

“They’re in our heads and in our hearts”: RTLB experiences of how He Pikorua: Our Practice Framework supports student voice



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ABSTRACT

A recent development for learning support practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand is He Pikorua: Our Practice Framework. This study explores the potential of He Pikorua to further bridge the gap between inclusive policy and practice through the lived experiences of 10 specialist teachers using the framework. In line with the principles of He Pikorua, this study took a relational approach using appreciative inquiry into ways the framework supported student voice. Thematic analysis of the specialist teachers’ perceptions resulted in two overarching themes. The first, framework as foundation, highlights key practices of strong relationships, shared language, being responsive, and a dynamic view of practice. The second theme, framework for confidence, describes two key practices of using the framework as a reference point and being deliberate. These findings demonstrate ways in which specialist teachers use He Pikorua to successfully support student voice. However, questions remain about responsibility for facilitating voice and how this can be supported throughout more of the framework’s elements.

KEYWORDS

Practice framework, specialist teachers, student voice

Introduction

Since the 2000s, education research and policy has shifted from a deficit within-child view towards a focus on how situations influence behaviour and learning. This is known as an ecological model which emphasises mokopuna, whānau and educator voice. However, there are ongoing barriers to enacting student voice and repercussions for students when their views are not given weight (Lundy, 2007, 2018). One way to address this is He Pikorua, used by learning support practitioners to guide their work with whānau and schools. Principle-based practice frameworks potentially bridge the research-practice gap in areas such as student voice, especially when practitioners themselves are part of framework development (Nilsen, 2015). This research seeks to contribute knowledge from the lived

experience of Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour (RTLb) learning support practitioners about how He Pikorua: Our Practice Framework (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2024b) can be used to support student voice.

Context

RTLb are experienced, registered teachers who work alongside Aotearoa schools to support students' learning and wellbeing needs. There are approximately 1,000 RTLb, funded by the MoE, working in 40 clusters across the country (Education Review Office, 2018). RTLb complete a compulsory postgraduate qualification in specialist teaching and practice in accordance with He Pikorua and the RTLb Professional Practice Toolkit (MoE, 2020a).

This research was prompted by my own experience working as a RTLb using He Pikorua, and post-graduate study of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). Mirroring He Pikorua, this research adopted a participatory process with 10 colleagues sharing their thoughts and experiences to help make sense of the research question. Participants ranged in age, experience, gender, and ethnicity. Eight RTLb were between 40 and 59 years old with nine people having five or more years of RTLb experience. Seven colleagues identified as female, three as male, and their cultural identities included Māori, Pasifika, Aotearoa born, and immigrant.

Literature review

Student voice

Despite the literature supporting student voice and protective frameworks such as the UNCRC (1989) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, there is an ongoing struggle with putting child-focused policy into practice (Achmad, 2020). Fitzmaurice (2019) extends this argument, asserting that centring indigenous frameworks for Māori children and their whānau is essential to achieving universal goals for children's rights.

A child's right to participate in decision-making on matters that affect them is founded on Article 12 of the UNCRC (1989), which outlines two key elements: i) the right to express a view, and ii) the right to have their view given due weight (Lundy, 2007). Lundy argues that the full phrasing of this provision is teleological and often difficult to understand, potentially contributing to children's rights issues. Consequently, she has developed a framework to support its understanding and practical application. This framework captures the essence of Article 12 through four key factors: the space and voice needed to express a view, and the audience and influence necessary to ensure those views are given appropriate weight.

Children want to express their views and have these acted upon at school (Giles & Rowley, 2020; Lundy, 2007). This is especially important to consider given how much of their lives are spent in education settings. Additionally, the literature is littered with examples of benefits when children can give their opinion and have this given due weight. Multiple studies show a relationship between seeking children's views and positive outcomes such as improved self-esteem, cognitive skills, and a

sense of empowerment (Bishop, 2019; Royer, 2017; Sharp, 2014). Furthermore, a child's view of education offers a rich, unique perspective where "students see different issues and see issues differently" (Fielding, 2001, p. 130).

Despite the benefits of a child's perspective, adult beliefs and actions can be barriers to facilitating student voice (Ingram, 2013). Incorrect assumptions can result in further discrimination for children whose communication style or behaviour does not fit school norms (Larkins et al., 2020; Lundy, 2007). Child-centred communication supports can facilitate student voice but are not yet common practice often due to the preparation time required (Howarth, 2016; Royer, 2017). In turn, tokenism may result where children's voice is sought for inconsequential matters or not taken seriously (Mannion, 2007; Moore, 2016; Smillie & Newton, 2020).

