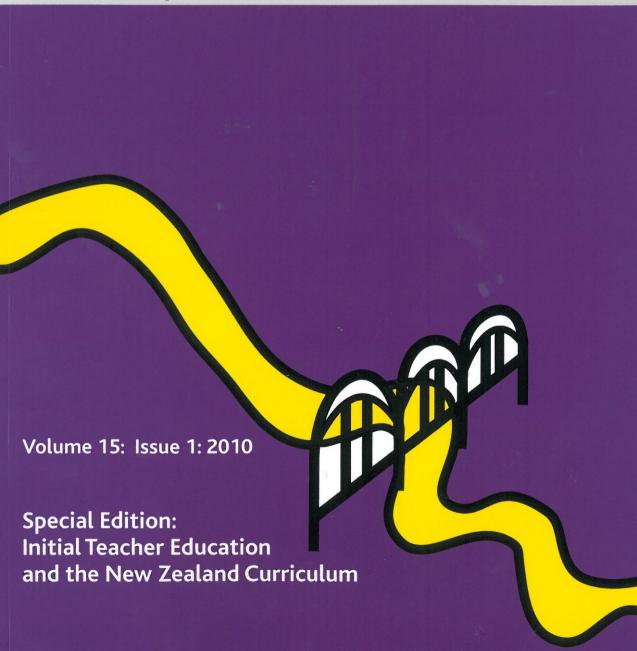


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OPENING EYES TO DIFFERENT WORLDS

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ABSTRACT New Zealand based research demonstrates that the education system has consistently failed the children of low socio-economic status (ses) parents. In contemporary times a large number of such children are Māori and Pasifika. Teachers, while not the whole solution, are integral to making a positive difference. Specific recruitment and courses for "urban (low ses, inner city) teaching" are the norm in parts of the USA, with researched positive effects. The argument of this paper is that New Zealand pre-service teacher education must consciously prepare teachers to teach children from low ses areas, and in particular non-Pākehā (non-white) children. The paper's focus is on an optional teacher education course which aimed to prepare students for teaching in New Zealand's low ses (low decile) urban and rural schools. Freirean theoretical and practical ideas underpinned course planning and implementation. Lecturer and student reflections complement the paper's argument.

KEYWORDS

Inequity in schooling, low ses schools, pedagogy for empowerment

INTRODUCTION

Below average and unacceptable educational achievement levels by children of low Socio-economic status (SES) parents are widespread and common in New Zealand's schools (Hughes & Pearce, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 137; 2006). New Zealand schools are given a decile rating according to the ses of the families of the student population. Mirroring the situation in other countries, many of those who fail in New Zealand schools are from minority, non-white populations. While teachers are not wholly responsible for student under achievement—macro issues related to poverty and the way the state allocates its tax based resources are integral—they are unquestionably part of any solution (Carpenter, 2009).

The argument in this paper is that in order to begin to address the negative aspects of social reproduction in education, New Zealand initial teacher education (ITE) must consciously prepare ITE students to teach in low ses communities, and in particular non-Pākehā (non-white) children. At the core of this paper is research-based critical reflection on a Freirean-based ITE course; one which challenges the notion of "other" and has the potential to better prepare teachers for New Zealand's urban and rural schools. The course was developed for primary school (Year 1-8) student teachers who wished to teach in low decile urban and rural schools. The course encompasses theoretical and practical knowledge.

Swartz (2003), writing of the USA, signals the need for teacher educators to help white students develop appropriate dispositions to rethink their assumptions about "others". While various and sometimes relevant (to New Zealand's situation)

programmes have been developed and researched in overseas contexts (Chance, Morris, & Rakes, 1996; Kroll et al., 2005; Leland & Harste, 2005; Popkewitz, 1998; Swartz, 2003), the situation in New Zealand is unique. Indigenous Māori are over represented in low ses statistics; they comprise approximately 11% of the total school population and are approximately one third of urban and rural school low decile school populations. Also predominant, particularly in low decile urban schools, are children descended from the various Pacific Island nation states of Samoa, Niue, Tonga, Fiji, and the Cook Islands.

