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# Youth development: Māui styles

Kia tipu te rito o te pā harakeke;  
Tikanga and āhuatanga as a basis  
for a positive Māori youth  
development approach

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the  
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## **Abstract**

The Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa has been seen as an innovative approach to youth development. The E tipu e rea – Rangatahi Development Package was particularly useful for organisations implementing the strategy with Māori youth. There have been successful Māori youth development initiatives, though these have been ad hoc. Nonetheless, the realities and experiences of Māori youth are still not being fully addressed in national policy. This has implications for the support and resourcing of Māori youth development initiatives.

Māori youth are members of a range of groups including whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities in te ao Māori as well as the wider youth population and New Zealand society. The histories, experiences and viewpoints of each distinct group contribute to diversity in the Māori youth population which presents challenges for Māori youth development. Māori development goals do not adequately focus on Māori youth and youth development theory does not fully consider culture. The challenge is to successfully integrate Māori culture and youth culture in a relevant and meaningful manner so that Māori youth can positively contribute to Māori development and wider New Zealand society.

This study examines pūrākau (narratives) about Māui (Polynesian ancestor) as a template for the analysis of Māori youth development. Interviews were undertaken with a group of Māori youth from the Manawatū region. The research showed tikanga and āhuatanga were relevant to the contemporary daily lives of the participants. The study found that positive development and the realisation of potential for Māori youth was affected by individual and environmental influences. This thesis concludes by making recommendations for policy, practice and further research. Finally, it offers a culturally appropriate theoretical approach for positive Māori youth development.

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# Chapter One: Introduction

## Introduction

Māori<sup>1</sup> youth are distinguished by concurrent membership in at least two distinct groups. As Māori,<sup>2</sup> they are an essential part of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. As youth, they share common characteristics and experiences with other young people. Membership in each group influences Māori youth experiences, viewpoints and development. The ability to simultaneously navigate both successfully is a key challenge. The expectation is that Māori youth will develop positively and realise their full potential in order to contribute positively to Māori development, New Zealand society and to the wider international community.

Initiatives for Māori youth seek to incorporate and balance the goals of Māori development and youth development. However, the study of Māori youth development is characterised by a dearth of research and a general lack of recognition of the significance of culture in policy approaches. This thesis analyses avenues by which Māori youth can develop positively and participate comfortably in te ao Māori and wider New Zealand society.

There is a small but growing body of literature on Māori youth health and development that draws on Māori ideology and youth development theory (Borell, 2005; Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004; L.T., Smith, G.T.H, Smith, Boler, Kempton, Ormond, Chueh, Waetford, 2002; Tipene-Clark, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 2002; Webster, Walsh-Tapiata, Kiriona, Arapere & Gotty-Ogden, 2006). This study adds to that knowledge by critically examining relevant theory and perspectives with a view to highlighting a dedicated Māori youth development approach to inform policy, planning and practice.

## Research Objectives

This research examines the question: “Is tikanga a basis for the positive development of Māori youth”? The objectives of the research were to:

1. Identify significant values and aspirations of Māori youth

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1 Māori words are not translated into English in this thesis. Māori is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand. There is a glossary that provides basic translations at the conclusion of the thesis. For further translations and explanations please refer to a Māori English Dictionary such as the Williams Māori English Dictionary.

2 Māori refers to a multiplicity of identities that constitute the indigenous population of people, iwi, hapū and whānau who occupied New Zealand prior to the arrival of Europeans.

2. Determine the relevance of tikanga Māori to Māori youth development
3. Outline strategies for the realisation of the aspirations of Māori youth

The research locates Māori youth development within an affirmative Māori approach that recognises the characteristics and values relevant to Māori youth. It highlights the significance of the broader context of Māori development in addressing the needs of the growing Māori youth population (M.H. Durie, 1998, 2003; Loomis, 2000; Te Puni Kokiri (TPK), 2005). Policies relevant to Māori youth are also examined to provide the national context and current government approaches. Youth development theories such as the strengths-based approach (Kenneth, Dodgen, Leadbeater, Sandler, Schellenbach, Solarz, 2004; Saleebey, 1997), positive youth development (Damon, 2004; McLaren, 2002) and resilience theory (Benson, 1997; Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Lalonde, 2006; Masten, 2006; Ungar 2005) provide the international context for youth development. Essentially, the research explores the interface between mātauranga Māori and the contemporary realities of Māori youth. In doing so, it examines Māori cultural constructs such as pūrākau (Walker, 1996), tikanga (Barlow, 1991; E.T. Durie, 1998; M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Royal, 1998; Williams, 2000) and āhuatanga and affirms their relevance to modern circumstances (E.T. Durie, 1998; M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Royal, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2005).

## **Definitions of Youth**

Youth are a unique and distinguishable group in society. They have their own characteristics of youthhood.<sup>3</sup> Traditionally the category of youth was socially constructed in relation to adults as an unavoidable means to adulthood (Drewery & Bird, 2007). This does not recognise and celebrate youthhood as a distinct and vital period of development, “The category of youth is a powerful self-determining category that has little to do with ‘not yet an adult’ definitions” (Smith et al., 2002: 6). Youth see themselves as completely separate and distinct from the category of children and adults.

In contemporary society two key transitions have been identified as signifying the changeover from childhood to youthhood; going through puberty and starting secondary school (Drewery & Bird, 2007; McLaren, 2002). The transition out of youthhood and into adulthood is becoming less definitive and has been variously defined by finishing education, leaving home, gaining employment, becoming fully legally responsible and getting married or having children. These transitions define the beginning and end of the legislative age bracket for youth, currently 12 to 24 years of age (Ministry of Youth Affairs (MoYA), 2002). This has progressively expanded largely due to extended financial dependency on parents.

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<sup>3</sup> Youthhood is a term used to refer to the developmental period during which the youth develops – similar to childhood and adulthood. It is the period which occurs after childhood and before adulthood.

During this time youth become more separate from their parents/guardians and more independent, autonomous and closer to their peers (McLaren, 2002). They develop more complex cognitive functions in order to enable them to better understand and fulfil societal expectations. The terms young people, youth, adolescent and teenager have been used interchangeably to describe this development period (Drewery & Bird, 2007; McLaren, 2002; MoH, 2002a, 2002b; MoYA, 2002).

Most indigenous people have formal rites of passage<sup>4</sup> (Drewery & Bird, 2004) that provide closure to the end of childhood and initiate the beginning of adult responsibilities.<sup>5</sup> This progression often occurs over a prolonged period of time in order to develop and prepare the young person for their role in the wider collective. This period was distinguished by its important role in the development of the individuals as well as the community. Colonisation has affected the ability of many indigenous peoples to practice rites of passage and has therefore affected the development of their young people.