Seeking and giving weight to student perspectives is a departure from previous notions of childhood which asserted that children should be seen and not heard (Larkins et al., 2020). Larkins et al. (2020) argue that schools often reflect the majority of legal frameworks which presume adult autonomy but lack this presumption for children. Similarly, Skerrett et al. (2021), found that teachers may feel their autonomy is threatened when student voice is sought as part of external support processes.

Student voice barriers have implications for children in educational contexts ranging from disengagement to social injustices. A recent qualitative literature review found that student perceptions of limited power and autonomy in the school environment contributed to absenteeism (Richards & Clark-Howard, 2023). This sense of disempowerment aligns with social justice research highlighting that young people from Māori, Pasifika, and rainbow/takatāpui communities often feel unheard within educational settings (Bishop, 2019; Fitzpatrick et al., 2018).

RTLB learning support practitioners

The RTLB service originated in the Special Education 2000 policy which promoted an ecological approach towards special education provision (Brown et al., 2000). More recent inclusive education policy is the Learning Support Action Plan (MoE, 2019), and the Learning Support Delivery Model (MoE, 2020b). Working within this model includes identifying local needs and resources, strengthening existing supports, and Te Tūāpapa, the integration of multi-layered supports for all (MoE, 2024a). Practitioners are part of a collaborative team using an inquiry approach focused on mutual exploration and growth to support akongā learning (MoE, 2024c). A critical part of this inquiry are the mokopuna, whānau, and educator voices which enable progress and achievement.

While research supports inquiry approaches, RTLB face challenges that affect their casework. One challenge is intensification, which is the phenomenon of trying to do more work with less time (Holley-Boen, 2018). Prescribed time frames for casework are less conducive to creating the required conditions for a student participation approach. Similarly, busy classroom teachers may view suggested inclusive practices as time consuming (Warnes et al., 2021). Time is also required to build trusting relationships between practitioners and school staff which can be impacted by differences in experience and expertise (Mulser & Naser, 2020).

Another challenge for RTLB can be the natural resistance that occurs for people they work with in response to changing deeply held beliefs about their practice (Bishop, 2019; Crothers et al., 2020). Resistance is amplified when schools are not expecting professionals to advocate for student voice as part of their support role (Skerritt et al., 2021). Previous research has established that it can be difficult for people to shift the status quo of damaging practices, policies, and systems if they have not experienced exclusion themselves (Fox, 2015; Holley-Boen et al., 2018). This finding is highlighted by research which demonstrated Māori students and their teachers from English medium schools identified fundamentally different influences on student engagement and achievement (Bishop, 2019).

When promoting inclusive practices with teachers there is a risk of telling them how to teach more effectively “rather than allowing them to experience and tap into prior experiences of powerful learning and teaching for themselves” (Holley-Boen et al., 2018, p. 233). Studies show that positioning teachers as the experts of their experience has positive long-term effects for themselves and others (Bishop, 2019; Holley-Boen, 2018). For instance, Jackson (2018) identified that teachers acquiring their own voices were more able to help their students with theirs.

Practice frameworks

Learning support practitioners in Aotearoa are guided in their work by overarching models, plans, and frameworks (MoE, 2024b). Practice frameworks are conceptual maps that bring together and make accessible an organisation’s approach to their professional practice (Connolly & Healy, 2008). Frameworks encourage evidence-informed approaches, guide casework, and support systematic problem solving (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2018). In addition, their theoretical underpinnings can reduce trial and error and minimise implicit biases (Nilsen, 2015).

Practice frameworks evolve over time with the influence of government legislation, developing roles, and changing trends in good practice (Wicks, 2013). A key change in some frameworks is a movement away from a reductionist approach towards more holistic ways of working. Changes like these foster a more transparent, person-centred style of practice driven by agreed values (MoE, 2024b). A need-based approach is especially important in Aotearoa, where our diverse cultural heritages shape the unique preferences of each child, family, and learning context. Privileging multiple perspectives, including the child’s voice, is vital for a truly collaborative approach (MoE, 2024c).

