily "*little things*" and "*little moments.*" Interpersonal racism was coupled with a fear of being accused as racist by ākonga and colleagues. I noticed that despite the new material learning space provided for each site, such as the redevelopment of Waiōrea, the relational micro-moments of racism undermined 'concrete' manifestations of power-sharing. The levels of value ascribed to te ao Māori by adults and young people alike, had important implications on content and pedagogies by learners and each educational institution. This pattern generally mirrored fraught power-relations at play between Māori and non-Māori in wider society. A consequence of this relational tension between teachers and kaiako included how to respectfully initiate Waiōrea-Springs collaborations. This ambiguity was reflected in patterns of interaction between ākonga and students in each site.

I propose that perceptions of interpersonal racism are especially clear at kaiako-teacher and ākonga-student levels when discussing transitions between campuses. At a ākonga-student level the adjustment included the compulsory year 9 te reo and tikanga reo Māori programme. This mandatory programme illustrated the relational and structural commitment of the kura-school to valuing Māori knowledge, teaching and practices. This programme provided an important leverage point in countering racism. For example, it has the potential to reinforce the value of te reo and tikanga Māori continuity between primary and secondary schools. More generally, it introduces all students to the co-governance character of Waiōrea-Springs: the ability to harness learning between Māori and non-Māori worlds.

I noticed that the symbolic value of this compulsory programme was recognised and important to the characteristic of co-governance. It was reinforced by Waiōrea kapa haka and school wide events, such as morning karakia and pōwhiri were mediums of

vibrancy. At the same time, participant narratives alerted me to questions of non-Māori engagement and participation in te reo and tikanga Māori learning after the year 9 course. There was little discourse about the *substantial value* of the programme, or the impacts of similar programmes in other secondary schools. I started to inquire about how non-Māori students and families are encouraged or not to sustain this learning beyond year 9. For example, in what ways is the year 9 programme valued, recognised and extended in other subjects? Linked to this were the delicate year 11-12 Waiōrea transitions between campuses. Waiōrea staff and whānau were attuned to this critical transition point because it made a qualitative difference to the learning experience of ākonga and their ongoing success or disengagement. One whānau member described the consequences of Waiōrea transition to Springs in the following ways: "*going into a shell", "not as open", "they're whakamā over there" "sitting at the back of the class", "fear of asking a dumb question in front of all their non-Māori peers."*

The experiences of transition between sites have alerted me to symbolic *and* substantive questions about the challenges and benefits of engaging with te ao Māori and Western knowledge in co-governance learning settings. The creation of time and space to grow trusting relationships, and share knowledge and experiences between sites, characterised the successful transition experiences of Waiōrea ākonga in and out of Springs, and vice versa. The presence, or lack of, role-modelling between staff via formal co-design and co-teaching were based on *individual capacities*, as opposed to *structural and embedded* kura-school wide priorities/efforts. Considerable questions remain about the collaborative capacities and capabilities of kaiako-teachers and leadership. I noticed that the relational and pedagogical differences between sites have the power to amplify *and* mitigate perceptions and experiences of interpersonal and structural racism.

9.5.2 Coming to know: "Stepping up to have a just, open and connected relationship"

Two particular characteristics of co-governance arrangements are their enabling *and* constricted constitutions. Martin (2010) argues that integrated governance regimes create "dynamic tensions" where "duty and accountability are closely related to the exercise of authority and to governance" (p. 12). In this sense collaborative decision-making involves addressing questions with reverence for complexity. In order to engage with this complexity, Sautelle (2020) suggests paying attention to collective systemic intelligence; that is those energy fields created when different people and organisations attempt to collaborate. Because these environments are often unpredictable Sautelle (2020) suggests an orientation towards *emergent practices*.

Emergent practices arise out of careful probing, sensing, and responding to unpredictable environments (Sautelle, 2020, p. 9). Next I focus on the emerging practices people found useful in co-governance praxis. I use the phrase emerging praxis, because it draws attention to the messiness and paradoxes of relational power-sharing for justice. For example, what '*could be*' (collaborative power relations i.e. "*just, open and connected relationships*") is enmeshed with what *'is'* (contested power relations i.e. "*in pragmatic and practical decision-making situations we might say "kāo").*

The 'why, what, and how' of (re)establishing relationships that legitimise Indigenous and Western worldviews in education is necessarily complex. For co-governance to take shape and develop, attunement to individual and collective power-relationships are critical. In her analysis of these power-relations Hancock (2018) asserts that Māori-Pākehā engagements are characterised by unknowable terrain. In this sense acts of recognition between two or more distinct groups are only ever partial. In the face of unknowingness a fluid set of theories and practices of co-governance develops. As one leader exclaimed "*we will make mistakes or missteps"*, and that people will "*slip on bananas.*" This acknowledgement, alongside taking responsibility for the slips, resembles humility in the face of ignorance or obscured directions of travel. Acceptance and responsibility for making mistakes interrupts cosy ideas of "unity." Bell (2014) suggests that when ideas of unity and togetherness are interrupted, the result is discomfort. In response, leaders talked about "*continuing to lean against the edges until more ground and acceptance is gained."* This presupposes that "*the mistakes themselves are less important than how we resolve them.*" Sautelle (2020) proposes that decision making in uncertain and unpredictable settings – where discomforts arise – require a set of reflective questions at individual and systemic levels. Questions such as

- What assumptions am I/we making?
- How could I/we be wrong?
- What don't I/we know?
- What do I/we need to know? (Sautelle, 2020, p. 17)

Arendt's philosophy of an "enlarged mentality" is valuable here (Arendt, 1961). This concept foregrounds human capabilities, which is "to think with the enlarged mentality—that means you train your imagination to go visiting" (Arendt, 1978, p. 257). Like Arendt I am deeply sceptical of closed fields of thinking, what she termed "thoughtlessness" and "unworldliness." For Arendt, closed systems give rise to an unquestioning of authority that have dangerous philosophical and every-day implications (Nixon, 2020). This recognition eschews a monologic that cuts off our

potential to take a multiplicity of standpoints, ask different questions and enable praxis. Importantly Foucault (1980) reminds me that human action and agency are borne out of asymmetrical power relations, which can always be disrupted and changed. As one participant explained, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is "*not something that you do once and that's it. There has to be ongoing work and mutual understanding."* This acknowledgment of human capacity to think, judge and act hints at "the possibility of further new beginnings in which the individual enters the world of human action and human agency" (Nixon, 2020, p. 17). As another leader explained, co-governance involves a "*need to learn as we go, and allow for some organic stuff as well*."

I posit that developing co-governance praxis involves recognising the patterns of power relationships at play within and external to the environment. Co-governance, like related complex governance approaches that challenge the status quo, demand an ongoing process of critical reflection and refined action. This is an internal and external process of decision-making. Seo and Creed (2002) propose that these forms of praxis take shape because of uncomfortable interruptions to the status quo. Like Casey-Cox (2014) I found that when instances of contradictions come into view, and were learnt from, the possibility of alternate ways of being and acting together took shape. Relational justice in co-governance involved cultivating the art of taking multiple perspectives, and a process of becoming. As Hancock (2018) explains, transformational pedagogical relations between Māori and non-Māori involves attending to the qualities in the changing relationship. This is an unsettling process. It brings into sharp relief our personal assumptions, the contingency of our relationships with others, and what is possible when we listen to understand and act.

9.5.3 "Co-teaching requires a lot of trust between each other. But once trust is built, it creates a learning opportunity."

A limitation of my study was the exclusion of young people and rangatahi experiences of co-governance teaching and learning. However, based on the reflective narratives from adults I deduced two elements about the impacts of co-governance on young people's teaching and learning experience. First, was the potential to grow co-governance curricula and co-teaching, and linked to this, the potential to foster young peoples and rangatahi respect and recognition of different worldviews in learning. Both elements contribute knowledge about the implications of embedding different knowledge systems in teaching and learning. Importantly, they speak to the questions of how, as McDowall and Hipkins (2019) identify, teachers can "balance student agency and knowledge" (p. 51).

Waiōrea-Springs co-design, co-teaching and assessment for learning in a subject area resembled what Hooley and Levinson (2014) call a “discursive curriculum” and “discursive learning environment.” Philosophically, there was common ground amongst kaiako-teachers to explore the knowledge, values, beliefs and viewpoints between mātauranga Māori and Western sciences. The co-governance character legitimised efforts of staff to collaborate. However conceptual and philosophical legitimacy was necessary but not sufficient in and of itself. Differing Waiōrea-Springs timetables and existing heavy workloads presented structural barriers to collaboration, which is consistent with research into curriculum integration (Bonne & MacDonald, 2019; McDowall & Hipkins, 2019). As one kaiako said: *“I am careful about how I build relationships with different departments and where my energy is best placed*.” They made these decisions based on the commensurability of their disciplinary area towards integration, but more importantly, the relational qualities of their collaborators. The team made it a priority and carved out time to develop guiding principles, goals and plans. They took “*baby steps*” by focusing on one year level and learning as they went; there was a reliance on their disciplinary and practical know-how to make it co-curricular happen.

