Iwi versus Kiwi: Racism, race relationships and the experience of controversial political debates within a context of culturally responsive school reform

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Abstract

School communities are not immune to wider socio-political events when implementing government policies that are controversial, and schools are especially vulnerable when these initiatives become the focus of wider political debates that by their very nature are typically polarised and divisive. This article explores how debates associated with power, colonisation and institutional racism are experienced by school participants (teachers, students and parents/caregivers) by examining the first stage of Te Kauhua: Māori in the Mainstream pilot project in two New Zealand schools. School reform initiatives that attempt to dismantle historically-constructed power relationships can be undone due to wider national debates linked to institutional racism. This article explores the experience of school participants within the context of controversial national debates and a school reform process. We conclude by suggesting that questions about racism and other discriminatory practices in schools and the wider society must be addressed if schools are to make a difference for Māori students.

This article draws on the experiences of participants in a school reform initiative that aimed to improve learning outcomes for Māori students, to explore the impact of controversial political debates on this process. It argues that any school reform process that aims to improve student achievement is typically multifaceted and complex and is not influenced only by individual teacher factors (Alton-Lee, 2003; Hattie, 2009) and the individual efficacy of teachers (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richards, 2003), but can also be shaped by the

wider political context. This needs to be considered in understanding and evaluating educational initiatives as school communities (teachers, students and parents) are not immune to wider socio-political events when implementing government policies. Schools are especially vulnerable when implementing government initiatives that aim to address complex issues (such as the educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā) that can appear to be linked to polarised and divisive political debates. To explore this question, this paper critically reviews the sustainability of culturally responsive initiatives by examining the first stage of Te Kauhua: Māori in the Mainstream pilot project in two New Zealand schools from 2003–2005. The qualitative research (Hynds, 2007) on which this article reports, informs the current critical analysis, which highlights how the sustainability of a culturally responsive reform initiative was influenced by both micro and macro political contexts and was closely associated with contemporary debates over biculturalism and the place of the Treaty of Waitangi in 21st century New Zealand. We re-examine the influence of race relationships and racism within the school communities and wider New Zealand society within this context of a school reform initiative that aimed to improve practice and outcomes for Māori students within two different school communities.

Race Relationships within the National Context

In New Zealand, questions around biculturalism are often used by politicians to distinguish themselves from their rivals (Belgrave, 2005; Orange, 2011) and when Te Kauhua was being implemented and evaluated in these two schools, the place of the Treaty of Waitangi in 21st New Zealand had emerged as a polarising and divisive issue. This "mood" was captured in January 2005 when a national newspaper featured a front page article based on the findings of a study called "2005 Mood of the Nation":

> In its 2005 Mood of the Nation report…UMR Research managing director Stephen Mills says the only cloud on the horizon has been public concern over race issues. "The last few years have been pretty positive, settled and optimistic. The one thing that disturbs are the

> issues on the race relations front", says Mills….In 2003 the foreshore and seabed issue ignited concern about racial issues. And 2004 started with a bang, with the racial debate that erupted after Don Brash's famous Orewa Speech….Outrunning every other issue in 2004 was race relations and the Treaty of Waitangi….By February 40 percent of respondents were saying treaty and race issues were the biggest problem facing the country. (Laugesen, 2005, January 16)

The growing dissonance over the "race relations" that had led to the "cloud on the horizon" noted above had emerged in the latter part of 2003 over the legal right of Māori to take a claim of iwi ownership of the seabed and foreshore to the Māori Land Court. In June 2003 the Court of Appeal released its decision on a claim by upper South Island iwi that the seabed and foreshore were *land* and under common law Māori tribal groups who could prove continuous occupation could make a claim to the Māori Land Court for the title (Belgrave, 2005; Orange, 2011). This decision sparked a heated and far-reaching political debate that tested the essence of the bicultural relationship and would become a hotly contested feature of the 2005 election. Opponents to the Court of Appeal decision claimed there should be "one law for all" in New Zealand and reflecting a growing (and largely unfounded) concern that New Zealanders would not have access to the beaches, the opposition centre-right National Party claimed this decision was discriminatory, would lead to separatism, and was yet another example of Māori privilege (Johansson, 2004).