### **Māori Definitions of Youth**

Traditionally, children and young people were generally well treated and there was great affection accorded to them (Firth, 1959 cited in Mead, 2003). Neglect of the mana of a child or young person could result in the parents being punished. Today, adults generally tend not to notice the mana of a child or young person, preferring that children are seen and not heard (Mead, 2003). There has been recent debate about how youth are defined within a Māori context (Borell, 2005; Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004).

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4 Ceremonies that mark a person's progress from one role, phase of life, or social status to another marked by a traditional period involving specific rituals or rites. There are three crucial stages in each rite of passage: first the separation, which involves the removal of the individual from his or her former status; second, the rite of marginality, which is a period of transition involving specific rituals, and often suspension from normal social contact; and third, the rite of aggregation, which is the readmission into society in the newly acquired status. Rites of passage often make use of symbolism, which, in the transitional stage, may be reversed. This transitional process sometimes provides others with the opportunity to adjust to a significant event. Rites of passage occur in all societies and serve to reaffirm the values of the particular society in which they take place (Van Gennep, 1960).

5 In many societies, rites to signal the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood are elaborate and prolonged, especially where females and males are initiated into adulthood collectively rather than singularly. These rites mark the point at which a child takes on the role of the adult. For a girl, this might occur at the time of first menstruation; for boys, the timing varies. In some societies initiates are removed from their families and undergo a lengthy seclusion during which they might be subjected to intense physical ordeals. These rites generally require initiates to be instructed in the etiquette, arts, and folklore of their society, in preparation for the conditions of full adulthood (Van Gennep, 1960).

According to tikanga a child retained that classification until their parents or parent's siblings had died or until they produced a child, thereby taking on adult responsibilities. However, as life-expectancy has improved and the average age for child birth has increased, there has been a shift in Māori society in the way groups of people are categorized. The developmental processes (as opposed to age) are the focus in differentiating between groups. The terms rangatahi, taiohi and taitamariki are used interchangeably to describe youth and the period when rites of passage or development associated with youthhood occurs (Adolescent Health Research Group (AHRG), 2004; Borell, 2005; Keelan, 2001; Ministry of Health (MoH), 2002a; Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002; McLaren, 2002; Ormond, 2004; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Tipene-Clark, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 2002; Webster et al., 2006). However, there is debate about the correct use of these Māori terms.<sup>6</sup>

As a term, rangatahi gained prominence when Apirana Ngata referred to the members of the Young Māori Party as young leaders (though they were in their thirties). It gained further popularity through the work of Hoani Waititi in the nineteen fifties and sixties who wrote two major Māori language texts for use in schools called Rangatahi 1 and 2. The term is attributed to a whakataukī that is often used for both males and females and relates to leadership and generational succession: ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi<sup>7</sup> (Mead & Grove, 2001: 181). Metaphorically, this describes the succession of a younger person to the work of a retiring elder (ibid), as opposed to Māori youth in general. The word rangatahi became commonly used as the generic term for Māori youth, as opposed to young leaders and replaced the older term taiohi or tribal dialectal equivalents such as taitamariki.

More recently, the term taiohi which means young or youthful (Williams, 2004: 364) was preferred by the Māori Language Commission in 1989 for the Ministry of Youth Affairs title - Te Tari Taiohi. The Commission acknowledges that although rangatahi has widespread use, taiohi has made a recent comeback on television and radio programmes and as the name for a youth magazine. Taitamariki is another term used mainly by the Ngāpuhi<sup>8</sup> tribe to describe this grouping. For the purposes of this thesis, Māori youth or Māori young people will be applied to the participant age bracket of 16-18 years old to avoid any misunderstandings.

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6 For example, a koroua from Northland commented that rangatahi was an incorrect term for youth suggesting that it is a biblical reference to Christ's coming upon the disciple Peter hanging his old fishing nets and the disciples then becoming 'fishers of men' (Tu mai, 2000:6).

7 When the old net is worn and cast aside, the new net is put to use (Mead & Grove, 2001: 181).

8 A Northland tribe.

Nevertheless, the whakataukī ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi provides a useful analogy of Māori youth development (Keelan, 2004). It emphasises the importance of the young person transitioning into adulthood and assuming adult responsibilities. It likens the fishing grounds to the environment in which Māori youth navigate to resources. The weather conditions are likened to the external influences such as the political, social, cultural and economic environments. The new net or young person needs to be adequately prepared (given the appropriate tools) and ready to face the task at hand. The fisher-folk or anyone involved with the young person must also be well prepared. The old net or the retiring elder provides guidance and shares their knowledge and experience. Thus, the whakataukī aptly encapsulates the realities of Māori youth development in contemporary society.

### **Attitudes to Youth Development**

The onus to develop positively is an expectation of youth theory. Youth are often reminded of their potential and the opportunities available to them with common sayings such as “the world is their oyster.” This attitude assumes that all youth have the same skills, resources and support to make the most of opportunities and that the responsibility to do this is entirely theirs. However, youth are often treated as children with little or no responsibilities or rights. If they are well-behaved and well-mannered they may receive praise but their parents or caregivers congratulate themselves for successfully bringing up good children. However, as soon as young people cause concern by acting inappropriately, they are often blamed and held liable. Parents, adults and society can be quick to discard collective responsibility when difficulties arise. There is no clear transition between being dependent (with few rights and responsibilities) to being independent (with full adult rights and responsibilities).

Youth do what they have been taught to do, or what they are allowed to do and are a reflection of the environment around them. Some youth have positive supports and are suitably resourced to manoeuvre themselves to success and utilise the opportunities that are presented. Others have comparatively fewer supports and resources and the surrounding environment is less conducive to positive development. Youth development depends both on the individual capacity to navigate to appropriate resources and support, and the capacity of the environment to adequately provide those resources and support.

Youth development approaches should move beyond reifying the negative issues that have dominated previous research such as disadvantage,<sup>9</sup> being underprivileged,<sup>10</sup> risk-taking behaviour and deviation from stereotypes (Borell, 2005; Smith et al., 2002).

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9 For example poorer housing

10 For example coming from a minority social group

Recognising the realities and experiences of Māori youth will address the tenuous presumption that the development process is reasonably similar across different ethnicities, cultures and countries (McLaren, 2002). Youth are not all equally able; neither are the aspirations the same. Māori youth are unique and Māori youth development requires unique approaches that recognise these differences.

## **Research with Māori Youth**

There has been little research undertaken on youth development, particularly young Māori in New Zealand (AHRG, 2004).<sup>11</sup> The lack of dedicated resources allocated for research is a key limitation (McLaren, 2002). A deficit<sup>12</sup> approach to Māori and youth has also constrained a broad and meaningful investigation of the field. Youth have also not been given due recognition; the focus of research has generally either been on children or adults. Further, the lack of adequate recognition of Māori perspectives has historically been a feature of research generally in New Zealand.