While frameworks are designed to support teams with dynamic situations, practitioners can find them challenging to use (M. Annan et al., 2013; Sedgwick, 2019), and have not always contributed to their development (Nilsen, 2015). Reported challenges include a lack of practical tools, overly prescriptive guidelines, and inconsistencies between a framework’s principles and process (Sedgwick, 2019). Research has also established that framework success is largely dependent on the facilitator’s skill (J. Annan & Priestley, 2018). Nilsen (2015) argues that further research is required to investigate effective framework use and how current approaches can be developed to address implementation difficulties. Crucially, framework research must involve practitioners themselves because their voices have typically been absent (Jackson, 2018), despite their importance in developing educational policy

(McNamee, 2014; Menter et al., 2013). When practitioners are included, their lived experiences benefit the research overall and they are more likely to find the results useful (McNamee, 2014).

He Pikorua is a principle-based, bicultural practice framework, recently developed for RTLB and MoE learning support practitioners (MoE, 2024b). Its principles and process are interrelated which is similar to other practice frameworks (J. Annan & Priestley, 2018). In addition, the framework has tools and ways of working which reflect a flexible, need-based system for accessing support (MoE, 2024c). Seven key principles underpin He Pikorua (MoE, 2024d), and guide practitioners to make sound, ethical judgements in their work. These are:

- Mokopuna and whānau centred,
- Collaborative,
- Strengths-based,
- Culturally affirming and responsive,
- Inclusive,
- Ecological,
- Evidence informed.

While the principles are paramount, the process is also important because it promotes a collaborative inquiry approach (MoE, 2024a). This is depicted by He Pikorua in Action, shown in Figure 1.

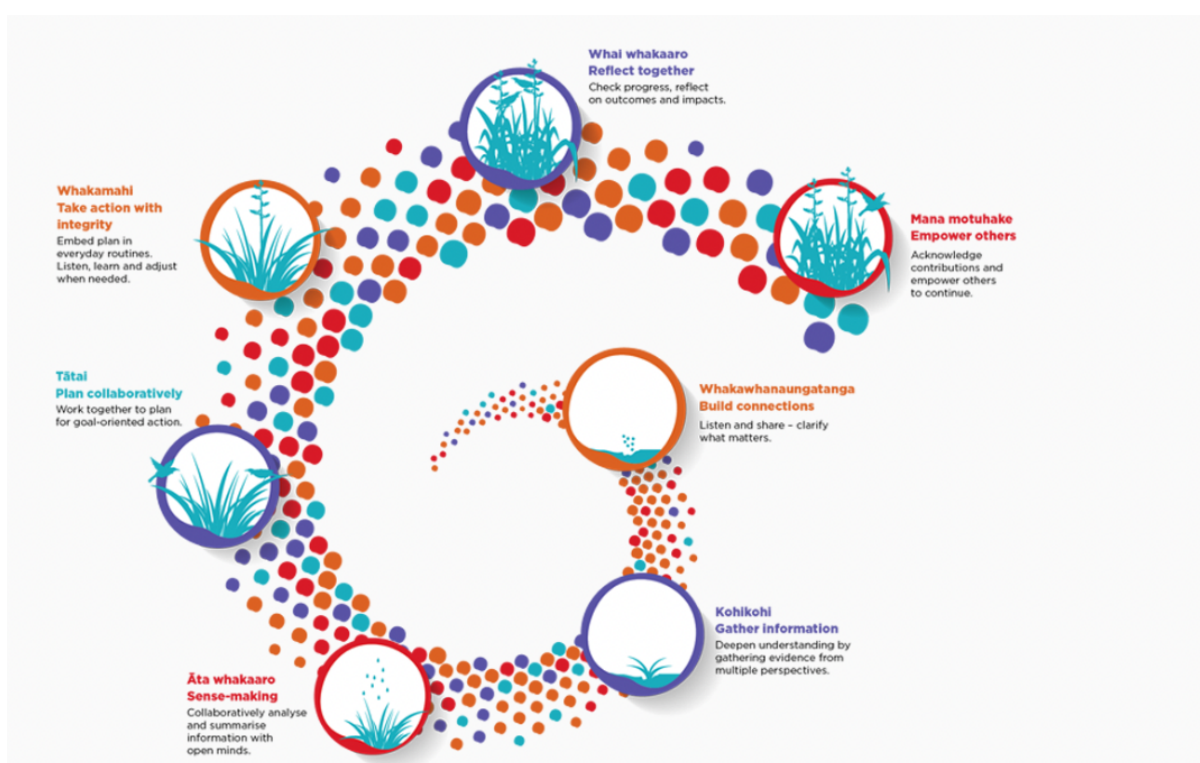


Figure 1. He Pikorua in Action (MoE, 2024a)

(<https://hepikorua.education.govt.nz/he-pikorua/>. Reprinted with permission.)