Claims of separatism and Māori privilege had been prevalent in debates over biculturalism since the 1970s (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Scott, 1995) and were very much part of the discussions over the implementation of Te Kauhua after what has became known as Don Brash's "Orewa speech". In January 2004 in a speech given to the Rotary Club at Orewa, the leader of the National Party Don Brash exacerbated the increasingly fractured debate over the seabed and foreshore by describing the Treaty of Waitangi as no longer relevant to contemporary New Zealand and accused the Labour government of "race-based" policies that unfairly advantaged Māori (Brash, 2004; Johansson, 2004). The National party at this time saw the Treaty of Waitangi as largely a historical document and was cautious about the Treaty playing a central role in contemporary society. Although the

National-led governments during the 1990s had resolved a number of major historical grievances under its Minister for Treaty settlements, Doug Graham (Graham 1997), by 2003 the National party was largely opposed to the view that Māori should enjoy specific rights as a result of their status as Tangata Whenua and as a Treaty partner (Belgrave, 2005).

National's view of the Treaty of Waitangi stood in contrast to the centre-left Labour government who highlighted the Treaty as the reference point in addressing Māori historical grievances and maintaining a bicultural society (Belgrave, 2005; Orange, 2011). However, Brash's rhetoric contributed to a dramatic increase in support for National in the opinion polls and with an election looming, this was of increasing concern to the Labour government (Johansson, 2004). Consequently (despite the historically close links between Labour and Māori), the government quickly moved to distance itself from the Court of Appeal decision. It introduced legislation that vested the entire New Zealand seabed and foreshore in Crown ownership and the seabed and foreshore Act (2004) took away the right of Māori to make a claim to title of the seabed and foreshore (Belgrave, 2005; Boast, 2005). The Act was unpopular among many Māori and sparked widespread protests including a Hikoi to parliament of over 15,000 protesters. It led to a split among the Māori Labour MPs with Tariana Turia leaving the Labour Party to help found the Māori Party that saw repealing the seabed and foreshore legislation as a key policy. The seabed and foreshore issue also featured prominently in the 2005 national election where the National party displayed the racially controversial "kiwi" versus "iwi" billboards that alluded to the notion of National as being the Party of "one law for all" and "we are all New Zealanders" (kiwi) while Labour's policies promoting "Māori privilege" ("iwi").

Theoretical framework

Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that to understand the ways in which learning occurs it is essential to move beyond the traits of the individual to examine the dynamic, interactive and influencing nature of the social environments in which that individual is located. This

would include the recognition of such influences as family, schooling and society, in other words, the micro and macro social and historical contexts in which learning behaviours are learnt and sustained (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Dummett (1973) defines racism as a social reality and as a doctrine. As a doctrine, racism works to divide, classify and marginalise people into dominant and subordinate groups. As a social reality, racism must be seen as embedded within society and maintained by social institutions, such as schools, which perpetuate power imbalances between groups (Dummett, 1973). The acceptance of racial stereotypes about minority groups contributes to the production of racism (both as a doctrine and as a social reality) because the inferiority of marginalised groups is viewed as normal (Hill, 2009). Therefore racism (individual and institutional) continues to remain invisible to many members of the dominant or majority group within any given society.

McCulloch and Richardson (2000) argue that an understanding of context is essential in evaluating the importance and meaning to particular phenomena as debates over educational matters do not occur in a vacuum but rather reflect social, cultural and political issues. To explain and understand these we need to take into account "… the time during which it occurs and the changing educational, social and political context within which it has taken place" (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 1995, p. 244). In what he calls "the dilemma of difference" (Artiles, 1998, p. 32) and drawing on the work of Minow (1990), Artiles argues that minority groups within any society have traditionally been viewed as "different" or "unlike" that of the dominant social group and deficit thinking has dominated discussions of difference as the "long held views of the dominant group…are seen as natural and universal" (Artiles, 1998, p. 32). In this context questions of difference are framed within assumptions that "to be equal one must be the same" (Minnow, 1990, p. 50, cited in Artiles, 1998). Therefore notions of difference rest on historical assumptions of abnormality rather than the "embedded" and "historically contested discourse of cultural differences" (Artiles, 1998, p. 33).