Research of indigenous peoples and Māori has been historically recognised as resulting in little benefit to those being researched (Bishop 1996a; Cram, 1997; Irwin, 1994; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama, 1993; Royal, 1992, 1998; L.T., Smith, 1999; G.T.H, Smith, 1997; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Vercoe, 1997; H. Walker, 1995; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). Similarly, youth research has also had a perception of social crisis, blaming youth for inadequacies and failure with such terms as 'at-risk'<sup>13</sup> (Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004; Smith et al., 2002). Researchers have been criticised for undertaking research using their own agenda and research methods without considering aspects such as cultural or youth specific practices.

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11 As a prominent example, in 1997, researchers at The University of Auckland began reviewing the information available on the health and welfare of New Zealand's then generation of young people. It became apparent that much important information was not available because it had never been collected and that what information was available had many limitations. For example, many studies used inconsistent terms or definitions, were outdated, or were not applicable to New Zealand's current diverse population (AHRG, 2004).

12 A deficit approach reinforces the dominant ideology of society by affirming one group as normal and comparing all others against this criterion. It focuses on measuring the disparities between the dominant group and the other group. It locates blame with the other group as opposed to exploring other influences and determinants such as the environment (Swadener & Lubeck, 1995).

13 'At-risk' youth are characterised as those who deviate from the ideal youth and are deemed 'at risk' and put their community 'at risk'. They come from disadvantaged backgrounds, failed to reach necessary standards at school and failed to become integrated into normally accepted patterns of social responsibility. Embedded in this concept is a series of interrelated issues such as suicide, drug abuse, teen pregnancy and unemployment (Smith et al., 2001).

More recently, research studies have developed methodologies that address previous limitations. These new research projects have an affirmative approach to youth and culture; they employ innovative ways of privileging social and cultural practices, and incorporate youth perspectives.<sup>14</sup> They recognise that youth have valid opinions and if given the opportunity will contribute to creating relevant solutions rather than focussing principally on problems. Cultural perspectives and practices are also being incorporated into these approaches. These research projects include iwi initiatives for research with youth<sup>15</sup> (Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2006; Webster et al., 2006) and some initiatives for research with Māori youth<sup>16</sup> (Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004). There has also been nationwide research that includes Māori youth<sup>17</sup> (Qiao & McNaught, 2007; Smith et al., 2001). Research with Māori youth is discussed further in the methodology section.

## **Issues for Māori Youth Development**

The factors that have broadly affected Māori society have also influenced Māori youth development and so require specific consideration.

### **Colonisation and Urbanisation**

Colonisation and urbanisation dislocated Māori from their hau kāinga, their cultural institutions and social support structures and replaced them with western frameworks (R. Walker, 1990). This has resulted in a breakdown of culture and identity, difficulties with mainstream institutions, widespread alienation of land, a weakening of tribal structures, and a loss of language, tikanga (customs) and support systems that were once based within whānau and around marae (MoH, 2002b). The extended whānau construct (generally made up of some 3 generations descended from a common ancestor) is not the greatest social influence for many Māori as 19% of Māori children are raised in 'non-nuclear' single-family

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14 Photovoice, the use of image as a data gathering tool and to initiate discussion is just one example.

15 Walsh-Tapiata et al (2006) did research with Raukawa Māori youth on Māori youth health 'Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi research Unit' undertaken from within Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and with Health Research Council funds.

16 Ormond (2004) did research with youth from within her own iwi territory of Ngāti Porou on their narratives. Keelan (2001) developed a framework that implemented the principles of the Youth Development Strategy

17 Aotearoa (2002) in a Māori context and tested this with Māori youth focus groups. Smith et al. (2001) analysed the results of the Māori youth finding in the 'Youth First1' research with rural youth. The Ministry of Social Development and Foundation for Youth Development created 'Project K' a mentoring based programme to inspire students to maximise their full potential. The aims of the programme were to build self-confidence, teach life skills and promote health and education. Māori students were selected as part of the programme.

situations (M.H. Durie, 2005; MoH, 2002b; Te Whāiti, McCarthy, & A. Durie, 1997). Contemporary understandings of whānau have expanded to include both kinship ties (whakapapa connections) as well as relational ties (non-kin connections based on similar interests) (Metge, 1996). For some Māori, urban Māori authorities assume greater significance in their daily lives than their hapū and iwi (M.H. Durie, 1998).

### **Cultural Revitalisation**

The cultural revitalisation initiatives of the 1970s helped to renew and strengthen social and cultural institutions. The government approach up until this point was driven by policies of assimilation and then integration (R. Walker, 1990). A renewed vigour within Māori communities, leading to a range of significant protest actions,<sup>18</sup> signalled a change of Māori - Crown relations and policies of development.<sup>19</sup> The significance of the Treaty of Waitangi was acknowledged in the passage of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 which then led to subsequent recommendations and reports by the Waitangi Tribunal to take account of Māori perspectives in policy and legislation.<sup>20</sup>

Māori initiatives from the 1980s were combined with Māori aspirations and codified at the Hui Whakapumau: the Māori Development Conference (1994). Professor Mason Durie highlighted the gains secured by Māori over the previous decade, and identified the directions for future growth. The key goals for Māori development were: the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, iwi development, economic self-reliance, social equity, and cultural advancement (M.H. Durie, 1998). Māori development is discussed further in the Māori development section.

The implementation of these goals has strengthened links back to land, marae, whānau, hapū, and iwi; language and tikanga initiatives have flourished (M.H. Durie, 1998). The focus on Māori development has also ensured the endurance of culture for future generations. It is now an integral part of New Zealand society. Māori youth of today grow up in an environment that is more conducive to Māori language, culture and identity. According

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18 Protests at Waitangi day celebrations, Auckland University, Orakei, Raglan Golf course, the Hikoi (Land March of 1975) (M.H. Durie, 1998).

19 The Tū Tangata programme followed by the Matua whāngai programme were both Māori focussed initiatives created by Māori. There were also a number of key policy documents released: Tirohanga Rangapū and Te Urupare Rangahau (Partnership perspective 1988), Ka Awatea (It is dawn) (1991) (M.H. Durie, 1998).

20 Waitangi Tribunal recommendations in the 1980s (Motunui Wai 6, Kaituna Wai 4, Manukau Harbour Wai 8) resulted in significant change in environmental legislation (Resource Management Act 1991) and an acknowledgment of the importance of Te reo Māori (Te Reo Māori Claim Wai 11). The kōhanga reo movement, and subsequently, the development of kura kaupapa Māori, and whare kura were key outcomes. The growing use of te reo Māori in the education system also came about (M.H. Durie, 1998).



to a recent survey, most Māori youth are proud of being Māori and Māori values are important to them (AHRG, 2004). In addition, over one quarter can have a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori (TPK, 2006). Māori youth will have an essential role in continuing this revitalisation process.