Kaiako-teachers talked about how co-curricular knowledge and expertise was shared through a tikanga Māori process such as a “*tuakana-teina relationship.”* The implication was that while conceptual relationships were being created between different worldviews and “content areas”, they were also being forged amongst colleagues. The quality of tuakana-teina relations opened people up to how worldviews could be integrated in some instances, and not in others (Hipkins, 2021). Again, the relations went deeper than content knowledge and expertise; they also included learning about “*pastoral care, communications, behaviour, student capabilities.”* This was a decentering process for some. As one teacher explained: *“It challenged my assumptions about what the potential of the students are.”*

While there are existing dual ākonga and student leadership roles in the kura-school, there is a perception that general knowledge and support for co-governance amongst young people and rangatahi is shallow. In order to counter this, there are a number of ways to create relational and structural conditions for co-curricular processes to take shape between Waiōrea-Springs. McDowall and Hipkins (2019) found secondary schools are trialling a range of integration approaches from “small-scale experimentation involving pairs of teachers” to “a radically different timetable structure”. However, for effective collaboration to take place there must be deliberate support from leadership (Bonne & MacDonald, 2019; McDowall & Hipkins, 2019).

I noticed that co-curricular development between Waiōrea-Springs created opportunities for kaiako-teachers and ākonga-students to explore different worldviews. At the same time, co-design and co-teaching holds the potential to decenter potential negative perceptions towards the other. Ākonga and student-led initiatives demonstrated the power of rangatahi and youth action to bridge differences between Waiōrea and Springs. The conditions of collaboration between kaiako-teachers could be amplified, and or adapted by students and ākonga. To do so, existing collaborative efforts must be strengthened and learnt from. These small-scale collaborative efforts demonstrate pockets of promise that could create an evidence base to demonstrate the benefits and challenges of co-design between campuses. At a strategic kura-school-wide level there is untapped potential to deliberately inquire, sense and respond to what counts as a unique co-governance education. This would involve seeking out ākonga, student, whānau and family views about what the qualities and challenges of co-governance education are now, and into the future. Finally, with changes to the NCEA framework, secondary schools must now demonstrate "parity for mātauranga Māori in NCEA, and it has equal value with other bodies of knowledge" (Ministry of Education, 2022a). The co-design efforts between Waiōrea-Springs also hold macro level implications for other settings who are beginning, or trialling integration te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori into the design of achievement standards.

9.6 Summary

My analyses of the learning taking place in Waiōrea-Western Springs regarding co-governance are open-ended, as opposed to summative. Because co-governance at Waiōrea-Springs entails working with two forms of governing authority, an openness to travelling an unclear path involves perpetual contestation *and* a committed responsibility to one another. This research shows that when Indigenous and Western discourses intersect, deep disagreements can become omnipresent and further entrenched. To counter this collision Maddison (2015) argues it is vital that the relationship does not avoid "'explosive issues of history, politics and identity" (p. 1021). Following in the footsteps of Hoskins (2010, 2018), I suggest that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is an imperfect but necessary framework from which to do this work. Indigenisation, settler-colonial change, institutional change and praxis, and relational justice, provide a powerful set of relational and structural analyses about why and how Māori and non-Māori can develop their political, cultural and relational capacities. They are amenable to fostering an ethical gaze regarding independence and interdependence in co-governance education.

Chapter 10: Implications: Co-governance as situated freedom and responsibility

10.1 Introduction

Co-governance is situated in a contemporary liberal political paradigm mediated by ongoing economic, environmental, social and cultural dilemmas facing society. My research suggests that co-governance relations and structural arrangements are profoundly contextual. In this chapter I outline some key implications of this research. I group these implications into five key areas: 1. Implications for decision-makers; 2. Implications for me and my family; 3. Implications for Tauiwi; 4. Implications for schools and organisations; and 5. Implications for research methods. I complete this concluding chapter with some final reflections.

10.2 Implications for decision-makers

10.2.1 Coercive co-governance?

Critically, as my inquiry advanced, I became alerted to the different ways co-governance remains open to coercion by Western and liberal institutional logics. The scholarship of political theorists inspired me to dig deeper into these dynamics (Asch et al., 2018; Cornell, 2018; Kuokkanen, 2019; Maddison & Nakata, 2020). Maddison (2022) explored the implications of agonistic reconciliation efforts between Indigenous nations and settler states. If political agonism in liberal colonised states is constituted by a plurality of power-relations, she wonders

> What, then, might be done to enable an agonism that is material and structural in that it seeks radical reform to liberal democratic institutions, including but not limited to land tenure, rather than an agonism centred on discursive conflict, which inevitably drifts towards inclusion because it only addresses decolonisation as metaphor? How might agonistic reconciliation foster radical innovation in the settler democratic institutions that perpetuate contemporary settler colonialism? What role might contemporary treaty processes play in enabling such innovation in political institutions? (Maddison, 2022, p. 1319).

The questions posed by Maddison led me to examine rhetorical devices commonly used in liberal governance and co-governance such as “accountability” and “transparency.” What are the relational and material consequences of these terms when cultural worldviews converge? What discourses and resources are being drawn on when diverse Māori and non-Māori talk about “accountability” and “transparency” to one another, and the groups they are serving? How do these linguistic and cultural conceptions diverge and converge? I argue that current imbalances in power relations

between Māori and non-Māori can result in a misread of each other's words and actions. A structural misread can include how state actors impose decontextualised matrices on school and kura communities. At times this can lead to disjuncture between the every-day priorities and aspirations of local school, kura and the state. This misread can be intensified when non-existent, or at best shallow interpretations, of te reo and tikanga Māori are taken up and placed in a new public management environment. My research endorses Metge and Kinloch's (1978) observation of the fallibility of these encounters. At the same time my thesis extends on their interpretations. I found that 'talking past each other' can result in a powerful learning experience between groups. When moments of dissonance, paralysis and discomfort take place, if an ethical concern and responsibility for one another is present in process, 'talking past each other' can also be a catalyst for positive change and praxis. To pay thoughtful attention to the contradictions in our relations, implies that we are capable of change, to adjust and make socially just decisions together. We can invest time into planning *and* we can act, we can draw on mātauranga Māori and Western knowledge *and* experiment with both. Short-term and long-term visions for te Tiriti honouring relations are interdependent; we can lean into both to support our work, and learn as we go.

10.2.2 Wicked problems and wicked opportunities

If the ongoing violence of colonisation is a 'wicked problem', I propose that te Tiriti-based co-governance is one of many 'wicked opportunities' before us. The interface of Indigenous nations and settler states is politically charged and never neutral (Freire, 1972b; O'Sullivan, 2021). With this awareness in mind, I argue that co-governance as a contemporary manifestation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi relations, do not guarantee "mutually beneficial" relationships between Māori and non-Māori. Rather, te Tiriti offers an unfinished sketch of what relational and structural co-existence *could be*. Articulations of co-governance in a range of public and private spheres are the latest iteration of this impulse. I suggest that it is up to us how we sketch these directions. They may be vivid or opaque. Co-governance opens up a nexus between assimilatory and genuine (albeit imperfect) forms of relational and structural power-sharing. This nexus creates a multitude of possibilities for engaging with competing aspirations of Māori and non-Māori regarding issues of common concern. I deduced that growing *internal* and *external* capabilities and capacities for co-governance relationships and structures are critical. Given the colonial context of relational and structural imbalances between Māori and non-Māori, internal and external capabilities are weighted differently, and hold different implications for each group. A positive orientation and

inquiry into these differences, and experiments in addressing them, gives rise to a thoughtful range of responses and alternatives.

Foucault's (1980, 2000) analysis that power relations are productive – they can produce positive and negative process and outcomes – reminds me that co-governance is in a perpetual state of becoming. It directs me towards an expanded notion of Burrow & Tully's (2018) *situated freedom* between Indigenous-settler groups by amplifying *situated responsibilities*. I have found Martin (2019) and Hoskins et al. (2011) discussion of respons*ability* useful in order to recognise the codified and ethical dimensions of justice claims between Indigenous-settler groups. As Martin articulates, "codification, with specific accountabilities, codes do not exhaust the ethical demand of respons*ability"* (Martin, 2019, p. 20). Bauman and Donskis (2013) assertion that "mutuality" between groups has reminded me that ethical relations are always mediated by a range of conditions: temporal issues of time, space, language, culture, identity and political-economic power all shape its contours. In response, it is vital that the "ethical gaze" of these relations are not obscured. Seo & Creed (2002) reminds me that when these conditions are challenged the status quo of institutional logics are also interrupted. The current contestation of political relations between Māori and the Crown, and the mediating role of te Tiriti, potentially inform and reconstruct justice positions and practices of each group (Hoskins & Bell, 2021).

10.3 Implications for me and my family

10.3.1 "Ao rua, ao puāwai - two worlds coming together in blossom?"

After 7 years of attempts to conceive, two unsuccessful rounds of in vitro fertilisation treatment, in mid 2019 during the research and writing for this thesis, we found out that we were expecting a baby girl. At 9:30pm on 30 June, 2020 we welcomed Hautonga Mary Hotere-Barnes into the world in our home surrounded by whānau. Hautonga Mary is a miracle baby. My work and vision is intimately connected to her, the life we hope she will experience, and the miracle of being a father.

On her maternal side Hautonga Mary is a descendent of Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Wai and Scotland. On my side I can trace her heritage to England, Ireland, Germany and France. She is named after her late grandfather Hautonga, and my late mother Mary. She holds the hyphenated name "Hotere-Barnes". Each of her names signify the mana and integrity of her heritages. The whakatauākī "Ao rua, ao puāwai – two worlds coming together in blossom", was gifted to me as a way of understanding how to walk in-between Māori and non-Māori worlds.