In New Zealand the education system was developed to reflect its British origins, and the cultural and linguistic differences of Māori were viewed as inferior and/or irrelevant (Barrington, 2008; Durie 2003; Penetito, 2010; Walker, 2004). This goes some way to account for the contemporary educational disparity between Māori and Pākehā, and in this context Māori student underachievement has typically been framed within this cultural deficit explanation rather than viewed as the enacted racism embedded within mainstream schooling systems (Penetito, 2010). In some cases teacher practices and attitudes have contributed to Māori student underachievement, because teachers have believed Māori communities are dysfunctional and students require "fixing" in some way (Alton-Lee, 2003). In this deficit explanation the problem of educational underachievement is situated with the student and/or their home background rather than in the mono-culturalism and institutional racism of schools (Sleeter, 2005).

Background

In the early years of this century, various reports on health and education emphasised disparity patterns across ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. One example was student achievement patterns in schools. Two OECD reports (2001, 2002) emphasised a "long tail" of underachievement for some ethnic groups, particularly Māori students. The Labour government at the time, responded by introducing new policy initiatives designed to "close the gap" and reduce such disparities, particularly for Māori communities. As part of Budget 2000, funding was secured for 2000–2003 to enable selected schools to pilot new and innovative professional development approaches to enhance teacher effectiveness for teachers working with Māori students in mainstream educational settings. Te Kauhua: Māori in the Mainstream was consequently developed and funded by the Ministry of Education (MoE). It was intended that Te Kauhua (meaning the supports on a waka and used as a metaphor for people supporting each other on a journey) would provide schools with

opportunities, in partnership with their Māori communities, to explore new learning approaches that would enable teachers to improve classroom practice and learning outcomes for their Māori students.

Seventeen voluntary schools were selected by the MoE to be involved in the Te Kauhua pilot project. These schools, from the primary, intermediate and secondary settings, were divided into ten school clusters located across Aotearoa/New Zealand. The project used action research/collaborative research methodologies as a means to enhance teachers' professional development and knowledge of Māori student needs. An underlying assumption of the Te Kauhua pilot project was that Māori students were more likely to achieve "when they see themselves reflected in a curriculum, and when their teachers are supported to be reflective about their practice and to be agents of change for Māori students" (Tuuta, Bradnam, Hynds, Higgins & Broughton, 2004, p.vii).

The Te Kauhua schools were grouped in clusters. Each cluster employed a facilitator to develop and implement the programme within the schools and to liaise with each school's Māori community. Each school undertook to collect base-line data on Māori student achievement and identify students' learning needs, develop appropriate interventions (and professional development programmes for teachers) to address the most significant of these and implement the interventions. They also agreed to observe and record changes in Māori student outcomes and assess the impact the programme had on Māori student outcomes and family (whānau) school relationships.

An initial evaluation of this first phase of the Te Kauhua project (2001–2003) indicated evidence of the beginning of change and positive signs of progress towards reframing the mainstream school experience for Māori students within several schools (Tuuta et al., 2004). Findings indicated increased whānau/hapū involvement in schools, for example, whānau members undertaking professional development in order to work in home-school literacy programmes. Increased Māori representation was also evident across schools as new Māori staff members were employed (kaiawhina, teachers, senior management team members), and through increased Māori representation within school governance groups such as Boards of

Trustees. Māori parents and caregivers who were interviewed as part of the Te Kauhua evaluation reported that schools were attempting to gather information on Māori stakeholder views through surveys on issues regarding effective school/classroom practice for their children (Tuuta et al., 2004). There was also evidence of improved Māori student achievement and enhanced collaboration between teachers (Māori and non-Māori). Evidence gathered from participating schools indicated that teachers were now working closely with other colleagues and specialists to improve teaching practice by:

- deprivatising classrooms by conducting reciprocal in-class observations and feedback sessions;

- experimenting with new teaching techniques such as cooperative learning, assessment practices such as improving teachers' feedback to children on their learning, new literacy and numeracy activities in class and through the use of co-construction activities (whereby students engage in decision-making activities);

- using te reo me ona tikanga in class to show a respect for Māori language and customs; and

- drawing on students' cultural capital and lives outside the classroom in order to make more meaningful connections between students' prior knowledge and new learning events.