### **Globalisation**

Technological expansion and the rapid societal change associated with globalisation are creating new challenges for each generation and for indigenous cultures. Today's Māori youth are living in an exciting time with new expanding opportunities, an increasingly diverse society, as well as increasing stress (MoYA, 2002). Māori youth no longer fit previous stereotypes; they are drawing their influences from international forums and integrating these with local trends. They are not limited to traditional social groupings. They can belong to many different Māori and non-Māori social, cultural and political organisations (Tipene-Clarke, 2005). This new environment of plenty poses serious challenges to Māori youth (M.H. Durie, 2003).

### **Māori Youth Demographics**

Māori youth (under the age of 20) make up over a third (284,280) of the total Māori population (632,900) and are a steadily increasing proportion of the Māori and New Zealand youth population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The demographic profile of today's Māori youth highlight realised potential and the potential for improvement. Compared with many other countries, New Zealand youth have high rates for a range of negative health outcomes, such as suicide and self-harm (MoH, 2002a, 2002b; MoYA, 2002). Furthermore, Māori youth continue to suffer more ill-health<sup>21</sup> and are more socio-economically disadvantaged<sup>22</sup> than their non-Māori counterparts (AHRG, 2004; MoH, 2002a, 2002b; Ministry of Social Development (MoSD), 2004; MoYA, 2002; TPK, 2006). On a more positive note, Māori

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21 Māori youth have consistently higher unemployment, death, suicide, hospitalisation, conduct and substance disorders, substance abuse, smoking, obesity and teenage pregnancy rates than non-Māori (MoH, 2002a, 2002b).

22 Māori have more unjustified absences from school, leave secondary school earlier, with lower levels of qualification, are less likely to participate in formal tertiary education and are over-represented in second-chance schemes than non-Māori. The apprehension of 14–16 year olds by Police for non-traffic offences rose sharply in the early 1990s and numbers have remained relatively unchanged. A similar increase occurred in the number of cases proved in the Youth Court. Young males and young Māori people are more likely to be involved with the justice system in this way (MoSD, 2004).

educational achievement statistics are improving<sup>23</sup> which are important indicators for employment opportunities, potential earnings and economic gain<sup>24</sup> (AHRG, 2004; MoH, 2002b; TPK, 1999; MoSD, 2004).

## **Rights to Māori Youth Development**

The Treaty of Waitangi forms the basis for Māori - Crown relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Its principles guarantee active protection of Māori youth wellbeing and development approaches, partnership with Māori youth in decisions that affect them and participation of Māori youth in New Zealand society and te ao Māori (New Zealand Government, 1989). More specifically, Article Two guarantees the possession or continued existence of taonga<sup>25</sup> such as Māori youth and Article Three guarantees equal citizenship rights and status to non-Māori youth.

Internationally, youth from other indigenous communities<sup>26</sup> face similar challenges. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples<sup>27</sup> provides an international endorsement for the development of youth with traditional practices. It recognises control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them. This will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions and to promote their

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23 30% of Māori aged between 16-24 years are in some form of education. Most Māori youth at secondary school are healthy, do not engage in multiple risky behaviours and report positive connections to whānau, school and peers. In recent years, there has also been a rapid increase in the proportion of young Māori gaining a tertiary qualification (TPK, 1999).

24 The Māori dependency rate will change over the next 25 years. Māori youth (20 years and under) who make up over a third of the Māori population will become the main income earners (25-40 years of age) for the Māori population and will greatly contribute to the New Zealand economy.

25 'ka whakarite...te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua, o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa' (Ko te Tuarua, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840).

26 Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are the descendants of people claiming original habitation of a territory, with a distinctive culture and social institutions. They have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories and consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories. They have been subjected to colonisation suffering exploitation, discrimination and disadvantage. Although only forming minority sectors of society They are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations Their ancestral territories, and ethnic identity, as the basis of Their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with Their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems (Coulter, 1994; Loomis, 2000).

27 Officially ratified in 2007 by the United Nations however New Zealand was only one of four countries (alongside Australia, Canada and the United States) that did not sanction the Declaration.

development in accordance with their aspirations and needs.<sup>28</sup> It recognises the right of indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing, training, education and well-being of their youth. Māori youth are therefore guaranteed the right to positive development as tangata whenua and as indigenous peoples.

## **Government Approach to Māori Youth Development**

The definition of youth development has a significant effect on the approach taken by government, and generally influences the resources dedicated towards youth initiatives. The National Youth Development Information Centre in the United States of America defines youth development as:

*a process which prepares young people to meet the challenges of adolescence and adulthood through a coordinated progressive series of activities and experiences which help them to become socially, morally, emotionally, physically, and cognitively competent* (<http://www.nydic.org/nydic/programming/definition.htm>, June 18, 2008).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand past government policies have heavily affected the ability of Māori communities to support the healthy development of their young people (MoYA, 2002). A major factor in youth development has been a recent shift in the way young people are viewed; from being a problem to be solved to being active participants in creating a healthier world. Youth relevant policies have recently begun to explore the diversity and significance of the social, economic and cultural differences<sup>29</sup> of youth alongside an increasing body of international literature that argues for new ways of thinking about young people (Smith et al., 2002).

In 2002 a comprehensive literature review on the achievement of positive outcomes for young people in their key social environments was undertaken for the Ministry of Youth Affairs (McLaren, 2002). Youth development was defined as the process of young people growing up and developing the skills and attitudes they need to take part positively in society, now and in the future. It was found that young people: need to feel they are contributing

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28 Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalise their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures...’ (Part 3 Article 12). Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, language, oral traditions, philosophies...” (Part 3 Article 14 Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples).

29 The Youth2000 survey conducted by the University of Auckland was New Zealand’s first national secondary school youth health and wellbeing survey. It was the first survey undertaken that had sufficient Māori youth to allow Māori specific analysis to be undertaken for many of the areas investigated in the survey (AHRG, 2004). The same survey has been conducted again in 2006 with a much more comprehensive Māori component focusing on bilingual units, wharekura and kura Kaupapa (personal communication).

valued skills; need to feel connected to others and society; need to believe they are in control of their fate and have a stable identity (ibid).

As a result, the strengths-based positive youth development approach was formally promoted in New Zealand by the Ministry of Youth Affairs in the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) (2002). This was subsequently endorsed by the Ministry of Health in Youth Health: A Guide to Action (2002) and the Adolescent Health Research Group findings of the Youth2000 survey (2004).