As briefly introduced in chapter 1, after one and half years after Hautonga Mary was born, our marriage ended. The parallels of researching co-governance, going through a marriage separation, and learning to become a co-parent is not lost on me. The birth of my daughter, our marriage ending, and what I have been learning from my research and te Tiriti education are all interconnected. These experiences unveil powerful new learnings, and affirm old understandings. They hold personal and scholarly relevance, and I explore these relationships in more depth below.

10.3.2 The realities of relational impermanence and emotional flux

It was in trying to process the breaking of the covenant that I understood our marriage as impermanent. How I and others respond to a transient and an impermanent reality is an open question. I am reminded of World War Two holocaust survivor and psychiatrist Viktor Frankl's stirring quote: "Between stimulus and response there is a space. In that space is our power to choose our response. In our response lies our growth and our freedom." For me, the sudden end of our marriage forced me to seek support, forge a new path for myself, and ensure I was in the best of health to care for my young daughter, be a responsible co-parent and continue my studies and work. Overwhelm, regret, fear, grief, anger and sadness continue to be part of this experience; *and* they do not make up *all of who I am*. When difficult emotions arise, I am learning to attend to these bodily senses, and choose responses that are in service of myself and others. I continue to remind myself of the whole picture, and its changing frame.

What have my personal reflections got to do with a study exploring co-governance in education? In my research I noticed co-governance relationships can similarly go through ups and downs. How groups respond to this emotional flux matters. They hold material and relational implications in the moment, and into the future. If, as Metge (2010) says, te Tiriti was "intended to be ongoing, reciprocal, based on trust and good faith and mutually advantageous" (pp. 5-6), how do we return to these values when they are broken or absent in ourselves or the Other? Here the relational qualities, skills and capacities of leadership, courage, pausing, discernment and generosity are demanded of all. To share power in a relational sphere demands we stretch our capacities and capabilities while also, at times, holding our ground or changing our perspectives.

Second are the material ongoing impacts of colonisation on my family's choice to raise Hautonga Mary in a Māori learning environment. As a second language learner of te

reo and tikanga Māori, and product of kaupapa Māori educational movement, I have made it a priority to make my home a te reo Māori friendly environment. Te reo and tikanga Māori is the foundation of my relationship with my daughter. I do not speak English to her, and we have adapted tikanga Māori for our home. When we are in public we speak Māori together. Her mother, also a second language speaker, uses te reo Māori as the primary language with her. Fortunately, Hautonga Mary also has a wider family who speak, or are learning to speak te reo Māori. Her whānau are well-connected to their hapū and local marae. We are privileged to be in this position. Indigenous language revitalisation and renormalisation efforts are most successful in the home, drawing on natural supports such as family, and Indigenous language domains (Bright, Hunia & Huria, 2019). This network – familial and professional – of te ao Māori provides us with a set of capacities and capabilities many people do not have. Yet this does not make us immune from structural and relational forms of monolingualism and monoculturalism that we consciously and consistently defy. As my colleagues aptly noted in a research project on te reo Māori educational transitions: "Successfully learning te reo Māori through the education system can be as much a game of chance as playing Snakes and Ladders" (Bright et al., 2017, p. 6). I will discuss some of the implications of this game next.

10.3.3 Playing snakes and ladders

Despite the emergence of kaupapa Māori learning options such as kōhanga reo, we have found that finding a reo and tikanga Māori rich learning environment that shares our values is rare and risky. They are *rare* because of the demand: there are long waiting lists for 'reputable' centres with no guarantee of placement despite family commitments to language revitalisation. These centres can also be outside the local community involving long-distance travel. They are *risky* because of the shortage of skilled te reo Māori teachers and leaders, which impacts on the relational and structural integrity of the centre. These are just some of the implications of cultural and structural racism in education; consecutive Crown decisions have negatively impacted on te reo and tikanga Māori learning opportunities (Ngata et al., 2022; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2012). The result of those decisions continue to impact our family, and those like us, today.

Despite the material barriers facing te reo and tikanga Māori learning opportunities in education, I take inspiration from the educationalists and community members in this research. Te Tiriti o Waitangi offers us a foundation, albeit a shaky one at times, to stand on and seek positive changes that we know is possible. These changes can happen in our spheres of control: I choose to speak and deepen my learning of te reo

and tikanga Māori in and out of the home. This is a practical act of revitalisation and resistance to monolingualism and societal racism. Educationalists continue to advocate and find creative ways to legitimise and express mātauranga Māori in our education system and local communities. The growth of Māori social enterprise, business and not-for-profit organisations help to revitalise and normalise Māori preferences and practices. I take inspiration from these movers and shakers. They do not wait for permission from institutions or a culturally racist society; like their ancestors before them, they harness their individual and collective power and get on with the work of justice.

10.3.4 Becoming a border crosser

In chapter 1 I described the dilemma of choosing to walk and be in-between Māori and Pākehā worlds. I posed a number of personal questions related to this shifting position. This study has refined my responses to these deeply personal questions. First, *who am I, and why am I here?* To borrow Henry Giroux's phrase (2005) I am becoming "border crosser", or as Joe Kincheloe phrased it, a "bricolage" (Kincheloe, 2011, 2021). I am curious about the cultural and political interface between Indigenous and non-Indigenous philosophies and its manifold implications in society. Depending on the context, I use imperfect categories to identify myself: ethnically Pākehā, male, heterosexual, "able" bodied, and middle class. At the same time, as I have wandered down the road of this thesis, I have settled more into my own skin. I have come to realise the utility and futility of these markers. I am now more confident in naming and moving away from a monological gaze of the world. This opens me up to embrace and appreciate the complexity of the lived world. In Māori terms *whakapapa* continues to deepen my evolving understanding of self and my location in the world. I can draw on this concept to describe my multiple connections to Māori peoples, and Indigenous people generally.

10.3.5 Speaking up, shutting up

Second, *when do I stand up,* and related to this, *when do I speak up, and when do I shut up and get out of the way?* To many, I realise that the way I physically present and am in the world affords me privilege and power. I can use this position as a circuit breaker. Drawing on Casey-Cox's (2014) political act of 'noticing', I can stand up and interrupt dominant order logics that position Indigenous ways of being and doing to the margins of society. This includes exploring, articulating and advocating for Māori narratives and experiences. In this process, humility is vital. I must continue to find ways to position myself in relation to these narratives and contexts in ways that counter

the risk of a patronising position of the “Pākehā saviour.” Borrowing on the feminist term “mansplaining”, I call this process “honkeysplaining.”

To be clear, honkeysplaining is not a form of ethnic essentialism - the seductive idea that specific physical, cultural, social characteristics are essential to ethnicity. Rather, what I aim to provoke is an awareness that while I and other non-Māori like me may speak Māori and have strong relationships with diverse Māori, I/we will never “know” Māori realities, nor is it my or our place to falsely claim these positions. I will never be an “expert” on Māori society, neither is that my position. As Te Kawehau Hoskins (2021) put it: “Māori don’t want you to be Māori, they want you to think positively about how you can have productive relationships with Māori”(Hoskins, 2021). The opposite of honkeysplaining is to take a durable and appreciative position towards my own cultural identities and the diversity of te ao Māori. I need to remain open to what I can learn from Māori, and through this process, learn more about myself.

10.3.6 Stuffing up, getting back up

Colonisation erodes trust and faith in ourselves and one another. I am a small reflection of these broken power-relations. Given this reality, *how do I get back up when I stuff it up?* To interrupt patterns of injustice, I must consciously choose patterns of vitality and justice. When I lose my footing and fall, I must recognise the unsteady ground I am on. I need to tend to the root of the issue: we have inherited a set of unjust relations that have dehumanising consequences. These dynamics play out each day. In the face of this violence, I need to call on a range of personal and interpersonal resources - intellectual, physical, and spiritual - to pull myself up. I am learning to breathe; kindly attend to and take responsibility for myself; reflect with trusted others about what I can learn and do differently; I “refill my cup”; I keep going. I then repeat the process with the (perhaps) naïve hope of more skilful means. To use the cliche “I am perfectly imperfect.” The sooner I embody this humbling reality, the better I will be at standing upright here.

10.4 Implications for Tauiwi

> There has been a method to the forgetting that has taken place in my family; a reason the ghost stories of the Armed Constabulary and the farming of confiscated land went untold for so long. My version of the historical amnesia that applies more broadly to the New Zealand wars has allowed me to avoid (until now) the uncomfortable paradox I have walked you through here (Shaw, 2022).

For Tauiwi coming to terms with “the uncomfortable paradox” of colonisation, as Richard Shaw acknowledges, is an enabling frame to think and be with. I have been

publicly and privately challenged about my engagement in tikanga and reo Māori. As prominent kaupapa Māori scholar-activist Leonie Pihama (2013) argues: “within a ritual context of pōwhiri, Pākehā men can be provided space to have voice, why then are our women so fervently denied that space?” (Pihama, 2013, p. 51). The benefits I have been afforded due to my bilingual and cross-cultural upbringing, coupled with my economic class and gender status, raises its own uncomfortable paradoxes. It can both hamper (reinscribing cultural and political privileges) *and* encourage (inspire and provoke an ‘ally’ positioning) justice positions and practices.