A second evaluation process

Recommendations made in the first evaluation report stated that further research was needed on partnership processes between Māori and non-Māori and the sustainability of the Te Kauhua intervention (Tuuta et al., 2004). Consequently, a second evaluation (Hynds, 2007) aimed to investigate the influences on the acceptance and practice of teachers' collaborative partnership work when Māori and non-Māori teachers work together on a school reform project. The MoE and two very different school communities were approached for permission to use the Te Kauhua action research initiative as the context for further study.

Research methodology (second evaluation)

Māori-centred research protocols, as defined by Bishop and Glynn (1999), guided the development of the second evaluation (Hynds, 2007). These included protocols of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 77 participants (teachers, students, parents/caregivers, members of each school's senior management team and in-school action research facilitators, professional development consultants) within two schools that had volunteered to take part in the first phase of the government funded action research initiative. One school was an urban high school and the other, a rural primary school.

Over the course of 12 months, two interviews were conducted with each participating teacher (7 Māori and 10 non-Māori) in order to track their experiences of collaborative work and their perception of change. The first interviews were conducted with teachers during the latter half of 2003 and the second towards the end of 2004. For the purposes of triangulation, interviews were later conducted in 2004 with 15 Māori students and their parents/caregivers and 15 non-Māori students and their parents/caregivers. Other interviews were also conducted with principals, deputy principals, assistant principals, in-school facilitators and professional development consultants. Participants were asked about their:

- experiences of teachers' collaborative work
- reasons for supporting or opposing such work
- perceptions of change.

Inductive analysis was used to ensure that codes, themes and patterns developed from the collected evidence, and member checks were conducted throughout the research process, whereby participants were asked to comment on emerging themes.

Analysis

Evidence from participant interviews suggested that the growing acrimony over race relations that escalated on the national stage during 2004 inflamed existing tensions within each school community. This became more evident in how participants perceived changes that had occurred over time within their school community. In the first set of teacher interviews (conducted before the Orewa speech and the Seabed and Foreshore controversy in 2003), the majority of teachers across the two schools were optimistic and enthusiastic about the initial outcomes of new collaborative partnership work. Fifteen out of 17 teachers (6 Māori and 9 non-Māori) described in detail changes that had occurred in their beliefs and practices as a result of teachers' engagement in new partnership activities. These teachers explained that their initial enthusiasm and optimism was due to new collaborative activities, initiated as part of the first phase of action research (Hynds, 2008).

> It was listening at the hui (meeting), and seeing how classes were for many Māori students, and from their grandparents' perspectives and becoming more aware…of what the cultural differences are... It was somebody from outside in the local Māori community, a kaumātua (elder) who spoke and some of the Māori staff spoke, it made me aware of what my downfall had been, my lack of cultural knowledge. I picked up so much more, and it made me rethink about why I was at the hui (meeting), it made me realise what does go on in my classes and rethink how I approach teaching…and the way I had been treating students prior to this. (Max, non-Māori teacher, 2003)

Responses from interviewed teachers certainly reinforced Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh and Teddy's (2007) view that collaborative storytelling approaches involving Māori school community members could initiate "cognitive, emotional or cultural dissonance by the provision of evidence that is outside the usual experiences of … teachers" (p. 25).

However, by the time of the second interviews a year later, it was clear that things had changed. Interviews with individual participants emphasised their disappointment at a lack of institutional change. Various forms of resistance (Hynds, 2010) emerged which threatened

the sustainability of teachers' collaborative partnership work across both schools, even though it had had a profound impact on individuals. One form of resistance, evident within each school community, was associated with racist beliefs that emphasised negative images and damaging stereotypes of Māori:

> The teachers, the Māori teachers and the non-Māori teachers at the school have accepted more stuff than they should have….I think it's not good if there's too much of a Māori influence in the school,…there's more theft in the area,…you might have a Māori woman who has five or six kids from different fathers and they're all in or out of jail. And the kids are living with their grandparents and they're swapped around and they don't have good role models. (Ms Robins, parent/caregiver of a non-Māori child, 2004)

> All these Māori people sitting on the dole…sitting on the dole and taking up all our taxes…instead of buying us new stuff…and making our country all flash. (Yr 11 non-Māori student)

> There was a general consensus among some…that the Māori teachers didn't work as hard, like they were really laid back, and…Māori teachers would come up to everyone else's standard, not the other way around. (non-Māori parent/caregiver)