The Investing in Child and Youth Development component of the Sustainable Development for New Zealand Programme of Action asserted that the Government had placed the current and future wellbeing of children and young people high on its agenda<sup>30</sup> (MoSD, 2004). Despite this, there remains a lack of dedicated funding and resources for youth development and Māori youth development in particular. Where successful initiatives have occurred, they are mostly due to collaborations between groups such as the Health Research Council, Universities, iwi/Māori authorities and key interest groups.

## **Thesis Structure**

The introduction chapter has outlined the study and provided the context to Māori youth development in Aotearoa New Zealand. It has included relevant definitions and perspectives and the identification of key issues that should be considered in a discussion on Māori youth development. The imperatives for an emphasis on positive Māori youth development have also been highlighted.

Chapter two portrays youth development within a Māori context. It refers to the Māui pūrākau as exemplifying social and cultural practices, some of which are relevant to youth. It identifies two capacities relevant to Māori youth; tikanga - cultural values and āhuatanga - characteristics. These form the basis of a theoretical approach to Māori youth development.

Chapter three considers the broader contexts in which Māori youth development occurs; the international youth development approaches such as the strengths-based approach, positive youth development and resiliency theory as well as the goals of Māori development. These two development approaches are examined for their relevance to Māori youth. Key issues are identified and discussed and highlight the need for a dedicated approach to Māori youth development.

Chapter four explains the methodology used in this study. It explores the relevance of Māori research and youth research approaches to Māori youth. It describes the approach used with the participants which incorporated their cultural and social practices. It includes

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30 The Children and Young People: Indicators of wellbeing in New Zealand report was the first in an ongoing programme of monitoring high-level outcomes for this vulnerable group (MoSD, 2004).

tikanga as a guiding tool, hui as the research method and whakawhanaungatanga as the recruitment process. The ethical considerations for working with a group of Māori youth are also discussed.

Chapter five presents the findings of the research. The eight participants are introduced and their responses are collated into the two key categories identified in chapter two; tikanga and āhuatanga. Each category has specific examples. The participants' responses provide a wide range of contemporary examples of these cultural constructs.

Chapter six analyses the findings. It integrates the voice of the participants with the literature. It draws on Māori development goals, youth development theory and the responses of the participants to identify the key individual and environmental capacities required for positive Māori youth development. In doing so, it highlights the need for a dedicated Māori youth development approach.

The conclusion chapter summarises the main findings of the thesis and provides recommendations for Māori youth development. These recommendations have implications for theory, policy, practice and future research in Māori youth development and the wider contexts in which Māori youth operate.

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## Chapter Two: Māui and Youth Development

### Introduction

The well known Māori ancestor Māui was a unique youth of his time. The Māui pūrākau (narratives) provide a metaphorical illustration of the origins of culture and social institutions and customary values and practices (Royal, 2002; R. Walker, 1996). This chapter describes in detail pūrākau, tikanga (collective values) and āhuatanga (characteristics) as they relate to youth development. The relevance of these social and cultural constructs can be seen as one of many cultural revitalisation initiatives that have occurred over recent decades. This chapter examines their use and application in contemporary contexts.

### Māui

Māui is one of many prominent ancestors renowned for their significant accomplishments (Reed, 1974; R. Walker, 1996). Māui's full name was Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (Māui formed in the topknot of Taranga). The symbolic events surrounding his birth stood him apart from his peers (Reed, 1974). As his mother felt that he would be premature and still-born as a result of her old-age, she gave birth by the sea. Not expecting Māui to live, she wrapped him in a tuft of her hair and threw him into the waves. He was carried out to sea in the protection of seaweed and kelp. Eventually, he was found by one of his tīpuna, Tamānui-ki-te-rangi, who brought him up as his own son. However, towards the end of his childhood years Māui felt a need to return home to his mother and brothers.

Being the fifth and youngest son of Taranga, he was also known as Māui Pōtiki (Māui the last born) (ibid). This name distinguished him from his four older brothers who all bore the same first name (Māui) as well as acknowledging the unique attributes that go with being the pōtiki. These attributes helped Māui to achieve feats though they were sometimes misunderstood leading to incorrect, inappropriate or inadequate descriptions of him. He has been variously defined as mischievous, daring and adventurous, showing compassion for his fellow human beings at times, selfish, a liar and a cheat, arrogant, a well known hero, gifted, clever, daring, impudent, whimsical and irresponsible (Gillies, 2006; Reed, 1974; R. Walker, 1996).

Māui has also been credited with a number of names to illustrate his versatility; Māui-nukurau (Māui the deceiver), Māui-whare-kino (Māui of the evil house), Māui-tinihanga (Māui of the many stratagems), Māui-i-toa (Māui the brave), Māui-i-atamai (Māui the kind), Māui-mōhio (Māui the wise), and Māui-mata-warū (Māui of the eight eyes – not to be taken literally, but indicative of supernatural powers) (Reed, 1974: 51-66). There are also several

meanings that have been applied to the term Māui; to live, to subsist, left-handed and witchcraft. Also, the verb whakamāui means to recover from an illness (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 196-197).

His escapades were daring and challenged the norms of society. Some of his feats include; finding his father, fishing up the North Island (known as Te Ika a Māui), obtaining fire, obtaining his grandmother's magical jawbone, slowing down the sun and, finally, trying to defy mortality which resulted in his death (R. Walker, 1996). As a result of his exploits, Māui brought both good (in the form of broadening previously restrictive conventions), and bad (confirming mortality) to the world. More broadly, his actions set a precedent for the development and advancement of Māori society through challenging, extending and enhancing the status quo.

Māui is also well known throughout Polynesia and other islands (Gillies, 2006; Reed, 1974; Thornton, 1992). He has been likened to other heroic figures such as the Greek god Heracles, the Roman god Hercules and the Welsh god Culcullen because their feats carved out an example of the potential of humankind. Māui also has a similar birthing story to that of Moses and has similar after birth events as the Roman twins Romulus and Remus (Gillies, 2006). He shares these similarities with other characters throughout the world whose exploits provide culturally based explanations of existence (R. Walker, 1996).

## **Pūrākau**

The Māui pūrākau provide an explanation of the foundations of culture, social interaction, values and customary practices (Royal, 2002; R. Walker, 1996). They have been passed on and preserved through intergenerational transmission. The Māui pūrākau are an example of an anthology of similar pūrākau such as the creation tradition of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and the more exclusive tribal legends of Tāwhaki and Tāne-nui-a-rangi (R. Walker, 1996).