This research, with the support of my supervisors and Te Ohu Rangahau, has implored me to keep an eye on uneasy, and at times painful, contradictions between Tauiwi-Māori power relations. Reading Seo and Creed (2002) illustrated to me how paradoxes can unveil disruptive experiences, and therefore lead to important relational and structural changes that challenge oppression. This study has highlighted how co-governance contradictions are rife, and these encounters can enable non-Māori to change. One of the significant changes include being able to hold multiple perspectives on an issue. Importantly, this leads people to ask different questions of themselves and others. Here, I return to the much quoted line of Aboriginal artist aboriginal artist, activist and academic, Lilla Watson: “If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time, but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together” (Wikipedia, 2023). The paradox here is to hold togetherness *and* difference at that same time. They both have productive effects and affects. Based on this study, I have come to deduce three broad and linked elements of Tauiwi change: 1. Who am I, who are we?; 2. Begin where our feet are; and 3. Flexibility of mind, heart and hands. They are inspired by, and aim to contribute to, existing theories of majority culture change proposed by Metge (2010), Kirton (1997), Huygens (2011) and Milne (2017).

10.4.1 Who am I, who are we?

The first change opportunity is to reflect on who we are individually and collectively. What is it that we believe and value? How and who have shaped our ways of being and doing? When discussing Pākehā cultural change Huygens (2007) reminds us that when Pākehā understand themselves as a cultural collective, we are in a better position to “take responsibility for the impact that settler colonial culture has on indigenous people” (p. 76). For those who do not identify as Pākehā or Māori, the challenge remains relevant, but key reference points will differ. Either way, we all have the capability to discontinue “a benign colonisation”, where Western assertions and assumptions are naturalised and hegemonic (Huygens, 2011, p. 56).

10.4.2 “Begin where your feet are”

Second, as Māori educationalist Wally Penetito reminds us, it is always possible to “begin where your feet are” and then “spread out into the world” (Te Kere Ipurangi, 2023). I conceive of this as about locating oneself in relation to the land, and thereby strengthening our connection to it. We are capable of seeking out and becoming aware of the stories of our local places, and how these connect to wider relations of power with our own people, and with Māori. A sense of belonging is vital to our wellbeing. As Casey-Cox (2014) argues, “the ways we belong suggest the responsibilities we hold. We need to know how we belong” (p. 245). The plea from a Pākehā teacher that all staff should learn from Māori stories of the whenua before beginning to teach, speaks to this. Non-Māori attunement to the multiple narratives of tangata whenua relationships with local ecosystems reinforces an institution's place-based connection politically and culturally.

10.4.3 Flexibility of mind, heart and hands

Finally, how are we learning from Māori ways of being and doing? Metge (2010) argues that an “association with Māori encourages flexibility of mind”. It is through these exposures and encounters that new understandings and agency can be generated. Or as Huygens (2007) puts it, through our work with Indigenous peoples “alternatives to dominance are possible in inter-group relationships” (p. 74). In these inter-group relations, I found Hoskins and Jones (2022) suggestion that non-Māori need to ‘learn *from’* - as opposed to ‘learn *about’* - te ao Māori a powerful provocation

> This ‘learning from’ is not simply learning some facts about history or tikanga or language; it also, crucially, involves learning from the subtle ways that culture is lived in all interactions. Given that relationality, or relationships, are the heart of Māori engagements, the processes (including time, space, humour, persistence, generosity, forgiveness) of engagement are also to be learned from being with Māori (p. 11).

My research has reaffirmed my intuitive sense that majority culture change is much more than an intellectual exercise. As Hoskins and Jones (2022) suggest, relationality with Māori is also about the power of the soft skills. In my experience, and in the narratives of many of the participants, this work requires holding it all lightly. As one of my Uncles says: “this work is serious, but we should not take ourselves too seriously.” In order to sustain the course virtues of humour, persistence, generosity and forgiveness are invaluable. In my personal experience, they are also the hardest to cultivate. The categorising mind is powerful, but it can only go so far. Challenging

racism and keeping a steady eye on what is possible demands we make the space and time for “hard fun” (Gilbert, 2014).

Through the prism of co-governance, this thesis contributes to understanding the relational and material dynamics at play between Indigenous and settler groups. More specifically, I have been deliberate in elucidating the learning taking place amongst non-Māori as a result. I hope that by highlighting how members of the majority culture negotiate power dynamics, tensions, changes, and learning potential with their Māori colleagues, I can contribute to emerging Pākehā and Tauiwi change praxis. This thesis is part of a mosaic of enabling theories and practices that counter oppressive relations, serve Indigenous self-determination, and promote an ethic of respons*ability* and intercultural solidarity (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008).

10.5 Implications for schools and organisations

10.5.1 Talking back to tokenism – individual and institutional responses

The term “tokenism” comes up often in my Te Tiriti o Waitangi education work with schools and organisations. The standard story goes something like this: “I am on-board with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I want to do my best by Māori students and their whānau. I just don’t want to be tokenistic!” A more specific and real-life example goes like this

> During Māori language week, a Pākehā secondary teacher started to put up Māori language posters and Māori translations in the school staffroom. She wanted to make te reo visible and encourage her colleagues to use whatever they could. She was following the suggestions and examples of reo and tikanga Māori advocates. She wanted to ‘normalise’ te reo in a majority English speaking space. In taking this action she experienced backlash. A handful of her non-Māori colleagues accused her of “being token”. This set her back. She questioned if what she was doing was superficial, cringy, and at worst, hopeless. She became paralysed. She posed the question: *how do I do this work without being tokenistic?*

Perceived cultural tokenism is closely related to fears of cultural misappropriation; being a phoney and “inauthentic.” Non-Māori teachers in this study also questioned if their efforts to learn from te ao Māori and collaborate with Māori colleagues, perpetuated tokenism. This research, coupled with the feedback I am receiving in my professional life, has encouraged me to *talk back to tokenism.*

Fears of cultural tokenism hold a form of intelligence. To ask if our work is shallow, symbolic without substance, or inappropriate demonstrates critical reflection in action. This is uncomfortable and necessary work. It suggests a willingness to interrupt patterns of cultural misappropriation and marginalisation. It illustrates a disruption to

the dominant monolingual order. Returning to the real-life example above, I asked for more information about the teachers' context. I inquired further

> Me: Was this the first time she had put up te reo Māori signage and images in her work?
> *Teacher: Yes.*
> Me: Was this the first time this had happened in the school?
> *Teacher: Yes.*

Based on these responses, I deduced that regardless of whether these efforts achieved their purpose (to encourage awareness and positive behaviour towards using te reo and tikanga Māori), the teachers' efforts were the opposite of tokenistic. At an individual level, what could be perceived as 'tokenism' by one person is a big leap of faith for another. In the example above, the teacher was stretching herself: she had noticed the monolingual work environment, was inspired to normalise te reo, and took action. I have come to learn that regardless of how "big" or "small" the perceived actions of individuals are, if they are *continuous* in their attempts to break habits of monolingualism and monoculturalism, this is not tokenism. The point is this: ongoing "little" actions add up over time. I suggest that there is an appetite to revise terms such as tokenism. Left unchecked, at an individual level a simplistic 'tokenism discourse does little to invite and advance urgent change. It cynically undermines an open orientation to the potential of Te Tiriti o Waitangi praxis.

At an institutional level Māori cultural tokenism in "white spaces" takes a slightly different shape. A primary purpose of this study has been to surface knowledge and experience about the "why, what and how" of co-governance in education. My intuitive hunch is that "co-governance" could be naively "scaled up" in educational organisations. Current strategic directions in education support this impression. The Education and Training Act 2020 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2020) explicitly states that "the purpose of this Act includes establishing and regulating an education system that honours Te Tiriti o Waitangi and supports Māori-Crown relationships." Meanwhile, the Māori education strategy *Ka Hikitia-Ka Hāpaitia* (2020) refers to "Te Rangatiratanga: Māori exercise their authority and agency in education" (Ministry of Education, 2023c). These legislative and policy drivers are important. They build on previous iterations by the Crown to legitimise Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a foundational and internationally significant characteristic of our education learning systems and environments. My concern is best articulated by Metge (2010) who suggests non-Māori institutions avoid two interrelated "pitfalls"

> The first is tokenism; making gestures in the interest and respect but going no further, for example, putting Māori names on the outside of a building without modifying the procedures followed inside; or appointing Māori as advisers but ignoring their advice. The second is appropriation, thinking you know their culture

> better than they do and putting them right, or treating what you have learnt as your own and using or changing it for your own purposes (p. 7).

Metge's advice remains poignant. Addressing the tokenism dilemma involves attending to relational changes – the presence of quality of relationships that can sustain ups and downs – *and* keeping an eye on material impacts. Making symbolic external changes that are not aligned to internal change is a contradiction. In this instance, I have learnt to ask how a school's Māori name, values and/or policies interrupt the disproportionate rate of Māori standdowns and exclusions? What kinds of information is the school and community collecting about what contributes to such disproportionality and disparities? The focus here is on the quality and coherence of educational processes and outcomes. Pence's (2021) analysis of institutions is relevant here

> When an institution's intervention in people's lives produces consistently positive results, we take for granted that the institution "gets it right"—it brings to bear its resources and powers of social management in ways that improve the everyday lives of the people. In contrast, when an intervention generally produces negative results, there has to be something amiss in how workers are organized to act on people's situations as cases (p. 17).