At the same time many interviewed participants (Māori and non-Māori) made explicit reference to national events that were occurring at the time. These were clearly emotional and deeply political experiences for some participants (as noted below) that highlighted divisions and debates within and across participant groups related to the status of the Treaty of Waitangi and Don Brash's Orewa speech:

> With the foreshore and seabed forum, we had a great big sign supporting Tariana Turia (co-leader of the Māori party) and I came over to the school and I was….Having a conversation with one of the teachers and she asked me was I getting paid for that. I said, 'Aroha mai, No! I don't expect that! Because to me that's awesome, because hello, finally we have someone who is standing up for our kaupapa'. And I just got this dirty look from her….And she said, 'Well, you people, you just want everything!' And I said…'My people want what's rightfully theirs.' (Māori parent/caregiver)

> We [a colleague and I] were talking in the staffroom, I can't exactly remember what the topic was, but we were talking about equal rights and the Treaty and bits and pieces and there was something in the newspaper about Māori,…but the comment she made was, 'Oh, that's just typical…they want everything!', and…it just blew me away. (Māori teacher)

> Why would non-Māori teachers want to work together with Māori teachers? They'd just be heaps of problems, 'cause they don't know how to speak the language….Like all the stuff in the newspapers [between Māori and non-Māori], there are heaps of problems. (Yr 11 non-Māori student)

It was particularly clear from interviews with non-Māori parents and caregivers conducted towards the end of 2004 that many opposed the reform initiative being attempted at their child's school and the views expressed mirrored elements of the wider political debate over the Treaty of Waitangi.

> The school held a parent meeting to talk about the project….We had some bloody terrible racist views expressed….It was all over teaching te reo in class….And thank goodness that (one of our Māori teachers) was strong enough to sit in his chair because that other guy (the parent) was so out of order. But the truth is, he's a parent. Well, we got through the conversation and we explained that he had the wrong end of the stick and that the children weren't doing te reo all day long, they were doing a little bit of it. A little bit would be good in the world. We just calmed him down. But it was tricky. (Consultant/Facilitator, non-Māori)

The influence of the 'we are all New Zealanders' narrative was especially evident in the response to Te Kauhua and it was clear that many of these participants viewed teachers' reform work as threatening what they saw as the collective identity of "New Zealanders". Such views about the importance of a collective national identity precluded an acknowledgement of cultural diversity.

> This Pākehā (NZ European) and Māori nonsense has got to stop. We are all New Zealanders…like we're all offered the same opportunities in life and if you want to take those, then take them, and if you don't, then you suffer the consequences. (non-Māori parent/caregiver).

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While some parents acknowledged that they did not know much about the nature of reform work within their child's school, they expressed concerns that such work was 'racist'. They concluded that if teachers were now addressing the needs of Māori students, they would consequently ignore the learning needs of their own children.

> Yeah, it's like it's racist….I mean, to me we've all got the same ability to learn and just to say that one person's going to get special treatment just on their race…it's a bit unfair….I mean, if some kid, whether he's a Pākehā who's struggling in reading and writing…he's been told, 'No, sorry, you're not a Māori so you're not going to get any special treatment',…I don't get this race difference, like, to me everyone is even and we should be treated the same…like, to me, let's get over this race thing and try and get all our kids achieving. (non-Māori parent/caregiver)

> No, I don't want any information on how Māori and non-Māori teachers are working together!…like I said to my daughter,…I think it's time we stopped looking at the colour of people's skin and started treating everyone like New Zealanders, and…treating people equally. (non-Māori parent/caregiver)

Reflecting what had become by 2004/5 the prevailing perception of the centre-right of so-called 'Māori privilege' at a national level, a number of participants believed that the acknowledgement of racial differences and perceived special treatment of Māori within their school community threatened their own child's identity and/or achievement. At one school parental concern resulted in a delegation to the principal's office (Hynds, 2008) and a threat to withdraw children from the school if reform work wasn't halted. Participants described heated exchanges between some members of the local Pākehā community, particularly at the primary school, during school-community consultations. By 2005 member checks with participants indicated that pressure was now being placed on teachers to dilute new partnership practices and specifically to reduce the use of te reo (Māori language) within classrooms (Hynds, 2007). Teachers' commitment to new collaborative work diminished over time partly due to a lack of respect for cultural differences and individual and institutional racism (Hynds, 2008, 2010).

