Working towards wellbeing rests on whanaungatanga and partnerships

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KEY POINTS

- A wellbeing journey takes time and involves strong and collaborative leadership and the sharing of power.
- Clear values drive change; a focus on whanaungatanga was central to creating a solid foundation for school actions.
- Most school leaders had a strong commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnerships and a desire to do better for Māori through addressing structural racism and locating mātauranga Māori in a central place in school life.
- Leadership by whānau and Māori champions was key in prompting, leading, or supporting change.
- Change requires processes, such as whole-school professional learning and development (PLD), that bring everyone on board.
- Schools needed to address barriers that could slow their journey, such as non-Māori staff or whānau challenging school directions, or directives from external organisations that did not align with a focus on wellbeing.

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The education system is in a period of significant change. Wellbeing is an increasing priority as schools reintegrate students after COVID-19 lockdowns and climate-related disasters. A large-scale curriculum refresh programme and the implementation of a new Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum are underway. These changes are encouraging schools to expand their focus on culture, identity, and mātauranga Māori within the curriculum.

This article shares insights from a study of six primary schools with high wellbeing for Māori and non-Māori students. We examine how these schools undertook a change journey to better support the wellbeing, belonging, and identity of students, and, in particular, tamariki Māori. We also consider the implications for other schools undertaking similar journeys.

The motivation for this article

Wellbeing is important to learners, and for learning.[1] We know students are best able to learn if they feel safe and secure and their basic needs like food, warmth, and nurturing relationships are met. Meta-analyses show a positive association between achievement and wellbeing (Bücker et al., 2018; Kaya & Erdem, 2021), or constructs related to wellbeing, such as school belonging (Allen et al., 2018).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, analysis of student Wellbeing@School[2] survey data shows that, after controlling for factors such as school decile, tamariki Māori report lower levels of wellbeing than other students (Lawes & Boyd, 2017, 2018). However, these analyses also show some schools have upward trajectories in Māori and non-Māori student wellbeing data, suggesting there is good practice occurring.

We wanted to know how these schools were creating change, so we visited some as part of the study, *Manaakitia ngā tamariki kia ora ai | Supporting children's wellbeing* (Boyd et al., 2021). We were struck by the length of the journeys and the powerful stories of change we were told. So we thought sharing insights about these journeys, and who or what drove and supported change, would be a good article topic. This article identifies common factors that supported schools to promote student wellbeing, including the essential role of Māori champions in activating and supporting schools' journeys.

About the study

The study included six primary and intermediate schools whose Wellbeing@School student survey data showed Māori and non-Māori students all had high levels of wellbeing. Some schools were small, others were large. Most were mid to low decile. One offered Māori-medium education and another bilingual education. The percentage of Māori enrolment ranged from around 20% to 70%.

The study had two main focuses. We wanted to deepen our understandings about the different ways schools promote the wellbeing of students, particularly tamariki Māori. We also wanted to find out how schools addressed experiences detrimental to wellbeing, such as racism and bullying behaviour.

We visited each school for 2 days to talk to people who could tell us about their approaches and wellbeing journey including: principals and senior leadership team (SLT) members; classroom teachers including those leading school approaches to te reo Māori or building connections with whānau; kapa haka and reo Māori tutors; special educational needs co-ordinators (SENCO); visiting support workers (such as resource teacher: learning and behaviour or social workers; and a few whānau, board of trustee (BoT) members, and community members such as kaumātua or kuia who supported the school. Interviews were individual or group depending on interviewees' preference. At each school, staff invited a group of senior tamariki Māori to talk to us. If schools had Māori-medium and English-medium classes, we talked to a group of tamariki from each setting. We collected school documents and informally toured the school and some classrooms.

Wellbeing is a multidimensional concept that is interpreted in different ways. As a starting point for our definition of wellbeing, we drew on concepts grounded in mātauranga Māori such as Te Whare Tapa Whā model of hauora (Durie, 1994). Hauora is a concept that can be loosely translated[3] as wellbeing. This model

is referred to in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 22) and is well known in schools.