Given this form of institutional analysis, potential questions to counter tokenism in schools could be: how is the vision of "Māori succeed as Māori" reflected in our pedagogy, content, community engagement and outcomes? What criteria would indicate we are succeeding or not? What adaptive changes could we make in the immediate, medium and long term to ensure we are living up to Māori success? The implication for schools and organisations is to continue to emphasise the need to address institutional racism, and in doing so, anticipate and plan for relational (growing capacity and capability of staff and community) and structural changes (what is taught, how and why). Institutional tokenism regarding te Tiriti can be addressed by developing responsive systems of accountability to Māori (internally and externally) and the communities being served. However, this accountability is manifold: it also includes school leadership having the courage to creatively respond to community-based racism if they receive backlash about Te Tiriti o Waitangi honouring curricular and pedagogies.

10.5.2 Ruminating on the rise of rumaki

It is nearly 35 years since dual medium/rumaki in English medium settings were created under the Education Act (1989). Since this time, there has been a lack of coherent research and evaluation about the learning outcomes of students, staff and local communities who participate in these settings. I suggest that the few studies that do exist point to productive areas of inquiry that could positively contribute to discussions about the manifold characteristics of co-governance in education (Hōhepa,

2010; Horne, 2017; Hoskins, 2010, 2018; May et al., 2004). For secondary schools in particular, increasing investment into the role and educational impacts of rumaki would contribute to the administration of “mana ōrite mō te mātauranga Māori - equal status for Mātauranga Māori” in NCEA. The lessons from early childhood and primary settings would be invaluable.

As a consequence of this study, I have become curious about the fuzzy distinction between an “integrated curricular” and an “assimilative curricular.” For instance, in what ways do processes of co-design and co-teaching constrain and enable Māori self-determination in education? Revising the dimensions and continuum of capabilities of rumaki in English-medium education settings, originally developed by Hōhepa (2010), offers a commensurate inquiry framework in response to this question. These inquiries would point to the structural (costs, outcomes) and relational considerations (skill development, retention, training) of meaningful and responsive co-governance approaches.

Beyond the compulsory education sector, there are important co-governance and collaborative efforts taking place in public health, environmental and community development. The broad brush issues may be similar or familiar, but responses will be nuanced and distinctive. An implication is that effort be made to initiate cross-sector research about what elements hinder and enable the Tiriti-based power sharing and praxis. I suggest such a project would contribute to a mature discourse about te Tiriti and its application (positive and negative), and general contribution towards goals of social and cultural justice in Aotearoa.

10.6 Implications for research methods

As a reflexive qualitative researcher I aim to be aware of the limitations and openings of this inquiry. These elements challenge me to consider how to make my research a living process. Below I provide insights into the limitations and openings of my research methods. I do not perceive the ‘limits’ as *limiting.* Philosophical and practical research issues are always in play, and must be considered in turn and in the moment (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). I hope my reflections on these elements contribute positively to future qualitative research into co-governance specifically, and in cross-cultural activist scholarship generally.

10.6.1 Research limitations

10.6.1.1 Ākonga and student experiences

My qualitative method excluded the voices and experiences of diverse Māori and non-Māori students at Waiōrea-Springs. These insights would have generated interpretive depth, and contributed to important educational research about the day-to-day experiences of young people involved in education. Philosophically, student and ākonga inclusion would have been “a methodological fit” and commensurable with my philosophical orientation. Given the few in-depth qualitative studies into co-governance education and dual-medium/rumaki environments, the distinctive voices of ākonga and students would have assisted me in my quest to ask strategic questions about what languages and discourses are privileged or not (Kincheloe, 2011, 2021; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). I am critically aware of the absence of their voices.

During the design of my research I deliberated with my supervisors and Te Ohu Rangahau about the ethical and practical implications of their exclusion. We collectively agreed that eliciting adult perceptions of co-governance, and its impacts on Māori and non-Māori students, was a pragmatic starting place. It was “pragmatic” in the sense that I focused my analytic attention on the everyday realities of those adults who held the power to create the conditions of co-governance teaching and learning. Responses to questions about the perceived impacts on young people’s learning provide valuable insights into future research.

10.6.1.2 Ministry of Education and professional learning and development

The inclusion of Ministry staff and allied professional learning individuals and groups would have provided further insight into the relational and structural dynamics of co-governance. Kura-school community member criticism of the Ministry's policies and processes regarding te Tiriti, could have strengthened the institutional analysis of the research. I often wondered how Ministry staff would have responded, and in a related vein, how they made sense of the elements that support and get in the way of the te Tiriti responsibilities. Similarly collating the experiences of professional learning development colleagues regarding the kura-school co-governance theories and practices would have contributed further complexity to my interpretations and their implications. Like ākonga and students, future research with both groups into the why, what and how of co-governance education would be invaluable strategically and practically.

10.6.1.3 Historic and public discourse analyses

I have not included a history of Māori educational advancement in Aotearoa, and recognise that its inclusion would have added nuanced discussion of how Crown, settler, and tangata whenua relations have developed in education and society generally. I recognise this limitation and suggest further historic research would uncover the paradoxes and complexity of intercultural political relations (Hoskins et al., 2020; Jones & Jenkins, 2011; Simon & Smith, 1998; Walker, 1990). In a related manner, I have not included a discourse analysis of public debates regarding co-governance. Such analyses hold the potential to provide valuable critique of how public discourses constrain and/or enable relations between Māori and settler groups (Nairn & McCreanor, 2022; Stewart, 2020; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

10.7 Research openings: Non-Māori and Māori Research Ethics

The politics of non-Indigenous researchers applying Indigenous research ethics is a site of contestation (Hoskins & Jones, 2017; Jones & Hoskins, 2020; Smith, 2012). Below I share three distinctive "research moments" that aim to constructively contribute to these dilemmas. Inspired by Came (Came, 2011; Came, 2013), I extend on Pākehā research engagement with *Te Ara Tika* (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010).

The first moment regards the use of te reo and tikanga Māori and my cultural capabilities to respond effectively or not as a Pākehā second-language learner of te reo and tikanga Māori. The second relates to sensitive disclosures made to me regarding school decision-making and how I worked with these tensions. The third moment concerns changes in teaching practices amongst three Pākehā teachers as a result of our learning conversations. My reflections aim to contribute to wider qualitative reflexive discussions about cross-cultural research engagements between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

10.7.1 Research moment 1: Stretched cultural capabilities

10.7.1.2 Background

The majority of this learning conversation was undertaken in te reo Māori, bound by tikanga and kawa. Given the public profile of the participants and their advocacy for the use and regeneration of te reo and tikanga Māori, this was not surprising to me. To undertake such a learning conversation was at once exciting and challenging. Exciting because I would be exposed to, and do my best to participate in, a high level of te reo Māori fluency that would then be represented in the research. Yet I also found it challenging because I questioned whether my bodily senses – head, hands, heart and

spirit – were capable of listening, discerning and learning at such a high level of te reo Māori. Did I have the stomach for this form of learning and level of research?

10.7.1.3 Noticing and responding in the moment

I opened our first conversation with a karakia that reflected our purpose of coming together: to inquire into educational wellbeing generally, and Māori advances in bilingual/immersion education specifically. We then discussed common relational links in our respective whānau and professional lives, and recapped the purpose and nature of the research. While we had met in passing during previous educational wānanga, this learning conversation was the first time we had deliberately discussed an area of shared interest. We needed to warm up, and get a sense for each other. This process of whakawhanaungatanga – unencumbered by Western time constraints – was critical.

When I broached the first question, *exploring* the historic context of establishing co-governance, I changed the structure of the question from

> *He aha ngā mea whakakā kia whakatūria pēnei ai te kura, hei tauira, ngā āheinga me ngā wero?* What were the catalysts for setting up the school in this way e.g. opportunities and challenges?"
>
> to
>
> *He aha te orokohanga o tēnei kaupapa?* What was the origin of this philosophy?

I soon realised that changing the frame of the question in real-time took the conversation to another level. The use of the term "orokohanga" sprung us into discussions about why his Māori ancestors navigated the expanse of the Pacific Ocean in order to create a new reality for future generations.

On reflection my change in question was not well thought through. It simply arose out of a free-flowing energy generated between us through the use of tikanga: karakia to set the purpose and whakawhanaungatanga to share common points of relational connection. I had to relax into the idea that my original questions were semi-structured guides only, not a rigid checklist that I must maintain in order to create research fidelity. My rigidity was reinforced by a sense of self-doubt and paralysis that I would be unable to comprehend and respond at the appropriate level of te reo Māori fluency, and by default reverting to English. I noticed this paralysis via physical signals (tightened shoulders and jaw, increased heart rate) and mind (being quick to interrupt, ruminating on whether I used the correct or incorrect Māori words and grammar, if I should revert to English to avert self-shame about my te reo fluency).

I addressed these experiences by doing two things during the conversation. First I consciously slowed down. I did this by bringing mindfulness to my breath and then relaxing areas of tightness in the body. This enabled me to become more present to myself and the participant. Second I explained in te reo that from time to time I may need to check my comprehension in order to ensure I had grasped their intended meaning. Consciously slowing down involved speaking up when I did not understand, repeating my perceptions of his experiences, and/or asking politely if they could repeat themselves if my comprehension was unclear. Both elements acted as a form of humility in the research process, and contributed to an open dialogue bound by tikanga and te reo Māori.