In most New Zealand ITE programmes, there is an assumption that diverse pupils' needs are addressed and accommodated across and within all courses. The resulting marginalisation of diversity issues, plus a tendency towards "adhockery" by ITE staff (who, like most teachers including myself, tend to be white and middle class), contributes, I suggest, to the reproduction of education's inequitable outcomes. While it is circumspect to read about, reflect on, and sometimes import and adapt programmes from overseas, our unique context demands locally based and developed alternatives.

The ITE course examined below is a contribution to that requisite. I developed the course and was the lecturer for its initial offerings; course content draws on the generically applicable theory of the late Paulo Freire. This paper critically examines the evolving, compounding nature of both the course programme and my personal pedagogical and critical action research (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2007) journeys. It is a personal critique of a journey towards a Freirean (A. M. A. Freire & Macedo, 1998; P. Freire, 1972) way of working with New Zealand teacher education students who wish to teach in low decile schools.

Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator and philosopher, advised Donaldo Macedo to tell his fellow Americans not to import his (Freire's) ideas. Instead, "... ask them to re-create and re-write my ideas". The same advice undoubtedly would have been given to me as a New Zealand ITE lecturer in the 21st century. I needed to critically reflect on the relevance of the theories of a 1970/1980s thinker and activist, based largely in Brazil and with the World Council of Churches, on an optional course designed to prepare students for teaching in New Zealand's urban and rural schools.

Freire's theories underpin the notion that effective pedagogies for schools in New Zealand's multicultural urban and poorer rural areas are those which empower children and encourage them to take control of their learning. His core ideas regarding pedagogy have motivated educators worldwide (Delpit, 2006; Gandin & Fischman, 2006; Greenman & Dieckmann, 2004; hooks, 1994), and influenced the Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori movements in New Zealand (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994).

Freire's notion of the pedagogue is significant. Traditionally, in Greek classical times, this person was the servant who accompanied the learner to his or her place of learning. This subverts the image of the teacher in what Freire terms a "banking" system. In the latter system the teacher leads and the learner follows, the teacher controls, imposes, and is superior in every way to the learner. In contrast, the Freirean educator is a companion to the learner; she works alongside learners and

encourages them to be creators rather than consumers of their own learning—the teacher is a pedagogue (Taylor, 1993, pp. 8–9). If the interaction is successful, learners are conscientized:

Conscientization refers to the process in which men (sic), not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-political reality which shapes their lives and their capacity to transform that reality. (P. Freire, 1970)

As indicated above, P. Friere's (1972) theories of empowerment and the practical application of aspects of those theories are analysed and critiqued as part of course content; the hypothesis being that if ITE students are themselves taught effectively using Freirean methods, then they are more likely to emulate that pedagogy and become more effective teachers in low decile urban and rural schools. Assuming that Freirean consciousness-raising is integral to changing dispositions, the modelling of a liberatory form of pedagogy became crucial.

THE COURSE: PEDAGOGY FOR EMPOWERMENT IN DECILE 1–3 SCHOOLS

"Pedagogy for empowerment in Decile 1–3 (low socio-economic) schools", an optional course for ITE final year students, was designed to be taught over one semester. There are up to 40 hours face-to-face teaching hours, learning is required (by the institution) to be outcomes driven, the outcomes for this course being written in a permissive and encompassing fashion. Up to 25 students are in each class.

The course opens theoretical and reflective windows which are designed to enable student teachers to teach in empowering and liberating ways. Complementing Freire's work, a variety of readings underpin course learning (for example: Anyon, 2005; Biddulph, Biddulph, & Biddulph, 2003; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Fassett & Warren, 2007; Hawk & Hill, 1996; Maguire, Wooldridge, & Pratt-Adams, 2006; Popkewitz, 1998; Thrupp, 2006). Significant research based additions in recent years have been findings from the Kaiako Toa (Carpenter, McMurchy-Pilkington, & Sutherland, 2004), and Te Whakapakari (Carpenter & McMurchy-Pilkington, 2007) research projects. The former examines the beliefs and attitudes of highly successful teachers in South Auckland's economically poor urban and rural schools, while the latter describes a Freirean critical action research based professional development programme for teachers.