Interviews were in te reo Māori or English according to interviewees' preferences. Similar themes were covered in all interviews. We focused on two known protective wellbeing-related concepts. One is a key concept in literature by Māori writers: the importance of a positive sense of cultural identity (Durie, 2003; Rata, 2012). The second is a key concept in Western literature: the importance of students' sense of connectedness and belonging at school (Allen et al., 2018; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Jose & Pryor, 2010). We also asked interviewees about the school change journey and how challenges were addressed.

The study team included Māori and non-Māori researchers who visited schools in pairs. We used an exploratory approach that centred the experiences and views of Māori. Kaupapa Māori principles and a social justice lens guided the study approaches and assisted us to thematically analyse data. We analysed the data from each school and triangulated the experiences and perspectives of different interviewees to form a picture of school practices. As a team, we also looked across all schools for themes.

What drove the need for change in the schools?

The schools were all engaged in active change journeys, but each had a different combination of reasons driving change. A turning point for some was staff difficulty in managing student behaviour which in turn impacted on learning. Other schools wanted to do better for tamariki Māori, or for students whose cultures were not very visible in school life. Some school leaders wanted to raise staff's critical consciousness about their obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the impacts of racism. Others were more focused on the value to learning gained from fostering students' connections to cultures and communities. Some noted their school felt monocultural and realised whānau were not comfortable at school.

> Engagement of whānau Māori wasn't visible; that's what started the journey. How could we, as a school, make an environment that was safe? Engaging with whānau and iwi started knocking down barriers. Kuia coming to school regularly, and us going to them, going to their whare. (School leaders)

Core values drove how schools worked and what they worked on

The schools committed resources and time to build a wellbeing foundation. They developed interrelated approaches targeting different layers of school life and practice. These reinforced each other to support students' wellbeing. Strong values and a holistic view of wellbeing drove approaches. Staff were clear students would not be able to learn if their wellbeing needs were not addressed, if their identities (cultural and more) were not recognised at school, or if they did not have a sense of belonging to school. For students who needed more support, schools aimed to remove barriers. Schools went the extra mile to also support whānau wellbeing.

A commitment to whanaungatanga, relationships, and belonging is key

There were two foundational elements that stood out as supporting the wellbeing of tamariki Māori and other students. One was a valuing and prioritising of whanaungatanga, and the belief that everyone in the school community was whānau. This belief was the foundation for school actions, and schools worked to decrease the separation between home and school. The valuing of whanaungatanga started at the door of the school and reached out into the community. Schools were committed to many types of relationships and partnerships: with students, with whānau and whānau Māori, with community, and with external providers.

> I feel I belong at school … because when we walk into the school, I feel caring, and all the teachers are like, 'Kia ora', and you know them, and you feel welcome and safe … (Tamariki)

Placing mātauranga Māori at the centre of learning fosters wellbeing

The second foundational element, which was key for tamariki Māori as well as others, was about making culture visible and valued. Schools were on a journey to make mātauranga Māori (including te reo Māori, tikanga, and whakapapa) more central to the curriculum and school life. Common actions included developing a reo Māori curriculum, and tikanga for different times or events. Schools worked to place mātauranga Māori and local histories, people, spaces, and places in a central place in the learning programme. Many enabled students to express their identity through pepeha. Schools also worked to value, and make visible, the cultural practices and languages of many students.

Most schools positioned kapa haka as a key vehicle for learning for students and staff. Kapa haka supported: learning te reo Māori; understandings about mātauranga; strengthening cultural identity and pride; and learning, wellbeing, and a sense of belonging to a collective.

School staff, students, and whānau acknowledged the many learning and wellbeing benefits stemming from uplifting the mana of te reo Māori and things Māori which

included the sense of pride and belonging students gained from their cultural identity being fostered at school.

Overall, schools were moving towards "culturally sustaining pedagogies" which are about de-centring whiteness and, instead, fostering and sustaining "linguistic, literate and cultural pluralism" (Paris & Alim, 2017, p. 1) in ways that support positive social transformation. In an Aotearoa context, culturally sustaining pedagogies include valuing mātauranga Māori and actively supporting reo Māori revitalisation. They are also about uplifting the visibility and value of the cultural practices and languages of many cultures.

School leaders innovated, collaborated, and shared power

We were curious what led schools to prioritise whanaungatanga, relationships, belonging, and mātauranga Māori. Such changes took time; school leaders, and other staff, were still finding their way. At many schools, the current learning journey began many years ago with prior principals.