Ontologically the conversation expanded. Our dialogue in te reo Māori became imbued with Māori theories and practices of inspiration, determination to survive and thrive. The ontology moved from a reduced and narrowed version of complex school relations and structures, to one that was imaginative and generative. The purpose of learning was reframed as dynamic and open to connections between people, natural elements and worldly dimensions (Hoskins, 2010). This was a significant axiological moment. It highlighted the life-enhancing power of Māori conceptions of the world through pepeha, pūrākau and whakapapa: *E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea, I shall never be lost, a seed scattered from Rangiātea* (Winiata & Luke, 2021b). Using te reo Māori enabled the conversation to stretch beyond the contemporary reasoning for setting up a co-governed school. Instead, a reciprocal openness to explore the purpose of Māori learning had been created, which spanned generations of a people's aspirations and struggles.

10.7.2 Research moment 2: "Please turn off the recorder"

10.7.2.1 Background

In this research moment sensitive disclosures were made regarding school and kura leadership tensions, which was impacting on strategic decision-making. This person, representing the interests of the kura, shared that the relationship had been fracturing over a period of time. However, the COVID 19 lockdowns during March-June and August 2020 exacerbated and laid these bare. Leaders from the kura and school disagreed about the use of resources in response to the pandemic. Emotions were high, relationships were fragile, and there was an erosion of trust taking place.

10.7.2.2 Noticing and responding in the moment

Firstly, these revelations demanded empathy. I needed to communicate clearly that I appreciated the severity of the situation. I demonstrated this in three ways. First I verbally acknowledged the distress being experienced. I empathised that leadership needs were not being met at that time, and the resulting strains in relationships were understandably difficult to hold. I attempted to see their world as they described it to me by checking my understanding with them about the situation.

Second I "zoomed out" in order to reassure them: I shared that similar tensions can arise when attempting to create a te Tiriti honouring organisation (Margaret, 2016). Decisions about why and how to fairly share and redirect scarce resources based on te Tiriti relationships and commitments is a challenging discussion in most situations, let alone in the face of the changing COVID 19 pandemic. This reassurance was not to minimise the messiness of the scenario, or come across as patronising. Rather it was to let them know that their experience was not isolated and I took it seriously. Finally I re-emphasised the confidential nature of our discussions. I offered them the choice of me stopping the recording of our conversation. They took this offer up and requested that I "please stop the recorder". These elements allowed the vulnerability of the moment to be acknowledged, respected and held in confidence.

The disclosures revealed a number of things to me. First the person felt comfortable to share their concerns with me as a relative 'outsider.' It was reassuring that the person trusted me. More broadly I had to reconsider my researcher role. Given the aggravated situation in the kura-school, what should I do with these disclosures? What were my ethical responsibilities to the individual and to the community generally? The disclosures were troubling to me on a personal and professional level. However I did not want to expose people and intensify the situation. I was critically aware that the information was partial.

Within a day of the conversation I decided to share my conundrum with my supervisors and Te Ohu Rangahau. These deliberations resulted in two decisions. Given the stressful conditions leaders were going through, I would exercise discernment and generosity. This involved maintaining confidentiality of the detailed disclosures. I followed up via email to thank the participant again for their time and to see if the participant needed anything specifically from me given our discussion. I also reiterated the confidential nature of our discussion.

On reflection, I had witnessed an ontological rupture at the leadership level of the kura and school. The challenges between Māori and non-Māori leaders unveiled divergent

priorities and positions. The pressing demands of the COVID 19 pandemic facing Western Springs and Waiōrea were common, yet the different realities of each group resulted in different theories and practices being put into play about how best to respond equitably. This difference in realities was also illustrated at the national level. For example, Māori public health researchers and groups provided ongoing te Tiriti-based critique of Crown public health measures (Te Rōpū Whakakaupapa Urutā: National Māori pandemic group, 2023). The related axiological implications included how I responded in the moment with empathy. At a broader level I then had to consider how these disclosures could fairly represent the tensions and ambiguities that can arise amongst Indigenous-non-Indigenous peoples (Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996; Hancock, 2018).

10.8.3 Research moment 3: Pākehā change

10.8.3.1 Background

Following the structural changes of adopting the alternative constitution for the Board of Trustees, and the subsequent creation of a Te Tiriti o Waitangi policy, there was a growing awareness that changes to teaching and learning would take place. This third moment inquires into these changes, with a focus on the awareness and potential changes in teaching practices amongst three Pākehā teachers.

I explicitly sought out and invited participants who identified as Pākehā or non-Māori, and who had varying levels of exposure and experiences in working with their Waiōrea colleagues. I hoped that our conversations would shed light on the why, how and what of co-curricular design through a process of collective critical inquiry. Moreover the purpose was to share these reflections with other educationalists interested in, or considering the application of, te Tiriti honouring co-design in schools.

10.8.3.2 Noticing and responding in the moment

Following three learning conversations online, lasting between 1-2 hours in each, the teachers expressed that our inquiry resulted in three related significant changes and effects:

1. **Creating time to critically deliberate:** An unanticipated outcome of the March-May 2020 COVID 19 lockdowns was that the teachers had time at home with minimal school distractions to gather, deliberate and reflect on co-governance and teaching content and pedagogies. The “busyness” of everyday teaching resulted in little/ad-hoc collegial discussion about the learning impacts of co-governance. Importantly, our time together enabled them to openly share questions they had, what they were learning, and what could be strengthened or discarded.

2. **Increased levels of self and collective confidence:** While I was technically an 'outsider' to the group, we shared a common interest in learning about the impacts of co-governance on curricular design and teaching. My external inquirer role, combined with my experiences in te Tiriti education, contributed to their curiosity about the why, what and how of te Tiriti honouring teaching and learning. This was demonstrated through us discussing how current departmental practices reflected contemporary understandings of te Tiriti in schooling. The teachers were able to share individual and shared conundrums, and invited my provocations and constructive critique. We were able to reflect on the integrity of the work being done, and openly discuss actions/inactions that could enhance it further. The sum effect was that our deliberations buoyed their confidence.

3. **Responsible actions:** A key issue that arose out of our dialogues was the realisation that non-Māori staff have an important role in demonstrating the value and place of te ao Māori i.e. role-modelling to Māori and non-Māori students that they are committed to learning, exploring and using te reo me ngā tikanga in legitimate ways. Yet there was a concern that without external resourcing, the work to educate non-Māori would continue to fall on stretched Waiōrea staff. The teachers acknowledged that Waiōrea colleagues were already volunteering their time to provide te reo and tikanga Māori sessions to their non-Māori colleagues. This was on top of their existing teaching demands. This was identified as an inequity of workload that needed to be addressed. Consequently, one of the three teachers decided to take a motion to the school staff meeting. They described "the importance of meeting our treaty obligations and to further our co-governance", and that their "experience of learning the reo has changed her understanding and changed her teaching" (Teacher, 2021). The motion that the Board "resource the training of Te Reo Māori within school for staff" was successful (Teacher, 2021). This new action aimed to ensure te reo and tikanga learning is embedded in the timetable of the school, and did not take place at the expense of Waiōrea colleagues.

Ontologically this scenario aimed to engage with a spectrum of Pākehā ideas, perspectives and realities about how to "give effect" to co-governance in their day-to-day teaching and learning. Axiologically I wanted to work with these teachers in order to move from a general understanding of the co-governance structure and relationships, to a local understanding of how this was given effect or not. This was an important contextual sense-making exercise. It resulted in a deepening of what non-Māori teachers were learning, the potential and challenges of co-governance, and new equitable actions to ensure that ongoing learning through te reo and tikanga was resourced fairly.

10.9 Ontological and axiological implications

Finally, below is a critical reflection about how I applied the ethical posture outlined in *Te Ara Tika* (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010, p. 5) to all three research moments. The dimensions and implications are necessarily anchored and limited to my research context. Future studies could critique, extend and advance these elements in more depth:

Dimensions of Tapu - Noa	**Ontological and axiological implications**
Kia tūpato (to be careful/careful consideration)	*Humility*: There is an expanse of knowledge and experiences that are beyond immediate existence and comprehension. Respect the unknown, make room for alternative perceived values and worldviews; orientate towards a “strong back, soft front” position
Kia āta-whakaaro (precise analysis)	*Pause to engage the bodily senses:* Attentive listening that is compassionate to self and the participant. Be open to affective and intellectual elements of storytelling.
Kia āta-korero (robust discussion of the practical/ethical/spiritual dimensions)	*Remember and reflect back:* Take care to check assumptions with communities of allied researchers/co-inquirers. Prompt dialogue with others about accuracy, inaccurate or unsettled/unknown meanings.
Kia āta-whiriwhiri (consciously determine the conditions)	*Reflect the context*: Cultivate consciousness of your position, and how research conditions can change your positionality throughout the process and after the ‘project’ is completed.
Kia āta-haere (proceed with understanding)	*Attunement to relational and structural forces:* Recognise that seen and unseen forces can create dynamic and imperfect conditions. Notice power dynamics of interaction, including the different spheres of influence at play i.e. personal, organisational, national and international

The above research reflections will continue to evolve in me, and influence how I design and carry out research in the future. Todd (2014) reminds me that as an educational researcher, the situations I create or find myself in, can always open themselves up to renew my becoming.