There are, however, debates surrounding pūrākau as having meaning beyond myth and providing moral templates for societal behaviour (Royal, 2002; Thornton, 1992; R. Walker, 1996). Some consider that they are only fabricated stories for mere entertainment. This may be a product of the people interpreting the pūrākau being limited by hegemonic western worldviews and language which privileges masculinity, Christian beliefs, and myth.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, this thesis asserts that pūrākau illustrate the origins of the world and of mankind (McLintock, 1966; Royal, 2002; Thornton, 1992). These narratives or “cosmogonies and theogonies” were “originally more than stories told for the delight and entertainment of

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31 See Ani, Mikaere (2003) The balance destroyed: Consequences for Māori women of the colonization of tikanga Māori, for a more in depth discussion of myth and the influence of Christianity and masculinity.

an audience” (Thornton, 1992: 18). They were words of power that could affect events or people (ibid). They embody the values and beliefs of the people and ultimately reflect human qualities. Essentially, a society’s principles, values, traditions, customs and human qualities are learnt from their pūrākau or whatever they may be called - myths, legends and stories (Royal, 2002). They are society’s examples for cultural and social norms. Exemplified in pūrākau are tikanga - collective cultural values and beliefs and their associated practices and āhuatanga – characteristics exercised at an individual level.

### **Āhuatanga - definitions**

Āhuatanga is defined as; characteristic, property, aspect or feature (Te Matatiki, 1996: 146). Collectively they refer to form and character (Mead, 2003). Āhuatanga apply both to the physical and meta-physical. Ngā āhuatanga o Tawhirimatea, for example, refers to the patterns of the weather. Ngā āhuatanga o te pakanga refers to aspects of warfare. Ngā āhuatanga o te whenua refers to the features of the land.

In this study, the āhuatanga examined refer specifically to people. Āhuatanga are utilised to mean human characteristics exercised by individuals. Thus, they refer to the features, attributes, characteristics, traits, aspects and qualities that are exhibited by individuals. Āhuatanga are derived from cultural narratives, however, they are not necessarily culturally specific. Cultural specificity however, is significant in the context in which they are recognised. For example, the āhuatanga of an individual and their whānau are often recognised at a marae/hapū level. The āhuatanga of an iwi are generally recognised at a national level. What differentiates members of that whānau or iwi is the recognition attributed by themselves and those around them.

Put differently, a particular āhuatanga analysed later in this chapter – manawanui, refers to resilience. Although manawanui is culturally derived and culturally specific, the characteristic of resilience is not. Resilience can be applied broadly to any cultural setting; the relevance and applicability of it is reliant on the context in which it is exhibited and observed. Some stereotypical āhuatanga of Māori people are; being funny, being able to sing, play the guitar and having rhythm, being good at sports, coming from a large whānau, or being able to speak te reo Māori. Other less popular āhuatanga (such as māhaki or exercising humility) can equally apply to Māori youth.

Some commentators have implied that āhuatanga exhibited by Māui are not human or unique to Māori and that people are incapable of achieving similar feats without superhuman powers. The demi-god status of Māui has, as a result, been overly embellished which detracts from the real purpose of pūrākau which is to illustrate human potential. For example, Pākehā ethnographers Percy Smith (1915), Reed (1974), Best (1941) and Grey

(1956) attribute Māui's feats to his supernatural abilities and godlike or hero status as opposed to his personal qualities. For example, Reed states; "Māui, the demi-god...was endowed moreover with that kind of mana – which... enabled him to outdo the feats of ordinary mankind" (Reed, 1974; 51). Mana and Māui are incorrectly combined in this excerpt. Māui is identified as having supernatural qualities by virtue of possessing a particularly powerful form of mana. However, as will be shown, Māui illustrates many qualities such as mana which are applicable to all mankind. Māui can be seen as an example of what is humanely possible (McLintock, 1966; Royal, 2002; Thornton, 1992).

### **Tikanga – definitions**

The Māui pūrākau also exemplify collective cultural values or tikanga. Recently, scholars<sup>32</sup> have been recognised for their in-depth understanding and knowledge of Māori concepts (Barlow, 1991; Marsden, 1975 cited in Royal, 2003; Mead, 2003; Royal, 1998; Salmond, 1975; R. Walker, 1996; Williams, 2000). Before the nineteen seventies tikanga and pūrākau were, for the most part, inadequately relayed by European beneficiaries of Māori knowledge such as Best (1941), Grey (1956) and Percy Smith (1915).

Tikanga initially developed through sustained practices that helped to manage the challenges of new environments and phenomena. It has since been accepted as a formal code of conduct for the survival, maintenance and development of people and natural resources for future generations (M. H. Durie, 2003, 2005; Mead, 2003; Williams, 2000). Mason Durie (2003) refers to the constructs of tapu and noa to illustrate how tikanga evolved to guide social interaction and behaviour, and to synergise the needs of human inhabitants with an often harsh environment. Tikanga were developed by gradually learning about the environment through testing what was safe (noa), what was risky (tapu) and what should be avoided at all costs (rāhui). The observance of tapu was essentially about safeguarding life; the survival of future generations depended on adhering to these practices that were proved to be relatively risk-free.

Tikanga are now commonly interpreted as principles or values that determine a culturally appropriate approach (E.T Durie, 1998; M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2004; Williams, 2000). This definition is based upon the meaning of the base word tika as 'correct' or 'right' (Mead, 2003; Royal, 2004; Williams, 2000). It has led many to compare tikanga with ethics (A. Durie, 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998) and even law

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32 Salmond's (1975) publication on hui (traditional Māori gatherings) was a relatively early in-depth discussion of various tikanga relating to the process of hui. Marsden (1975) also discusses different tikanga in detail although from a Māori perspective.

(E.T. Durie, 1998; New Zealand Law Commission, 2002; Royal, 2004; Williams, 2000). This thesis proposes an alternative, more complex view of tikanga.

Tikanga, naturally and organically, arise out of a person and a community (E.T Durie, 1998; M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2004; Williams, 2000). They are first principles that are brought into one's consciousness and act as a foundation upon which natural and organic actions and behaviours occur. Essentially, tikanga denote the Māori way of doing things - from the ordinary to the most sacred or important fields of human endeavour (Williams, 2000). It includes social, cultural and spiritual influences.

Tikanga are a means of social control including processes for correcting and compensating for transgressions (Mead, 2003). In this sense, tikanga are support tools of thought and understanding, packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. Mead (2003: 5) states that tikanga:

Provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions and help steer us through some tense moments in life... [tikanga] help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities that we engage in.

Tikanga involve moral judgements about appropriate ways of behaving and acting in everyday life. The term kaupapa is also used to refer to those underlying principles and values (Royal, 2004). There are also tribal variations that include kawa as the practice of tikanga. For the purposes of this thesis, tikanga refers to the underlying values that determine appropriate behaviour in order to emphasise the interdependent relationship between values and actions.