Most current principals were actively driving change and had clear visions for school directions. They appeared to be exemplifying the qualities, knowledge, and skills of effective leaders as outlined in *Kiwi leadership for principals* (Ministry of Education, 2008) including the principles of Manaakitanga (leading with moral purpose), Pono (having self-belief), Awhinatanga (guiding and supporting), and Ako (being a learner).

These principals had key working relationships with others. Leadership literature tells us effective leaders collaborate. In *The nature of leadership is changing,* Fullan (2020) discusses the importance of joint determination. He states, "the more complex the problem, the more people must be part of the solution" (p. 140), and good leaders work with people in the system to develop a unity of purpose and find adaptive solutions to issues. Similarly, Louis (2015) considers effective leaders collaborate across previously siloed groups to break down barriers and create a space to develop new solutions to persistent problems. These leaders take risks and hand power to others if they can see students will benefit. The school leaders at the case study schools exhibited these types of leadership behaviours, particularly in the way they worked in partnership with Māori.

At each school, many people contributed to schools' change journeys including whānau Māori and other community members. Many school staff were change agents including assistant principals, deputy principals, reo Māori and kapa haka tutors, and other teachers.

School leaders and other staff were innovators. They were strong in their beliefs about what was important, and they drew on team expertise to develop new approaches or adapt existing ones. They also learnt from things that did not work well; for example, in some schools, attempts to engage with whānau did not result in a good turn-out, so schools realised they needed to do things differently.

Māori are partnering with schools

Leadership by Māori was key in prompting change. School leaders worked with Māori strategic partners (we called these people Māori champions) and whānau to help the school on their change journey.

Leadership by Māori champions was key

Māori champions guided and supported the journey of the school. These champions came from many different places. Some schools were fortunate to have Māori staff who could act as pou and advisers for the school. These staff were SLT members, teachers, PLD providers, or resource teachers of Māori. Other champions were whānau on the boards of trustees, kaumātua or kuia, or people who had a care and support role at the school. Some were school kapa haka or reo Māori tutors, who also acted as strategic advisers or tutors for non-Māori school leaders and teachers.

> Before 2017 it was not good for Māori tamariki [at this school] … These tamariki need to be able to express themselves for who they are, not what they are. This is a key ingredient for success for our mokopuna.
>
> Kapa haka is a whole learning for the kaiako. Not just singing and actions. They are learning. I do the same thing for the children and kaiako. They have learnt appreciation about who we are. It's not a tick the boxes thing anymore. Having [more than one Māori staff member] here—it gives [kaiako] that time [to learn].
>
> We normalise the reo around the school. Just incorporating those words. The teachers are getting on board ... It is a good start. We are going from nothing to lots …
>
> We have that whanaungatanga. I can say that here. At other schools, you can't say that. (Kapa haka tutor and teacher)

Some Māori champions strategically formed a relationship with a school. Their view of change was long-term and multigenerational, so they worked with a school for a number of years, and with more than one principal. For example, over time, one school started providing Māori-medium classes, encouraged by whānau who had joined the BoT. In other cases, non-Māori school leaders or lead teachers actively fostered relationships with Māori champions who proactively offered guidance and support.

These champions took on an important, complex, and long-term role in supporting schools and they also needed support, particularly from other Māori champions. Most schools had more than one Māori champion.

Schools worked towards building authentic partnerships with whānau

Many schools believed all whānau needed to feel welcome at school and had open door policies. This valuing of whanaungatanga was demonstrated through the priority placed on fostering informal and formal relationships with whānau and communities. Whanaungatanga took place inside and outside of the school. School leaders and staff were visible in the community. They made time to build relationships with whānau at drop-off and pick-up times and at local events. Valuing whanaungatanga helped reduce the separation between home and school and provided a foundation for whānau and school staff to work together.

To strengthen the connection between home, community, and school, most schools had members of their community, including whānau and volunteers, working in the school. A few had whānau in school leadership positions who were connected to the area through whakapapa. Many schools had employed whānau as teaching aides. Others had volunteers who helped students with reading or coaching sports teams.

Reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationships were key to building partnerships between whānau and school. All schools listened to whānau suggestions and consulted whānau about their aspirations for their children or other aspects of school practice. Some schools also consulted students about many important decisions.