10.10 Closing reflections

> We just flushed it
> Kinda like the history they hushed with the musket
> Kinda like the ancient Māori custom they crushed into custard squares
> Like tapu in the Tupperware cupboard
> With the treaty that they kaka'd on
> Clean green Babylon (Avantdale Bowling Club, 2018).

The hip hop lyrics above tell a cautionary tale about exploring Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its contested place and role in society. I interpret the lyrics as a skilful warning and invitation. They warn and invite me to critically consider how "co-governance" between Māori and non-Māori could be "hushed with the musket" and "crushed into custard squares." The "hushed" with the "musket" reminds me of the historic and ongoing struggles Indigenous peoples have in determining their own realities, dreams and aspirations in relation to a "colonial nation State" and the associated cultural racism (L. T. Smith, 1999). This understanding provokes me to ask how this research could be misinterpreted as "techne"; a reified container ("Tupperware") regarding complex Māori ideas ("tapu") that can be scaled up and imposed on others or "the education sector." Will this research be another example of te Tiriti being "kaka'd on" or "flushed"; perpetuating te Tiriti o Waitangi dogma and incontrovertible truths that simplify the complex process of restoring relational justice and shared power between Indigenous and settler colonisers. How do I understand, write and speak back to a "clean green Babylon" – the mythic meritocracy, and egalitarian and environmentally conscious national self-perception that purports Aotearoa is a place where all persons can flourish? Below I offer some partial responses.

10.10.1 Start and finish where my feet are

I live in Te Awamutu, a growing provincial town located on the ancestral lands of Tainui waka. At the time of completing this thesis, a subdivision of approximately 430 new houses has been underway since 2019. This was the same year I started my research. The new housing development is called "Frontier Estate" (Frontier Estate, 2022). Until very recently, less than 50 meters from my home was a large billboard advertising Frontier Estate with land and house packages for sale.

During the New Zealand Wars, Tainui was invaded by colonial troops and militia. In the 1860s Te Awamutu was known as a strategic frontier town. It was a significant outpost for invading Crown troops and new colonial settlers. A number of significant massacres – most notably Rangiaowhia – took place on the outskirts of Te Awamutu. For tangata

whenua “Rangiaowhia often gets associated with the land wars. It wasn’t a war; it was a pāhuatanga (sacking/massacre). We talk about it as a terrorist attack, one of the first in New Zealand” (Te Awamutu News, 2022). As I write I am painfully aware of the violent process of confiscation that tangata whenua endured. The establishment of the Native Land Court (1865) was a key legislative tool that similarly attacked Tainui and Māori sovereignty and social cohesion (Turongo House, 2000). In the face of these attacks, Tāwhiao the second Māori King, uttered many proverbs to encourage Māori unity, lift spirits and resist colonial military and legal violence against his followers. “Frontier Estate” is the brand of a new private housing development; it also illustrates a blatantly ignorant disregard of the violent impacts of colonial invasion, and its ongoing impacts on Tainui descendants. My daughter, Hautonga Mary, is one of these descendants.

Given this context, I have chosen the following proverb by Tāwhiao. It responds to the havoc of the Native Land Court on Tainui people. It is also a powerful reminder of the spirit to endure, regardless of the harsh circumstances

> *Kaua te tau e pokea, kaua te tau e rēwenatia, ko ia hoki te tūturutanga i heke iho nei i o tātou tupuna, i a ia i pine nei i ngā rā o o tātou Matua; ko Ia te tapu i ngohe ai ngā mea nanakia, i rarata a i nga mea matakana.* Neither betray wisdom nor tarnish its intent, wisdom, the blueprint bequeathed to us by our ancestors, providing security through the traumatic days of our Elders; the unseen spirit that restrains the desperate, as it befriends the friendless (Turongo House, 2000, p. 132).

This research would not have been possible without the wisdom passed on to me by many Māori throughout my life. At the same time my thinking has been enlarged and enriched by diverse Pākehā and Tauiwi in and outside of education. I take inspiration from all of these people; they have welcomed me into diverse social, political, cultural and spiritual environments with what Paris and Alim (2014) call a “loving critique.” I will be forever thankful for this spirit of friendship, critique and generosity.

10.10.2 So what, now what?

I suggest co-governance is an expression of relational power-sharing, and therefore a distinguishing feature of political theory in settler colonised lands. Co-governance can be described as a set of situated theories and practices that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people draw on in order to (re)negotiate, implement, and test their relational and structural capacities and capabilities. It is a profoundly adaptive way of addressing complex relational and structural issues of concern.

In this thesis I argue that there is no linear set of steps or checkpoints about 'how to do' co-governance; *but* there are powerful ethical resources and reminders of what can support and hinder its development. Both directions hold implications for relational and structural justice between Indigenous and settler groups. A vision for sharing power between Indigenous nations and settler states is vital *but on its own inadequate.* I argue that what is required is an attunement to the ever-changing relational qualities and material implications of power-sharing. Co-governance must be adept at changing and responding to the contested territory of unsettled power relations between Indigenous nations and settler groups.

This inquiry responds to Carroll et al. (2020) encouragement to critically engage in exploring the contours of Indigenous and settler governance relationships. Scholars before me have alerted us to this shifting terrain, and are far more in-tune with this geography than me. Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds me that the shape-shifting dynamics of colonialism need to be negotiated at every step (Smith, 2018).A Smith (2012) and Casey-Cox (2014) remind me that it is vital to *notice* the politics and dangers of Indigenous domestication, which co-governance can become. A shift in my thinking and attunement has occurred: I am now more aware of how co-governance could be construed as another form of Crown-sanctioned assimilation. Like its 'bicultural' predecessor, co-governance has the potential to appear progressive and inclusive, but based on material terms falls well short of Māori self-determination over their economic, cultural and political power. As Hoskins and Jones (2022) argue "Indigenisation" in organisations does not only refer to "the inclusion of indigenous people, values and knowledge within a largely unchanged or superficially-changed institutional structure, *but to the normalisation of indigenous ways of being and knowing"* (my emphasis p. 3).

The implication is that without concerted efforts to normalise Indigenous ways of being and knowing, co-governance can perpetuate the status quo of liberal Western institutions that reinscribe domination over Indigenous nations. Forms of relational justice between groups become undermined and lost to what Dennison (2022) calls the doctrine of distrust. I do not proclaim to "know" what these constituent relations may generate under all circumstances. Rather I attend these relations with a critical humility and ethical interest in what people can learn, and how we all hold the potential to be(come) relationally just with each other and the environment.

What this study illustrates is the fashioning of *a* map – not *the* map – of changing power-relations between Indigenous and settler groups in education. To adopt the

metaphor of Horton et al. (1990) *I forge a track of te Tiriti making by walking it with others.* I deeply value the relationships that have been crafted as a result. I leave open the possibility of future collaborations with Waiōrea-Springs, my supervisors and Te Ohu Rangahau. Regardless of the shape and contents of these collaborations, I welcome opportunities to think, be and act together.

In a return to the title of my thesis – *Te toka whakaea: A rock that stays above the surface* – despite the changing ebb and flow of political currents, Te Tiriti o Waitangi will remain above the surface. In this sense, it remains fundamental to just relations for all who call Aotearoa home.

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Appendix A: Participant information sheet

“Co-governance and co-curricular secondary schooling: What are we learning?”

He karangatanga - Introduction
Kei taku āpiti, nei rā ngā mihi maioha e rere kau atu ki a koe. Tēnā koe.
Ko Alex Hotere-Barnes tōku ingoa, he Pākehā ahau nō Tauranga Moana. He hononga nōku ki Mataatua, Tainui me Te Tai Tokerau rohe. I puta ahau i te kōhanga reo, te kura kaupapa Māori me ngā akomanga reo rua ki te kura tuarua. Nō konā tae noa ki tēnei wā e whai wāhi ahau hei tautoko i ngā kaupapa Māori, hei Pākehā. Koira hoki te aronga nui o tēnei kaupapa rangahau.

I am a 5th generation Pākehā and one of the few non-Māori graduates of kaupapa Māori learning initiatives - Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, bilingual units and Whare Wānanga. I am currently a researcher, evaluator, and professional learning and development facilitator with 15 years experience of working in dual, Māori and English medium and adult education settings. My personal and professional life have led me to undertake this PhD into dual-medium schools.

He aha te kaupapa o tēnei rangahau – What is the purpose of this research?
I am undertaking a research project that investigates the co-governance and co-curriculum design of schools that:

- Utilise Te Marautanga o Aotearoa and the New Zealand Curriculum, and
- Who have dual-medium/two-way immersion unit (51% or more of te reo and tikanga Māori taught).

I am interested in exploring the following question:

What strategies and policies are deemed necessary by these schools in order to progress a decolonised and Tiriti-honouring leadership approach?

What I mean by a “decolonised and Tiriti-honouring leadership approach” includes, but is not limited to, the following:

- The range of activities schools and communities undertake that honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi to support the bilingual learning of all students, families and local communities
- Exploring new connections about how Te Tiriti o Waitangi can inform organisational leadership, teaching, learning and community development.
- Documenting new stories from teachers, school leaders, whānau and community members about how co-governance secondary schooling that utilise the New Zealand Curriculum and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, support the wellbeing and equity of all students.