## **The Effects of Colonisation on Cultural Ideologies**

Colonisation has had devastating effects on indigenous cultures and languages (M.H. Durie, 2003; Loomis, 2000; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2002). It has included the active suppression of Māori people, cultural practices and methodologies by institutions of the Crown, the conversion of Māori to Christianity and its accompanying repudiation of culture. Colonisation was premised on the belief that progress and development meant the rejection of Māori perspectives and the imposition of proper knowledge based on western frameworks (Mead, 2003). For example, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907<sup>33</sup> prohibited traditional healing practitioners who were also the principle repositories of cultural knowledge and practices (M.H. Durie, 2003). This outlawing of tribal repositories meant that Māori ways of teaching, learning and transmitting knowledge were heavily affected and restricted.

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33 The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 was a prohibition of traditional healers. This legislation also made it an offence to practice traditional healing.



Crown policies of assimilation enforced the view that tikanga were irrelevant; Māori practices were actively discouraged and discarded and Māori ideologies were no longer perceived as valid (M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003). The capacity of the community to respond to new circumstances was systematically removed. Crown policies resulted in the restriction of tikanga to religious or ceremonial activities. Tikanga, primarily due to Christian influences, was thus imbued with a new element of sacredness.

This degree of separation has meant that tikanga are now sometimes performed out of habit as a traditional exercise rather than because they are the appropriate action according to the circumstance (M.H. Durie, 2003). Such practices are controlled by an elite group of Māori who claim knowledge of these traditions. Consequently, tikanga are kept private and are not always transferred outside of these controlled environments to everyday activities (Royal, 2002).

The traditionalist approach is partly due to the pressures of cultural survival and a fear of the loss of Māoritanga, a yearning for traditional knowledge and a desire to be Māori (ibid). Sometimes this need to preserve what may seem to be traditional practice is taken to a negative extreme. Fear of loss and insecurity about culture become motivation for enforcing particular tikanga without understanding the value or concepts underlying them. This may include a suspicious attitude to anything new and an overly strict adherence to traditional practice. “We become bent on holding onto things [such as tikanga practices], of ensuring that nothing slips through our fingers or falls from our kete” (ibid: 15). The focus becomes the behaviours or qualities themselves, rather than whether they are appropriate, relevant and meaningful to those involved and whether the outcomes are beneficial.

The increased exploration of the complexity and depth of pūrākau, āhuetanga and tikanga has been carried out by Māori academics. The use of these constructs is now more common, but understandings of them vary. More recently, commentators have critically examined their meaning and application in contemporary contexts (Barlow, 1991; E.T Durie, 1998; M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Royal, 1998, 2002, 2004; R. Walker, 1996; Williams, 2000).

## **Contemporary Application of Cultural Ideologies**

Some tikanga and āhuetanga may no longer be relevant today, or may have evolved to suit contemporary needs (Barlow, 1991; M.H. Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003). The focus of tikanga when Māori arrived in Aotearoa was on day to day survival and safeguarding against the risks imposed by the new physical environment. The focus now is more closely associated with lifestyle choices, the impact of new technology and the risks they pose (M.H. Durie, 2003). Technological advancements, globalisation and modern influences have

brought significant changes that require the similar kind of adaptation exhibited by early Māori explorers. Appropriate codes for living and for coping with modern health risks are required.

Tikanga in contemporary society can be utilised to address new challenges and minimise risks. Mason Durie (2003) cites the utilitarian view of the purpose of tapu, initially proposed by Te Rangi Hiroa Buck. Buck drew a connection between the use of tapu and the prevention of accidents or calamities, linking the conferment of tapu to healthy practices. Mason Durie also uses tapu and noa as an example of applying tikanga to contemporary issues such as health promotion and the prevalence of diabetes. Reducing the level of consumption of unhealthy foods, placing a rāhui on certain food types, and modifying eating habits by declaring the mouth to be a tapu organ have been posited. The active identification of threats to social, cultural and spiritual wellbeing and the application of relevant tikanga to address such hazards are required.

Judge Eddie Durie (1998) in discussing Māori custom and judicial precedent asserts that Māori will refer to the past to determine a future course of action in new situations. He emphasises that one must look for the underlying principle or value involved as these establish the cultural norms of a society, are enduring and are easily transferable to new contexts. Whilst rules are relatively inflexible, principles and values are not.

Mead (2003) emphasises that tikanga were and still are practical and subject to reinterpretation according to the circumstances. He argues that tikanga must be capable of responding to community attitudes and therefore be able to change with the times and be applicable to new environments. As Māori social groupings have changed over time, so too has the practice of tikanga.

## **Key Social Grouping Concepts**

Whānau is the basic unit of Māori society into which an individual is born and socialised and literally means to be born or family group (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 483). Whakawhanau is to be produced or brought forth and whanaunga is a blood relative (Mead, 2003: 371). Whakapapa is genealogy (Te Matatiki, 1996; 359) and refers to a complex kinship system which links all phenomena; people, plants and animals to past, present and future through common descent (Mead, 2003). Whakapapa is inherited by the child through their parents and provides them access to, membership of and defines a role within the whānau, hapū and iwi structure. “Without it [whakapapa] an individual is outside looking in” (ibid: 43). The process of naming a child (such as the tohi or tapa naming ritual or the oriori) affirms genealogical connections to the collective grouping.

Tuakana refers to an older sibling or cousin of the same sex in an elder branch of the family (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 445) but has evolved to include a more senior person or generation in terms of status, knowledge or experience. Teina refers to a younger sibling or cousin of the same sex in a junior branch of the family (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 410) and has also evolved to include a more junior person or generation in terms of status, knowledge or experience. The concept of tuakana/teina refers to the mentoring or role modelling nature of relationships and encapsulates a sharing of knowledge and guidance within a symbiotic relationship (Mead, 2003). It is the tuakana's responsibility and obligation to ensure that the knowledge and skills they possess are shared and transferred to the teina. It is the teina's responsibility to learn this so that they in turn can pass it on. "When this moment arrives the individual should be keen to receive their share in the inheritance and not reject it, as often happened in the past" (ibid; 41). This transferral of information ensures that knowledge is protected, discussed, monitored and maintained for future generations.

These familial concepts are illustrated in the Māui pūrākau. Whakapapa played a major role in the naming of Māui. Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga emphasizes the biological connection to his mother and can be seen as referring to the significance of whakapapa (Reed, 1974; R. Walker, 1996). Māui returned home as he became more interested in his whakapapa and whānau and his role within it. Some of his feats were about learning his place as the pōtiki of the whānau and re-establishing a connection with members of his whānau and his role in the wider collective. Few of Māui's feats were achieved by his singular efforts (R. Walker, 1996). He established relationships with various people and employed their help and wisdom to assist him in achieving his goals.