> Our school reports were created with the parents. Anyone who wanted could come [to the hui]. We asked what tables do you want? What comments? What do you want to see? (School leaders)

At some schools, whānau consultations drove their change process. Schools reported to whānau how they acted on their suggestions, and then sought feedback about next steps. It was important to whānau to see their aspirations or suggestions acted on. This helped strengthen relationships and trust, and school practices.

> Every term they do a whānau hui and everyone gets a meal. The kids watch a movie. We [whānau] are asked: Do your kids like being here? What do you want? ... The principal, she actually integrates what the parents want. I have never seen a school that does that so well. (Whānau)

Schools prioritised positive, frequent, and clear communication with whānau about school actions and their child's learning and experiences. It was important to schools that they maintained relationships if there was an issue or conflict. School staff sought whānau input, were active listeners, and addressed any issues quickly. They shared solutions and outcomes with whānau.

Schools were constantly looking for new ways to build connections with whānau. All had realised traditional relationship-building approaches were not always effective. They reframed practices like "meet the teacher" evenings, consultation processes, student learning conferences, or whānau support for school trips, to support relationship building and partnerships with whānau. Across schools, this reframing had three common characteristics:

1. Schools made occasions more fun and informal, and involved students. This provided more casual opportunities to build relationships. One school changed "meet the teacher" night to a community expo where whānau met teachers and local people and agencies who provided learning and health support to students. During the evening, the school band played and students showcased their digital learning.
2. Schools tailored events to whānau needs and interests. At one school, consultations highlighted whānau Māori concerns about the learning of their tamariki. So, a pizza evening was organised for whānau where they looked at tamariki success. The school shared data and talked about what they were doing to change things.
3. Schools organised events or consultations in ways that made it easier for whānau to attend; for example, inviting the whole family and providing kai meant whānau did not have to find babysitters. Other schools rang whānau or went to visit them at home.

Whole-school PLD was an essential part of the journey

Whole-school PLD was a core part of the change journey. School leaders and SLTs were innovative and strategic about change management. They arranged ongoing whole-school PLD and found ways to build staff commitment to the change journey. As Fullan (2020) notes, school leaders need to "always be learning and helping others learn" (p. 141).

While these PLD journeys were not solely focused on wellbeing, they had implications for wellbeing. Most schools had two main PLD focuses that assisted in shaping their journeys.

PLD helped change beliefs about behaviour and relationships

The first focus was PLD that assisted staff to reframe views about behaviour and deepen understandings about the importance of whanaungatanga and relationships. Common PLD forms included Incredible Years Teacher, PB4L School-Wide, and restorative practices.

Through this PLD, schools explored new ways of creating a culture of belonging that embraced values such as respect for diversity and celebrated and validated students' identities including cultural identities.

Schools were also shifting from punitive to strengths-based views of student behaviour. They explored why

students might be experiencing difficulty learning and developed creative solutions to meet students' wellbeing and learning needs. Most had developed new ways to harness students' leadership capabilities, and nurtured tuakana–teina relationships so students could assist in creating an inclusive community and support their peers.

> In [Maori-medium classes] in the morning hui, we make a big deal of kids who look after others—tuakana. So, they can see that's the kind of behaviour we're looking for. Manaakitanga is one of our big kaupapa—we want to encourage it. (Kaiako)

These forms of PLD also helped schools move towards early identification of needs. For example, two principals noticed a pattern for some senior boys to become disengaged with learning and school. These principals played sports with the boys before school or at breaks which helped form stronger relationships. The principals then had these relationships to draw on if any concerns arose. Both noted this approach was helping them keep senior students engaged and at school.

Te reo, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori PLD is a core support

A second long-term PLD focus that assisted schools' journeys was about mātauranga Māori. Most school leaders were clear their school needed to honour their obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. They wanted to do better for tamariki Māori and move away from deficit thinking towards strengths-based approaches that addressed structural racism, such as a Eurocentric curriculum.

Nearly all schools made a substantial commitment to this form of PLD, to help them grow staff's capabilities and critical consciousness. The PLD took different forms. At some schools, all staff studied te reo Māori at a local wānanga for a year. Others engaged in 3 years of te reo Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi PLD with a facilitator. A couple of schools had joined Poutama Pounamu PLD as part of their Kāhui Ako focus.