Complementing theory, the teaching programme includes visits to innovative and successful low decile urban and rural schools (which change on a year to year basis and generally include Māori immersion), visits to the class by Education Review Office and Ministry of Education personnel (who speak of current initiatives and engage in debate), a school principal, and a panel of confident and seemingly successful teachers from urban and rural schools (including Year One beginning teachers). A course highlight is a field trip to rural Tai Tokerau, to the north and south Hokianga, which includes a noho marae (overnight stay on a marae, in a Māori meeting house).

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Experiences within the course are designed to share the excitement and challenges of low decile urban and rural school teaching. Reflection is critical. It is ongoing throughout the 10 weeks of teaching and is strongly encouraged during discussions and assignment work. Such dialogue between students in the class, between lecturer and students, students and children, and students and teaching or education colleagues, is what enables purposeful learning. Dialogue is the conduit for combined purpose and direction.

Only those who listen, speak ... Those who speak democratically need to silence themselves so that the voice of those who must be listened to is allowed to emerge (P. Freire, Fraser, Macedo, McKinnon, & Stokes, 1997, p. 306).

A taught course

I began a new semester knowing that I was ready for new challenges; I wanted to more closely mirror an approach which modelled a way ITE students could eventually teach in low decile schools. Essentially I wanted to "walk the talk", to model the empowering nature of reflection on practice, and to teach using Freirean pedagogy. The course provided opportunities which might not be available if there was a team of lecturers and/or a large cohort of students. For instance I had the autonomy to make changes at short notice, and could take close account of student voices. As the sole lecturer and with some prior experience of the course, the pedagogical opportunities appeared boundless.

One of my main goals was to take a greater step towards being more of a companion in learning, rather than the being the "all knowing" banker and provider of knowledge. I wanted to provide fewer directives, I desired to be more silent, and through being so, provide a space for students to direct and control their own learning. Ira Shor (1996) offers a Freirean model for tertiary teaching. While Shor's model is from the United States of America it contributes many ways of working which I felt I could adapt to suit our context.

From the first meeting all of our classroom sessions took place in a seated circle. This was to avoid any students being relegated, physically, to "Siberia" (the back or outside of the centre of learning, the pedagogical site). Just as it would be the following year in their classrooms, what happened in the early scheduled sessions/classes was critical. I wanted students to take charge of their own learning, to establish class protocols (kaupapa) and waiata (ceremonial songs), to plan and organise their own transport to various Auckland schools and to Tai Tokerau, to think— and constantly ask how and why, consider themselves professionals with the autonomy and ability to make good choices, trust their own knowledge and capabilities, and to nurture each other through their learning processes. There were Māori students in the class and, as tangata whenua (people of the land), I was hopeful they would provide leadership in mihi (welcoming speeches), school visits and marae situations where we were manuhiri (visitors).

An early decision I made was to ask a mentor for support. I also decided to keep a personal reflective diary and to ask the students to do likewise. The following are some of my reflections made after the early sessions

While I tried to be inclusive in my pedagogy I found I was talking far too much, explaining the course outline and assessment tasks, potential visits, trip north etc.

For the final half hour we had a discussion on Lita's story (Timperley & Robinson, 2004)—it is hard to encourage the students not to address me, I tried looking away from them, and also asked them to address the group. By the end the dialogue was improving in that they were treating me as one of the contributors rather than the lecturer. Perhaps success will be when one publicly disagrees with my perspective. It is so hard for me to be quiet, but when I do things work out and students own the process and the results. My frustration is that it seems to take a long time, and there's so much to get through

As in earlier years, I had compiled a book of readings. Taylor (1993) describes prescribed readings as the sound of "one hand clapping". According to Taylor, Freire might describe such reading as another mode of banking education—the educator writes and the student reads—perhaps the epitome of non-dialogue. Notwithstanding this, critical consciousness is a process of action and reflection: "It is a dynamic, individual and collective reappraisal of history that insists that the learner is 'in the world' and able to 'name' his or her world" (Taylor, 1993, p. 30). Educators need a critical awareness surrounding reality (knowledge) and power relations; the readings therefore formed baseline information.