In contrast to more linear models (Nilsen, 2015), and aligned with children's preferences (Giles & Rowley, 2020; Tancredi, 2020), He Pikorua in Action is designed so teams can revisit particular elements at any time (MoE, 2024a). Throughout the inquiry, practitioners support others to recognise themselves as agents of change and the critical importance of student voice within this.

Research question

This study gathered RTLB perspectives with a focus on answering the following research questions: How is the development of He Pikorua, as used by these RTLB, supporting student voice to be expressed and given due weight within their collaborative teams? Additionally, what principles and practices underpin successful examples of student voice, contributing to inclusive school practices in Aotearoa?

Methods

I used a qualitative design because of its potential to generate knowledge and give voice to groups of people (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This design aligns with the social nature and philosophical principles of RTLB practice and He Pikorua such as respecting and expanding on the diverse team expertise (MoE, 2024c).

To uphold ethical standards in this practitioner research, I selected an appreciative inquiry approach which utilises strength-based principles. Information was gathered through semi-structured interviews with 10 different RTLB colleagues. Broad questions to set the interview stage were used initially (Brinkmann et al., 2018), followed by a deep story question, a value question, a core factor question, and a miracle question (Given, 2008). As well as the interview design, I considered how people might feel during the interview. To mitigate any heightened emotion or cognition (Brinkmann et al., 2018), I allowed more time within interviews for whakawhanaungatanga, participants' stories and debriefing opportunities.

Once the interviews were completed and transcribed, thematic analysis was used inductively to make sense of the information and allow for new meaning to be made (Braun & Clarke, 2022; Nowell et al., 2017). A systematic, six phase process was undertaken to analyse the information: become familiar with the information, code across the entire information set, generate themes, review themes, define themes, then, finalise the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013, 2022).

Findings and discussion

In response to the research questions, two overarching themes were constructed from the participants' accounts. The first theme, framework as foundation, explains how RTLB see He Pikorua as important for creating the required conditions to enact student voice. Within this, RTLB highlighted four practices essential to supporting student voice: strong relationships, shared

language, being responsive, and a dynamic view of practice. The second theme, framework for confidence, explains how RTLB draw confidence from He Pikorua to enact student voice through two key practices of having a frame of reference and being deliberate.

In the same way that Lundy's (2007) conceptualisation of Article 12 signifies inter-relation, chronology, and recursiveness between the four factors of space, voice, influence, and audience, so do the overarching themes. Additionally, the influence of the principles and process from He Pikorua, on participants' experiences of student voice, is reflected in Figure 2.

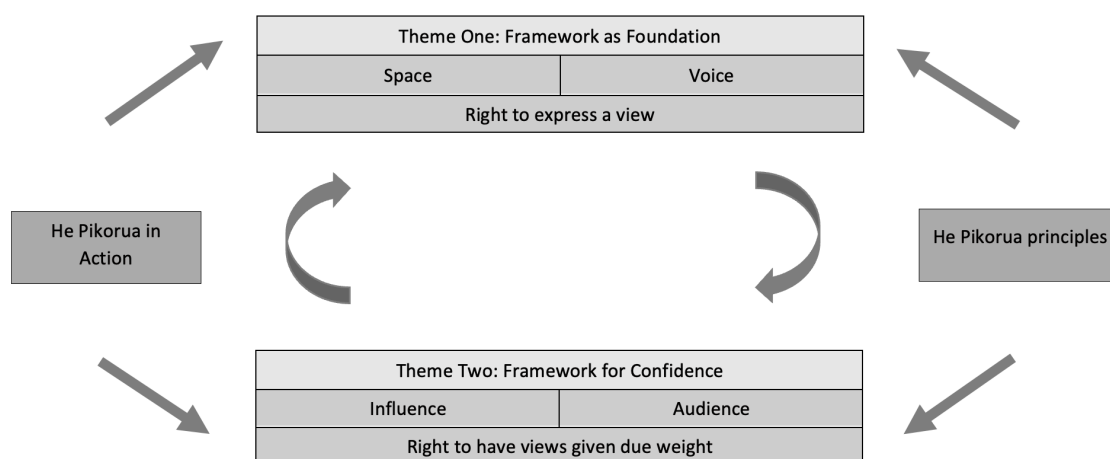


Figure 2. Lundy's (2007) conceptualisation of Article 12 synthesised with the overarching themes and the principles and process from He Pikorua (adapted from Lundy, 2007, p. 932)