> The first thing we worked on was identity … We committed to 3 years of PLD only on te reo Māori. That was deliberate, that's how I'd do it from now on, just one focus … For me this was non-negotiable; we're breaking the law if we're not doing it. I bought a Treaty of Waitangi and it's in the foyer to remind everyone we're obliged to do something about it. (School leader)

> At the start of year, we taught a unit on sustainability [but when we put on our] Poutama Pounamu caps [we realised] we were only giving Western knowledge to kids. [We used to do things like] we'd call it maunga instead of mountain and then we've 'done' [mātauranga Māori]. This time we taught about Papatūānuku … It was a huge learning for staff …

> [We said] we'll do all Māori knowledge with a sliver of sustainability. Lots of teachers are looking at me, they knew nothing about Rangi-nui and couldn't say Papatūānuku … but they said yes … They dove in and gave it a go. We got great feedback from teachers …

> We watched movies, talked … the kids absolutely love it. It's the knowledge that's inside their genes and their bones, and their ancient knowledge. (School leaders)

To cement this commitment, school leaders embedded goals relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi or te reo Māori within charters, action plans, or teacher appraisal and inquiry processes. They changed curriculum planning processes and content and worked to incorporate te reo, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori within school life in ways they described as being more authentic than past practices.

Within each school, there were some people who were critically aware of the impacts of structural racism on schools, and the damage that negative stereotyping could cause. They were driven by a desire to do better for tamariki Māori. In general, Māori staff were more critically aware, but there were non-Māori school leaders and teachers who shared this awareness. These non-Māori staff organised whole-school PLD for their colleagues. They were also on personal learning journeys and shared their individual experiences and learning with other staff.

Schools ensure they continue their learning from PLD

To keep building on PLD, most schools had Māori or non-Māori staff who led the focus on te reo and tikanga Māori. These staff were passionate about supporting their peers. The SLT encouraged this passion by providing leadership positions. Many lead teachers had initially led planning and created resources for their peers. Over time, schools changed the focus of the lead teacher role to be more about empowering peers. Lead teachers were careful not to take ownership of the work away from teachers.

Many PLD initiatives encouraged a focus on data-driven decision making. All schools made decisions based on data, and for some—particularly those part of PB4L School-Wide—data was a strong driver. Wellbeing@School data also contributed to determining schools' directions. Some schools used processes and tools that reflected te ao Māori or that enabled schools to collect community feedback, such as Poutama Pounamu data-gathering processes and tools or the Hautū Māori Cultural Responsiveness self-review tool for school boards.[4]

Schools needed to address challenges along the way

Working through their obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi requires schools to take all staff and the community on the journey with them. As part of their journeys, these

schools were addressing structural racism and practices that prioritise learning over wellbeing.

School staff had different levels of critical consciousness about the impact of colonisation through institutional and structural racism. Schools experienced challenges from within—such as staff or whānau challenging the school's focus on te reo or tikanga Māori—and from external organisations and directives; for example, agencies that were focused on achievement data and did not appear to see the value of the wellbeing foundation the school was working on.

Schools' valuing of whanaungatanga and approaches to dealing with racism and conflict supported them to work through challenges that came from within the school community. We heard about or saw instances where staff challenged their peers about micro-aggressions (e.g., statements that were underpinned by deficit assumptions about whānau or tamariki Māori). These challenges were made in non-confrontational ways with a focus on valuing and maintaining relationships. Māori staff described how they were actively supporting their colleagues to understand language or behaviours that were offensive to Māori. Relationships were at the forefront, and school leaders and some other staff did not shy away from potentially challenging conversations or "give up" on difficult situations. They were skilled at managing these conversations in ways that upheld everyone's mana.

A wellbeing focus could entail a high workload, particularly for school leaders and Māori staff who were committed to supporting tamariki. Māori champions without formal school leadership roles had a wide range of roles that were not reflected in job titles or remuneration including cultural leadership, strategic leadership, care and support, mentoring, or whānau and community liaison. This finding highlights a wider tension around the extra layers of work Māori undertake in communities and schools. This tension is evident in other studies (Stucki et al., 2006). For school leaders and policy makers, this suggests a need to ensure adequate acknowledgement of this partnership in terms of leadership positions, remuneration, or via other means.