One of the principles of Freirean pedagogy is that the reader should not enthusiastically agree with what an author says, nor dismiss an argument out of hand, without actively rewriting his or her own interpretation of the original texts. (Taylor, 1993, p. 8)

The carefully selected readings seemed essential, provided there was a critically reflective process surrounding them. Readings could not be seen as the truth; they were someone's version of the truth and thus required reframing, questioning, critique, recontextualising and comparisons. As many readings were sourced internationally, this process became even more important. Freire's work (1972) was included and considerable discussion revolved around the relevance or otherwise of his ideas for the New Zealand context. Particular attention was drawn to the use of Freire's ideas and methods by those involved in Māori immersion forms of teaching. Despite banking connotations the readings did have liberatory potential. How we processed the readings, our dialogue surrounding them, were as important as the readings' content.

Teachers who engage in an educational practice without curiosity, allowing their students to avoid engagement with critical readings, are not involved in dialogue as a process of learning and knowing – statement by Freire. (Macedo, 1995)

A similar tension (for me) existed regarding visiting speakers. In a similar way to prescribed texts and their influence, these people presented their versions of the truth, their understandings of processes and learning for economically poor children.

(The ERO visitor's) talk was challenging ... she referred to Lita's story, good as this was familiar to students. It is hard to keep the dialogic process going when there is a visiting speaker as visitors are generally prepared to speak the whole session with a short time at the end for questions. How can I sort this out? Is it better to just accept visitors have the wisdom to impart?

Good manners and class protocols meant that interrogation and critique was muted and respectful—were these further instances of one-hand clapping? In such cases student interrogation tended to happen after the event during oral debriefing sessions and in reflective journal writings and assignments.

School visits added to the mix, complexity and the dynamism of the course. It quickly became apparent that there was no one "truth", no one answer for the successful teaching of children in economically poor urban and rural schools. While set readings presented a range of possibilities for pedagogy, visiting speakers presented other scenarios, and then a variety of school visits complemented and/or contradicted them all. Which was the way forward? With their youthful enthusiasm students expected and wanted to right the world at the same time as the course expected them to write the word. Personal thinking journeys were shared in journals, the course evaluation and final assignments:

A factor that enabled our group to approach these (course) experiences with such open heart was influenced by the cooperative approach taken to the course delivery. Our group singing, decision-making, and open forum discussions, developed a culture of empathy and trust within the class. This is a culture which we will no doubt need to emulate in our own classes if we are to embark on a truly empowering method of pedagogy. (reflective assignment, Pākehā—non-Māori—woman, late 30s)

The field trip to Tai Tokerau

The field trip immerses students, albeit in a limited way, in the worlds of some school pupils. The experience was designed to help students come into contact with, and better understand the lives of those whom they may one day teach; they gain a deeper understanding of cultural, social and economic capital disparities. A three-day visit was planned to Tai Tokerau's economically poor rural primary and area schools, with a noho marae (sleep-over for two nights at a Māori meeting house) in the Hokianga. While most students will probably not teach in the Hokianga, many Māori pupils have close familial and tribal links to Kupe's landing place. All students might gain a far deeper understanding of tikanga and te reo as a result of the field trip.

Students had responsibility for their own transportation and safety en route, and some organized a mini van for the journey. Because we needed to be at our first school by 9am, and the journey took four hours, the same people booked the college marae for sleeping so that it would be easier for the group to be together and ready to depart by 4:30am. Such communal arrangements meant that that a large

percentage of the class was immersed in aspects of Māori tikanga (ways of being) prior to the field trip, and well practiced with our waiata (song).

Because some students were parents, and anyone leaving their family overnight could find it difficult, we agreed that students could, if they wished, take family with them. One student told me that her father-in-law had decided to come as our Kaumātua (elder), because, he said, "young people need support and I have links to the Hokianga". As we were called on to marae or school grounds, the Kaumātua guided us through the correct protocols. He quietly told me when to offer koha (gifts), and how. He translated; he spoke for us, and advised generally on how to be considerate and respectful guests of Māori. His work with me was a very public example of my learning from a pedagogue, the lecturer in this case learning from a student's parent.