Framework as foundation

Strong relationships

An essential idea from these RTLB was the importance of whakawhanaungatanga throughout the inquiry. This appeared to create space for student voice by developing reciprocal connections. Tui felt whakawhanaungatanga was inherent to indigenous cultures and its inclusion in He Pikorua might help practitioners who "didn't have that connection or that understanding". She believed that listening and reciprocating was vital for developing relationships, and in turn, facilitating student voice:

I'm gonna say within Te Ao Māori there's always that connection before you do anything. There's the connection of whakapapa so when people talk about where they're from, you just listen. You go, 'Oh they're from here cause I hear your river, I hear your waka, I hear your names'. So there's that connection. So then when they finish, you share yours, and then you usually gravitate to those people. 'Hey, I'm from that as well'. It's kind of that same concept for when you're listening to the child and go 'Hey'.

Like Tui, Pamela believed reciprocal relationships were most conducive to student voice. She commented, “So for whakawhanaungatanga, I feel like when I collect student voice with a student, we are learning about each other then as well as building that relationship”.

Participants emphasised the importance of strong relationships, reflecting the literature stating children’s views must be elicited through two-way dialogues within safe spaces for voice in schools (Lundy, 2007; Skerritt et al., 2021). Such safety is vital because children attend school daily and face the consequences of sharing their views.

However, in contrast to the reviewed research, participants did not describe specific barriers to relationships such as power imbalances or detachment from a child’s reality (Holley-Boen, 2018; Lundy, 2018; Mulser & Naser, 2020). It is possible that these RTLB were enabled to build connections because it is an element of He Pikorua in Action. Alternatively, RTLB practice may appeal to people with person-centred values; these RTLB may have been employed for their strong relational skills; or due to the appreciative lens, only successful examples of relationships were recalled. While acknowledging these possibilities, overall, participants’ accounts showed a commitment to whakawhanaungatanga by building relationships with adults and children at the beginning of their time together and developing these connections throughout He Pikorua in Action.

Shared language

Participants emphasised the need to facilitate a shared language for the team which ensured a common understanding of student voice within He Pikorua. This shared language included the framework’s principles, process, and the term student voice itself. Through language, a common understanding developed of how space for voice would be created and the team’s responsibilities as the audience and influence for this. Wendy described how she stressed the term student voice and its enactment in shared documentation:

In my collaborative plan now I actually have a section that says ‘student voice’ and so as well as the goals and the actions that the adults are taking, there’s written down the bottom, ‘these rewards have been decided by the child’.

It was clear that facilitating a common language was an active undertaking by the RTLB. For example, one experienced RTLB used analogies such as “planting the seed” about student voice then described how voice was “weaved throughout” the process.

Participants’ communication approaches showed confidence working within He Pikorua and undoubtedly, conveying key ideas about student voice. This clear communication follows the participation principle from Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Macfarlane, 2016), and is significant in terms of bridging the research-practice gap (Sedgwick, 2019).

These results are especially promising when considered in terms of recent feedback from Aotearoa schools and whānau who reported limited information sharing and confusion about external processes (Education and Workforce Committee, 2022). The ability to foster a shared language like the participants in this study may help address communication concerns and further promote the practice of including student voice in schools.

Responsive approach

All RTLB spoke of being responsive to where and how student voice was facilitated within the inquiry. Responsiveness is a benefit of principle-based frameworks which guide practice and allow for the uniqueness of different contexts, cultures, strengths, and needs (MoE, 2024d). This is exemplified by Kiri who described her child-centred approach to gathering information:

So, for some kids it may be sitting next to them and talking, others it may be using the Bear Cards. For others, it may just be sitting in the sandpit and playing. Others, if they're really sensory-based, I'll use Play-Doh and kinaesthetic sand and just be chatting while I'm going through so it becomes very organic.

RTLB empowerment to accommodate preferences is an important finding because context is a key factor in how student voice is enacted and experienced (Macfarlane, 2016; Skerritt et al., 2021). RTLB were also responsive to each child's participation preferences by considering which elements of He Pikorua in Action were most suited to direct or indirect student involvement.