The findings of this research will be used to improve:

- Whānau, family about participation in dual-medium/two-way immersion schools
- Hapū, iwi and Māori community engagement in dual/medium/two-way immersion schools
- School curriculum and leadership practices
- Central government policy and practices
- Professional learning and development services.

I will use the findings from the study to obtain a Doctor of Philosophy, and produce academic publications and presentations. This project is being funded through an AUT

Vice Chancellor Scholarship and is also self-funded and is independent of any third party.

He tono – Invitation to participate
I would like to invite you to be interviewed about your experiences and reflections on this research topic. I am inviting you to be involved because you have contributed to these settings, and because you have indicated to me, or via a colleague or whanaunga (friend or family member) that you may have an interest in being involved. Other participants I am interested in speaking to include those who share the following characteristics:

- People teaching or engaged in dual-medium/two-way immersion schools e.g. kaiako, teachers, whānau, family, school leaders, Board of Trustees, teacher aides.
- Presently providing professional learning and development in these settings e.g. accredited facilitators, direct to school facilitators, voluntary members of the school community.
- Hold an explicit strategic, financial, social and cultural stake in these settings e.g. iwi, hapū, marae, community groups.
- The interview will be conducted by me. You only have to contribute as much as you wish to. At any time during our discussion you have the right to end the interview.

Hei whai wāhi kia kuhu ai koe ki tēnei rangahau – How do I agree to participate in this research?
If you would like to be involved in this research, I will ask you to complete a consent form. As part of participating it's really important that you understand the following:

- Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you.
- You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any information that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data will not be possible.

Ngā tikanga o te rangahau – What will happen in this research?
It's vital that participants can engage in this research in ways that work best for them. Ensuring people are comfortable is really important to me. I will work with all participants to ensure they are respected throughout and after the process. I wish to assure you of the following:

- Given the current situation world-wide regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, and the steps being taken in New Zealand to stem transmission of the virus, I will conduct interviews via online video or telephone conference i.e. ZOOM, Google Hangout or Skype. This will minimise personal contact and quell any concerns that you may have.
- If you are involved in a focus group, you must agree that the identity of your fellow participants and any discussions in the group remain confidential to the group.
- During the interview I will ask your permission to record and then create a summary of our discussion. The recorder can be turned off at any time.
- I would like to give you the opportunity to provide me with guidance about how you'd like to have your information handled. You will be able to withdraw parts or all of your interview two weeks after you receive an interview summary.

- You can choose whether you would like to be identified (name and position) in a list of interviewees at the end of the research thesis.
- If you choose not to be identified, your name and personal identifiers (your position, the school, age, gender and ethnicity) will not be used, and a pseudonym will be. If you do not agree to be identified, your name will not be listed within the research, and no personal identifiers will be used. However, given the unique character of your secondary school (applying a co-governance and co-curriculum approach), it's possible that your identity will be known or deducted by a third party.
- Your information (written/electronic) collected will be securely held by the me. This includes using password protected documents/files, and locked away hard-copy materials.
- Consent to participate in this research will be on-going. This means I will engage with you about any ethical concerns if they arise. I will seek to understand and engage with you about these issues in an open-ended and mutually beneficial way i.e. if you would like to mediate and/or speak one-on-one about concerns, I will always make myself available to you.
- If you are involved in a focus group, please note that while you can withdraw from the group process at any point, however it will not possible to retract your focus group contribution after the fact.

Ngā momo whakamōrea me ngā urupare – Potential discomforts, risks and mitigations

This research does not pose significant risks or discomforts to participants. However, it's important you are aware of the following issues, and ways I aim to address these should they come up:

Potential discomfort/risks	**Mitigation approaches**
Because of the nature and small size of dual/two-way medium schools, it is possible that your identity may be deducted by a third party. You may disclose experiences of interpersonal racism (negative personal experiences or attention because of one's ethnicity) or institutional racism (organisational policy and processes that benefit one ethnicity over another). COVID-19 transmission amongst me and participants.	Your consent and confidentiality will be ongoing, which means: If there are ethical issues that concern you (such as the potential of being identified or the disclosure of racism), we will negotiate what information you are comfortable sharing or not for different audiences i.e. your employer, peers, family, whānau, hapū, iwi, local community, academic audiences. You can bring whānau, family or support people to any of our research hui. If the need arises, I will refer you to culturally appropriate counselling or support services in their area. I will share my preliminary research findings with you by October 2021 or before. At this point, I will recontact you to confirm whether I have represented your ideas accurately. To mitigate risk of COVID-19 transmission, I will conduct interviews via online video or telephone conference i.e. ZOOM, Google Hangout or Skype.

In order to protect your privacy, security, confidentiality, and intellectual property I will:

- Anonymise your information if you choose this option via the consent form.
- If you want your information anonymised, I will delete potential identifiers (time) and use pseudonyms for people and places. This will take place directly after each discrete piece of information is collected

- Ensure identifiable information will be kept confidential by me, the participant(s) and my supervisors.
- Real names and locations of people will be removed from information sources
- Password protected digital platforms will be used to upload and store information
- Password protect external hard drives will be used to back up information
- Physical copies of information (consent forms, summaries of interviews, analysis of themes) and technologies (external hard drive, laptop, audio recorder) will be stored and kept under lock and key at the primary supervisors home and AUT South Campus.
- If you would like to share your information with a third-party, you and I can negotiate this and address any risks and advantages this could present.
- A data repository expert from the AUT will be sought in order to work with me to establish, build and maintain a secure information repository system.

He kete aronui – Research benefits
This research will enable me to obtain a PhD. However, I also hope it contributes positively to the conditions of dual-curriculum and two-way immersion schools. As such, benefits for participants include:

- Time and space to critically reflect about your experiences, thereby contributing new knowledge about co-governance and co-curriculum schooling (what is working institutionally and relationally, and what is not)
- The creation of a set of conceptual and practical decolonising and Tiriti-honouring tools that address current barriers and future positive potential in these settings.

Te whakaurunga ki te kaupapa rangahau – What participation will look like
From the time you receive it, you will have up to 4 weeks to consider this invitation. Here is more information about what your participation will mean:

- I am interviewing people between January 2020-October 2021.
- All interviews will take approximately 1.5-2 hours. You can expect a summary from our discussion sent to you within 4 weeks from our interview.
- You will have 2 weeks to add, change or confirm the summary. If I don't hear from you within this 2 week time, I'll assume you're happy with the summary and no further changes will be made.
- You can choose to speak in te reo Māori, English or a mix of these languages – whatever language you feel most comfortable in.
- You will be able to choose whether or not you would like to comment on my draft findings.
- The results will be written up into a thesis and may be published in papers or presented to interested audiences (as noted above).
- You can request your information at any time.
- All participants will receive a one-off $30 voucher to thank them for their time and contributions.
- I will offer a voluntary one-off online, or face-to-face (if risks of COVID-19 has been eliminated by this time) workshop for participants outlining my findings and conclusions.

He awangawanga, he āmaimai – What do I do if I have concerns about this research?
Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor:

- Dr Heather Came-Friar, heather.came@aut.ac.nz / 021 539 063.

- Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz / 921 9999 ext 6038.

Kia whakapā mai – Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. For any queries regarding this project, please contact Alex, Heather or Maria:

PhD Researcher: Alex Hotere-Barnes alexlbarnes@gmail.com 027 309 2977	Supervisor: Dr Heather Came-Friar Heather.Came@aut.ac.nz 021 539 063	Supervisor: Dr Maria Humphries-Kil mariahumphrieskil@gmail.com 027 292 8809

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 19.11.19, AUTEC Reference number 19/403, with a successful amendment due to COVID 19 made on 29.04.20.

Appendix 2: Te Mana Whakaae – Consent Form

Project title: ***"Co-governance and co-curricular secondary schooling: What are we learning?"***

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Heather Came-Friar and Dr Maria Humphries-Kil***

Researcher: ***Alex Hotere-Barnes***

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 15 April 2020.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- In order to eliminate the risk of COVID-19 transmission I will participate in interviews via online video or telephone conference i.e. ZOOM, Google Hangout or Skype.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed. I can request that either be stopped at any time.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any information that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my information may not be possible.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- In order to protect my privacy, security, confidentiality, and intellectual property, I understand that this project has a data management and sensitive plan in place.
- I would like my information to be anonymised Yes◯No◯
- I wish to receive a summary of my interview and/or focus group (please tick one): Yes◯ No◯
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes◯ No◯
- If I am involved in a focus group, I understand that while I can withdraw from the group process at any point, but it will not be possible to retract my focus group contribution after the fact: Yes◯No◯
- I wish to be named in the research findings : Yes◯ No◯
- I am interested in being notified of a future one-off workshop outlining the studies findings and conclusions Yes◯ No◯

Consent to participate in this research will be on-going. This means I will engage with you about any ethical concerns if they arise. I will seek to understand and engage with you about these issues in an open-ended and mutually beneficial way i.e. if you would like to mediate and/or speak one-on-one about concerns, I will always make myself available to you.

Participant's signature:

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Participant's name:

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Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 19.11.19, AUTEC Reference number 19/403, with a successful amendment due to COVID 19 made on 29.04.20.