Te Kura Taumata o Pangaru (Pangaru Area school)—was the highlight of the trip for many students. Brother Brian let us know that students were waiting for us, to honour us with a pōwhiri (formal welcome). ... we were karanga (called) into the school by young women students and entered the school hall to a rousing haka performed by the entire school (200+ children, parents and teachers). It was very emotional, some students were crying as they entered the hall. The welcome was warm and powerful and the emotion lasted the whole time we were in Pangaru It was hard to leave such a wonderful example of Māori immersion learning in a financially poor but culturally rich community. (Notes by Vicki)

Student evaluation and assignment comments

We need a Māori perspective on education which I believe the trip up north gives us. It's not tokenistic, and it takes learning to a different level. It was all tu meke! (scarey!)

It opens your eyes to a world that you don't see during your time (in ITE).

While Pangaru was isolated, Matihetihe was even more so. The van and cars travelled over rough dirt roads, eventually arriving in an isolated west coast seaside valley, surrounded by hills. The marae (meeting house) is close to the sea in a very peaceful place. Community people were there to pōwhiri (welcome) and feed us. The evening meal was superb—so much food, three courses, and each beautifully cooked. Some students walked on the beach, others slept in the wharenui (big meeting house). Just on dusk an elder from the community wandered into the meeting house and told stories about the history of the wharenui and how respect was paid to the dead. He then took out his bible, read some verses and conducted a prayer before leaving. In the morning, at dawn, he was back with the same routine, a custom for that marae.

We spent the following morning at the two-teacher Matihetihe School. The principal had recently taught in a large urban city school and she brought a very political perspective to her korero (talk). She described how the local community

supported the school, and how learning was bilingual, in English and Māori. The students were astounded by the simple things that fascinated the children like the toys they played with and the children's lack of urban and television based knowledge:

Up north I saw "poor" children enjoying life and living. They loved their world; they loved the beach and the bush. They did not mind that they wore old clothes instead of the latest "labelled" gear. To them it was not important or essential. Their toys became their animals—horses, dogs, cows and cats, the beach and the bush. They did not need the latest play-station games to enjoy life. They may have been financially (through others' eyes) poor, but they loved their lives and had rich and fulfilling lives. I guess you can be seen as poor or rich depending on whose eyes you are looking through. (Pākehā woman, early 20s)

It was emotionally difficult for everyone to leave and return to Auckland. On the north side of the Hokianga harbour our entourage of cars and the van halted for poroporoaki, our farewells. Although our classes would continue, that part of our journey was over. The field trip was a very special way of learning, and we all learned together. If anyone could be described as a teacher on the field trip it was the kaumātua, and the Māori students in the class.

Assessment task

The final assessment task required students to reflect on course content and make links to the theoretical underpinnings provided in the book of readings. This written task proved difficult to manage and stressful for some students. Soon after arriving back from Tai Tokerau and after a class discussion, the students decided on the option of either writing or "saying" their assignment. The latter needed to be accompanied by brief notes and a reference list. Four chose to say their assignments, and this was carried out in my office. Each student brought with her some supporting whānau (class members). What impressed me was what the "sayers" were able to describe and link to theory in the 15 allocated minutes; far more than they could possibly have written in 3000 words. This caused me to reflect on what it was that I was previously assessing—their English or Māori writing skills, or their growth and actual understanding of praxis? I realized that the latter was better assessed orally and my picture of their knowledge gains, the world they experienced, was very adequately illuminated through their oral discourse.

The following excerpts are taken from the written assignments

How can we aim to teach children through the culture of power, a culture which they do not know and are unaccustomed to? By doing this we are setting up these children to fail. We need to create learning environments which are relevant and meaningful to the children. (Pākehā woman, early 20s)

I see no reason why we should not converse with children about planned learning; we need to encourage it. (Māori/Pākehā woman, early 20s)

I want my future students to have the knowledge, power and skills to succeed in an ever-changing world (while) remaining proud of who they are and where they come from. (Pākehā woman, 20s)

This course has illustrated that in order to achieve an empowering atmosphere that will enhance the educational opportunities of students in low socio-economic areas we may need to challenge our existing philosophies from a variety of perspectives. (Pākehā woman, late 20s).