Three people described kohikohi, the information gathering element of the inquiry, as a straightforward space to facilitate children's views. Michael said, "Getting their opinion, gathering their information, is quite easy because I think we've got quite good systems for that and definitely the reflecting part".

These findings contrast with other research which reported significant challenges for professionals using suitable techniques to elicit voice (Smillie & Newton, 2020). It may be that RTLB's classroom teaching background supports child-centred approaches or that participants from this setting have been especially equipped with resources to facilitate student voice.

RTLB mostly attributed difficulties with facilitating student voice throughout other elements of the inquiry to children's conceptual abilities, cultural considerations, or their own facilitation skills. Michael took an ecological view stating, "I think it depends on the child's development, where they're at and also the situation". Similarly, Tui provided an example of being culturally sensitive to whānau wishes when considering why some children might speak more freely than others, "If their experiences at home with adults are seen as 'You keep quiet and we're the only ones that talk', that's the modelling they're getting".

These reported challenges with facilitating children's views throughout all elements of the inquiry is consistent with other research. For example, Smillie and Newton (2020), identified that professionals found it especially difficult to support children to contribute to decision-making processes and manage power imbalances between team members.

A possible explanation is that dyadic exchanges occur more within whakawhanaungatanga and kohikohi as compared to other elements of the inquiry where multiple team members are present. Increases in group size may bring heightened situational demands for RTLB which could impact their ability to facilitate the safe space required for direct student involvement. These findings suggest more research is needed to understand how known child-centred facilitative strategies (Giles &

Rowley, 2020; Howarth, 2016; Royer, 2017), can be transferred more consistently from the literature throughout all elements of the inquiry process.

Dynamic view of practice

Another important idea from the research was that RTLB saw themselves and other adults on a journey of growth about student voice. Participants understood how student voice could be positioned within the inquiry and were cognisant of their own and others' evolving ability to provide space for this.

Kiri located herself as a team member and was comfortable with others taking lead roles as required, "I delegated, you know, people did different things cause I couldn't get her voice so that delegation was really important. ... I trusted the process that we were doing and I valued the knowledge of other people that brought that in". By contrast, Pamela discussed her personal growth with student involvement in goal setting, "I've been very slow at getting there but I just want a bit more time to work out how I want to do it".

Participants were reflective about their own practice and aware of alternative ways of working with adults and children. These findings align with other research demonstrating that professional practice can be likened to a craft skill which takes time and practice to master (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Sedgwick, 2019).

An underlying tension between participants' accounts was upskilling team members at the risk of not eliciting meaningful voice. In Pamela's experience, she was more likely to "dig deeper" than school staff. However, Donna, the most experienced RTLB, positioned herself as, "giving over the role of accessing student voice". She felt this stance better utilised existing relationships, and was more likely to empower teachers and develop equitable school structures.

This stance is reflected in research which identified that participants hearing directly from children were able to critically self-reflect, question and analyse their assumptions (Giles & Rowley, 2020). Hearing first-hand enabled people to extract deeper meaning from their experiences. However, an implication is that if external practitioners are the ones eliciting children's views, they are the ones most benefiting from the information (Skerritt et al., 2021).

Several factors could explain this finding. Firstly, these participants may have adopted a practitioner-centred style while familiarising themselves with and adapting to He Pikorua. Nonetheless, Moore (2016) explains that concern for technical quality must be balanced with relational and participatory considerations. Another possibility is that they are gauging each situation to determine whether a practitioner- or teacher-led approach will be the most strength-based and mana enhancing at any given time. Further research is required to better understand practitioners' sense of accountability for successful inquiries and how true collaboration might mitigate this.

Framework for confidence

Frame of reference

The research identified that participants used He Pikorua as a frame of reference in dynamic situations to support student voice. A number of these RTLB commented on the match between its principles and their values, and appreciated the guidance offered by He Pikorua in Action.

Participants described the framework as aligning with their personal, cultural, and professional values, meaning RTLB trusted He Pikorua as their reference frame. For example, Tui explained how she integrated Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), an indigenous framework, when gathering mokopuna and whānau voice. She believed He Pikorua allowed for this integration meaning for those who wanted to, they could share their “spiritual connection or a wairua”.

Other participants, like Donna, felt the framework’s principles and ways of working aligned with their prior experiences such as advocating for student voice as classroom teachers. Like these participants’ accounts, Moore (2016) states that maintaining fidelity to whānau and practitioners’ values is as important as closely adhering to processes and programmes. Having their own and others’ values validated meant RTLB were confident with He Pikorua as a frame of reference.