Race relationships within each school's community

There were clearly tensions in race relationships between Māori and non-Māori groups within the wider society at the time interviews were being conducted within each school community. However, participant narratives also emphasised racism and negative race relationships within each school community well before the schools became involved in the Te Kauhua initiative. Many community tensions could be traced to historical events such as wars between Māori and the Crown, Treaty of Waitangi abuses and subsequent Treaty claims; and more contemporary incidents which highlighted incidents of racism. It was evident that the state of local race relationships between Māori and non-Māori of both school communities was a concern for many participants, although there were clear differences in the way participants chose to frame such issues:

> Race relations in the town aren't that great. Like the sports teams…and that's because the ball doesn't get passed to the white kids….The Māori kids don't treat the white kids with as much respect…that's the influence and attitude out there, because there are so many Māori in the town, and they all have their cousins and it's not a good environment when there's too many Māori here. And they need to be told that racism goes both ways. (parent/caregiver of non-Māori child)

> I've worked in the public eye for the last 3 to 4 years, and you can see attitudes of racism within the adults…to break that cycle of racism we need to work with the children. Some of my friends, Pākehā friends, have said, 'Oh, what do you want to learn how to speak Māori for?'.…I just wanted to learn it for my own good, the good of my family and for my kids' future….That attitude, it did come down to the schools and I think it was a hard road for the teachers to try and break that down. Kids have got eyes and ears and they heard things, and that went back to the playground and it was racism. (parent/caregiver of Māori child)

> There has been so much hurt and damage in our community. People are hurting, families are hurting and there is a history here that goes back generations. I think it's awesome that the teachers are trying to improve their teaching for our mokopuna, but it's going to take time

for some healing and an acknowledgement of that needs to happen first….Not all our families are involved in what is happening here at school. (parent/caregiver of Māori child)

In some places in the school I think there's racism….There are some people who don't hang out with Māoris…it's just how they act around Māori students…they act as though they are better than students from other races like Māoris and Asians just in the way they talk about them like they're looking down at them…so it's good to see the teachers mixing up and working together, it shows that it can happen…that you can work with people who are from different cultures and it can work. I think that's important the teachers demonstrate that for us. (Louise, Yr 11 non-Māori student, 2004)

Discussion

The capacity of learning communities to successfully implement a complex and potentially controversial school reform process such as Te Kauhua is inherently fragile. The schools in this case study were especially vulnerable due to the presence of racism and racist beliefs within the school community and wider New Zealand society. Schools are not independent well-resourced entities but rather complex social organisations that are not immune to wider macro and micro issues and primarily rely on local community and staff support to generate effective change.

The analysis of data presented in other studies, supports our assertions. For example, in a study of "Pākehā talk"[1] on the state of Pākehā and Māori relationships within mainstream media, McCreanor (2005) found two specific patterns that both featured in debates over race relations in during a specific time-frame. The first related to perceived "Māori privilege" where groups of non-Māori believed Māori gained "special treatment" (p. 57). This perceived privilege was attributed as "rights and resources unavailable to the rest of society"; in other words "a special treatment which is racist and akin to apartheid" (McCreanor, 2005, p. 57). The second pattern of talk was related to "one people" an attempt to "bury" diversity within society in an appeal to national unity (2005, p. 59). McCreanor argued that advocates of this "one people" narrative believe that:

> 'Unless we drop our sectarian interests in favour of national unity, as New Zealanders or Kiwis, racial tension will continue to grow'….This remains a powerful part of the standard story as the prescription by which harmony is to be achieved. (2005, p. 59)

Questions about "what counts" as racism and other marginalising practices must be viewed as a natural part of any school improvement process. And yet there is little within the professional development literature to prepare teachers, school managers and school reform agents for such work (Cochran-Smith, 2004). Debate, dialogue and sustained inquiry that engaged diverse groups of community members at both a local and national level to investigate issues of racism and other discriminatory practices was clearly needed to sustain the first phase of Te Kauhua. However, this is clearly not easy work and requires a strong political will at both a micro and macro level. Such work cannot be a one-off event but rather a series of critical and public (honest) investigations about the less visible, hidden, unexamined, and ongoing issues related to individual and institutional racism that impact on student achievement.

Acknowledgements

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[1]   McCreanor undertook research on a series of Letters to the Editor within national media publications.