I ask myself, do I practice democracy in my life or do I label schools and people because they are from low socio-economic backgrounds? Confronting this was empowering for me as an individual because I saw that I had to confront society, and the systems in place, because it is not democratic in nature. The way I think I can do this is by empowering the next generation within a democratic classroom. From here I consciously made a decision to walk a path where I wanted to have empowerment as the core idea behind my teaching philosophy. (Pākehā male, early 30s)

Course evaluations (anonymous) also provide some insights into the effects of the course:

Learning and ownership was up to us. This really gave us growth and energy, enabling us to have and discover new life in areas of ourselves.

Having grown up in a low decile school I had always heard stuff said about myself and my low decile friends ... I now realize after Delpit [course readings] and experiences this year why we struggle. We seem to be set up to fail.

I have learnt through observation and reflection-that has been a change.

(A positive was) seeing theory in action.

What society tries to put a label on can affect our attitudes. This paper helped to expose the true beauty and life in these schools.

This class felt like a whānau (family) because we all had something in common. This class has been my release in what was a hectic semester. You have empowered me to empower.

The way Vicki taught was not the conventional way of teaching. We were allowed to talk about our experiences and about our beliefs about issues we don't usually talk about. The course was not flash in

its delivery but has had more impact on me as a person and as a teacher than any other course in my whole four years of being here.

In contrast, some students had reservations

I am used to more directive instruction, so found it difficult at times self directing. This was more my issue, rather than the way this course was run.

More explicit and direct teaching strategies were needed. More time was required for discussion in class.

CONCLUSION

Leland and Harste (2005) make a case for entire teacher education programmes being sited in urban schools: "If we want teachers who can think critically, then we need to immerse them in critical issues and give them opportunities to sort through their conflicting beliefs and observations" (p. 75). Leland and Harste's United States of America programme was for a general cohort of students, many of whom had little desire at the start of the two year course to teach in urban schools. In contrast, this New Zealand course was a chosen option; the students began the course both motivated and positive. While the United States of America programme met with pockets of resistance and some success, student evaluations demonstrate that the New Zealand course was mostly valued by students.

At the conclusion of the course I reflected on my teaching. Had the students merely "played the game" in a different, but no less accommodating way? At the commencement of the course I did not share my rationale for the Freirean approach. This was partly because I was apprehensive that such knowledge might influence student behavior—to please me (the awarder of grades) students may have role played particular dispositions. How much, when, and how should I have involved the students in the process of what I was doing and why I was doing it? How should success be judged? Student evaluations perhaps indicate little of how beginning teachers might practice as professionals. Did the students choose to teach their first year in low decile urban and rural schools? Why or why not? How did they teach? What impact did the course have? How could I have taught the course better? Throughout the course, while I desired and worked towards a low profile, at the same time I knew what I was seeking. There is perhaps an inherent duplicity in this positioning, one which perhaps cries out for Foucauldian analysis.

While I have met course graduates teaching in low decile urban and rural schools and their principals have been affirming, there is a need for a comprehensive research project to evaluate the course's long term effectiveness. Such research would need to be done inside the walls of beginning teachers' classrooms. My hope is that I will find Freire's empowering ideas and philosophical approaches within such contexts.

Students in low decile schools will continue to be disenfranchised if the education system uses the rhetoric of equality to maintain privilege for those already privileged. Structural changes, largely political and economically motivated, mean that—in this 21st century—courses such as that examined above

are less likely to be offered to ITE students. I suggest that this situation could indicate that we in ITE are at risk of producing technocrats rather than teachers; students who can take a curriculum document and implement it in a pedantic and measurable fashion. ITE courses must consciously prepare students to form relationships with and teach all children. A one size fits all technocratic approach will mean the continuation of the system failing children in low decile schools. Teachers can make a positive difference and ITE is where the necessary motivation can be both seeded and nurtured.

Thanks to the student teacher cohort, my mentor, guest speakers to the class, school communities, and the people of Matihetihe marae.

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