As well as validating their values, participants saw He Pikorua in Action as a flexible process to follow in dynamic situations to support student voice. Exemplifying this, Jason described “working through the practice sequence in a consistent manner but with an acceptance that there’s fluidity there”.

This finding is consistent with other research which states frameworks are most useful when they support predictability and can be applied to a wide range of casework (J. Annan & Priestley, 2018). He Pikorua appears to be accessible to these practitioners at various experience levels and supports their structured thinking and decision-making (M. Annan et al., 2013).

It is likely that the alignment between the framework’s principles and team’s values, and the flexible guidance of the inquiry gave these RTLB a sense of assurance. This is especially important in new or challenging situations such as when adults’ beliefs about student voice may be in conflict (Ingram, 2013). The confidence demonstrated in navigating dynamic situations is also apparent in the next finding, where RTLB used the framework deliberately to support student voice.

Being deliberate

Participants’ accounts demonstrated that the framework emboldened RTLB to facilitate student voice. This sense of practitioner empowerment is important in fields like inclusive education where team members may find inclusive principles and practice unexpected and potentially resist. Intentionality was evident in the manner RTLB provided space for voice and ensured children’s views were given audience and influence. Commenting on facilitating student voice, Tui said:

But then as adults, we need to enable them to be able to share their voice so what are those strategies and how can we support them in being able to share voice? And there are lots, there are strategies out there.

Shannon preferred students to attend meetings. If they were absent, she ensured their views were documented and time was allocated to consider their perspective. In her experience, “That is where the gold is, because in general, all of the adults sitting around the table really want to help support the student and when they actually read the experience, it opens everything up for them”. Wendy also described her determination to guarantee audience and influence for student voice:

I’m trying to also ensure that in the planning, and the taking action, that the student’s voice is evident in my work. I think that we hold a lot of their voice in our head and they’re in our heart when we’re writing it. But I am trying to make sure that there’s absolute direct evidence and to share their voice with the teachers and their whānau.

This intentional focus on student voice aligns with Lundy’s (2007) conclusion that implementing Article 12 depends on key individuals raising awareness and acting, which is especially important when translating theory into practice.

Perhaps these RTLB are intentional because of previous positive experiences demonstrating that student voice is good pedagogical practice and an excellent model for decision making (Lundy, 2007). It is also possible that their deliberate advocacy for student voice is due to the influence of principles such as mokopuna and whānau centred from He Pikorua (MoE, 2024d).

While participants recalled translating Article 12 into action themselves, they provided fewer examples of empowering staff to facilitate student voice or supporting students to contribute in meetings. This is an important consideration because children and their key adults need regular skill building and practice opportunities in the area of student voice (Larkins et al., 2020). With practice, it may be more routinely sought, expressed, and acted on in school settings.

Conclusion

This research aimed to explore solutions in response to the ongoing challenges translating Article 12 of the UNCRC (1989) into school systems and classroom practices. I focused on understanding the experiences of RTLB using the practice framework, He Pikorua (MoE, 2024b), to facilitate student voice.

Two overarching themes were constructed from the analysis. The first theme demonstrates how RTLB use He Pikorua to develop practices conducive to creating space for student voice. These practices are reflected in local and international research and include strong relationships, shared language, being responsive and a dynamic view of practice. The second theme proposes participants felt emboldened by the framework, using it as a frame of reference to be deliberate about student voice. This confidence was especially important for ensuring the audience and influence required to give due weight to children’s views. Overall, this study highlights the potential of He Pikorua as a practical tool to bridge the gap between the intent of Article 12 and the implementation of student voice in everyday practice.

A key implication of the research is that several practitioners reported difficulties facilitating student voice directly throughout the entire inquiry process. Additionally, there appears to be a philosophical tension for RTLB between supporting the needs of the individual child and empowering others to facilitate student voice.

Different schools in different countries are at different points in their journey of liaising with students and giving due weight to their perspectives. He Pikorua may be one way to support practitioners to continue providing the space for children's views to be expressed. It also ensures consideration of the audience and influence required to give children's views due weight. The importance of everyone contributing to the deliberate enactment of student voice is reflected in the words of one participant, who said, "I guess that's the whole premise that underpins He Pikorua. It's a team. It actually shouldn't hinge on one individual's actions, it's a collective. So actually, we're all important in that and the success of it".

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