Schools found building relationships and partnerships with people from local marae and iwi takes time and requires good processes. Sometimes misunderstandings or people moving on could derail relationships. Relationship building is a long-term endeavour that requires a plan and people who understand the local context. One school leader gave a teacher who had connections to the local marae a leadership role as whānau liaison. Another school visited one local marae each year and worked alongside iwi members on conservation and art projects. These approaches were both aimed at forging long-term reciprocal connections.

Summing up and reflections

This article focused on the critical role school leaders, partnerships with Māori champions and whānau, and whole-school PLD all played in supporting schools' change journeys. These journeys affirmed the equity and wellbeing benefits of valuing whanaungatanga, honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and placing te reo, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori in a central place in school life. Students gain both learning and wellbeing benefits from learning te reo and tikanga Māori, connecting with people in the community, and exploring local spaces, places, and history. These learning experiences all contribute to tamariki having a sense of pride in themselves and their cultural identity, and their feelings of belonging at school.

This article discusses schools' change journeys and their multilayered and interrelated approaches to fostering tamariki wellbeing. Common actions included:

- providing a safe, welcoming environment for students and whānau (e.g., friendly office staff, and school leaders who greeted whānau at the school gate)
- working with the school community to develop shared values about wellbeing and belonging
- focusing on identity (e.g., celebrating diversity in all its forms, and making sure staff had time to get to know all their learners)
- having high expectations for all learners and rejecting deficit views about their community. Schools actively removed barriers to student and whānau participation in learning experiences
- creating a sense of pride in the school (e.g., offering things that students valued such as play equipment, school clubs and gardens, kapa haka, and performing arts resources)
- providing multiple opportunities for students to explore their passions, and seeking sponsorship so all could have these opportunities
- providing multiple opportunities for student input into decisions or leadership
- developing a "feelings-based" social and emotional learning curriculum focused on expressing feelings, self-understanding, and empathy
- careful planning for different transitions (e.g., from home to classroom in the morning, from breaktimes back to the classroom)
- offering extra learning and relationship support that included employing whānau as teaching aides
- tailoring school health and wellbeing support to student and whānau needs, and partnering with local groups and agencies to access additional support
- listening and quickly acting on feedback from whānau, and informing whānau about the actions taken
- preparing staff and students to address conflict (e.g., bullying or racism) in ways that upheld and maintained relationships.

Schools had many similarities in their focuses. One key area of difference was the extent to which they offered a school-wide critically conscious curriculum that enabled students to consider the impacts and legacy of colonisation in Aotearoa. A critically conscious curriculum is also useful for assisting young people to explore who they are, where they are from, and locate themselves in the different narratives that form Aotearoa New Zealand's histories. Encouraging critical consciousness can support learners to develop individual and collective agency in influencing the shape of the future.

The following reflection questions were generated as a result of what we learnt from the wellbeing journeys of the schools in this study and are aimed at supporting other schools' journeys:

- How do you develop and communicate wellbeing visions and goals for your school; acknowledging that change takes time, and priorities may evolve or change over time?
- What does a commitment to whanaungatanga and relationships look like at your school? How do you actively build relationships and maintain them through challenging times?
- What are the different ways your school builds reciprocal and mutually beneficial partnerships between whānau and school? How do you communicate the changes you have made as a result of whānau feedback?
- Who are, or could be, the Māori champions for your school? Is their role in supporting change at your school valued, acknowledged, and supported by leadership?
- How does your school assist students to explore who they are and where they are from? What new opportunities might be offered by the new Aotearoa New Zealand's histories and localised curriculum developments?
- How do PLD processes at your school assist staff to develop their critical consciousness about Te Tiriti o Waitangi, racism, and structural inequities?
- How can the curriculum and learning programme support students to develop their critical consciousness about Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Aotearoa New Zealand histories, racism, and colonisation? How can this learning programme support students to have a sense of collective agency about the future?

Notes

1. For more details about the wellbeing foundation of the six schools in this study, see Boyd et al. (2021).
2. https://www.wellbeingatschool.org.nz
3. In translating the culturally bound concept of hauora, we acknowledge that aspects of the meaning and complexities of the concept of hauora may be lost.
4. https://www.nzsta.org.nz/assets/Maori-student-achievement/Hautu.pdf

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