### **Relevant Tikanga: Values**

Tikanga relevant to youth development are illustrated in the Māui pūrākau. The following discussion illustrates how they can be identified in pūrākau and applied more broadly. However, it is not an exhaustive list of tikanga. The tikanga discussed below are those that were identified by the participants during the hui. There are many other relevant tikanga. The tikanga identified will be defined broadly and then discussed in detail later in the thesis. The English equivalents are my own choosing and are by no means definitive. They help to describe the tikanga as they are used in this thesis in a western context and are not the only English translations available. They do not adequately translate the complexity of the Māori concepts and therefore are accompanied with full explanations.

## **Whanaungatanga: Relationship Building**

One important tikanga is whanaungatanga which is the expression of relationships (Ngata, 1996: 397). It is building quality relationships and the interdependent nature of connections (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003). Whanaungatanga reaches beyond whakapapa and includes whānau relationships with non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences and a common cause. Whanaungatanga is about one's position and membership within a collective and its associated benefits and obligations. Individuals expect to be supported by these connections and the collective group depends on the support and participation of its individual members. Whanaungatanga emphasises the importance of establishing and maintaining relationships.

## **Mana: Integrity**

Mana is the influence, authority, prestige, integrity and power attributed to a person (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 172). Mana applies to both the physical and metaphysical. Mana atua refers to spiritual authority. Mana tīpuna is a person's inherited authority. Mana whenua relates to the land while mana moana the sea; both highlight environmental integrity. Mana tangata is a person's social position and how they are regarded by others based on their proven works, skills, achievements and contributions to the collective over time (Mead, 2003). Personal and group relationships are mediated and guided by the high value placed on mana (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2004). Every individual is born with mana. While mana is inherited at birth, it is also possible to increase a person's mana by virtue of their actions. It is not a standalone characteristic as it encompasses many different aspects that make up an individual, although characteristics or āhuatanga will contribute to a person's mana.

Mana affects interpersonal and inter-group relationships and must be maintained to ensure balance. Actions that diminish mana will have negative effects. On the other hand, it can also be described as the creative and dynamic force that motivates the individual to do better. The rewards are an increase in mana, and an acknowledgement by others of one's abilities.

As the fifth and youngest son of Taranga, Māui was also known as the pōtiki (Reed, 1974; R. Walker, 1996). In hierarchical societies, rights, privileges, traits and talents were often seen as being inherited (mana tīpuna). The eldest sibling was expected to have the same traits as her/his predecessors and expected to eventually receive the mantle of leadership for their whānau. The other siblings were not expected to have these traits to the same extent and therefore had lesser expectations of them. Mead (2003: 51) asserts that "it was and is possible to rise above the limitations of whakapapa."

The Māui pūrākau illustrate the potential to exceed expectations and experience great achievements by capitalising on natural strengths. Māui challenged the presumption that success and leadership is the sole preserve of tuakana. He proved that anyone is capable of realising potential and exceeding expectations. As Walker highlights;

Māui was the archetype culture hero who overcame the disadvantage of being the last born of five brothers to gain fame and adulation as a benefactor of humankind. He stands as a model to all teina (juniors) that they too can succeed provided they have the required personal qualities. (1996: 19)

Mana also refers to the ability of individuals or groups to exercise their rights and determine their own future. Māui was renowned for making decisions that contradicted accepted norms and the advice of elders;

In the end it is up to individuals to decide the shape of their lives and what they want to do. They have the choice of following the path of evil or good. They can develop their own talents and make a name for themselves... [or] they can coast along under the shadow of their parents and be a clinging vine. (Mead, 2003: 52)

Māui enhanced his mana as a result of his actions and achievements.

### **Manaakitanga: Responsibility**

Manaakitanga is very closely associated with mana. It is the expression of manaaki; to show respect or kindness to someone or something (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 172). Manaakitanga applies to both the tangible and the intangible. For example, manaaki whenua refers to the appropriate management of resources to do with the land whilst manaaki manuhiri highlights the hospitality accorded to visitors. The focus for this study is the human interaction involved in manaakitanga. It is about nurturing relationships and includes the reciprocal nature of this responsibility (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003). This is achieved through an understanding and appreciation of others and having meaningful transactions. Essentially, it is about the greater good and collective benefits, rather than individual benefit. The level of manaakitanga expressed determines the nature of the relationship; it acknowledges the significance of the guests and directly reflects on the reputation of the hosts.

### **Tapu: Prohibitions**

Tapu is the prohibitive, restrictive or limiting condition or state affecting persons, places and things (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 385). It can be utilised to differentiate between safe and unsafe practice. It denotes a state of being set apart. Tapu is commonly associated with religious or ceremonial activities but is also relevant to contemporary settings (Barlow, 1991; M.H Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003). For this study, tapu determines the safe action and

cautions against risky behaviour which have negative outcomes. A lack of tapu is referred to as noa. Noa is free, safe and unrestricted. It can refer to the mundane and the ordinary.

### **Ngā Momo Āhukatanga: Characteristics**

Āhukatanga are illustrated in the Māui pūrākau. A broad definition of the āhukatanga will be provided with an explanation of how they relate to youth and an example from the Māui pūrākau. It is not an exhaustive list; there are many more āhukatanga that can be applied to youth. However, these particular āhukatanga were discussed by the participants. The English equivalents are my own choosing and are not definitive. They help to describe the āhukatanga as they are used in the thesis in a western context and are not the only English translations available. They do not adequately translate the complexity of the Māori concepts and therefore are accompanied with full explanations.

### **Māia: Potentiality**

Māia is the expression of māiatanga: potential (Ngata, 1996: 349). Every person is born with potential. A person's potential may be attributed to inherited traits, whilst other qualities may be learnt. Potential is inherent but needs to be nourished and developed. It is the latent capacities of the individual which come to fruition when fully exercised. If fully realised, it enables individuals to break free from stereotypes and exceed expectations. It makes possible the accomplishment of tasks despite coming from underprivileged or disadvantaged backgrounds. Māui was the pōtiki which according to custom destined him to lesser expectations and ability than his elder siblings. However, when Māui fished up the North Island (Te Ika-a-Māui) he proved his extraordinary ability over his brothers. Potential has no limits or boundaries. On the other hand, untapped potential or potential that has been inhibited for various reasons can result in a lack of self-confidence and self-worth. It is a loss to society.

### **Ahu Whakamua: Foresight**

Ahu is to move in a certain direction and whakamua is forwards or front (Williams Dictionary, 1971: 3, 213). It is a forward orientation and is about identifying goals and challenges and navigating a pathway to success. It includes strategic planning and preparation in working towards and achieving goals. These goals can be big or small and can be achieved individually or collectively. Ahu whakamua requires determination and perseverance in order to complete the task. Larger tasks are broken down into similar more manageable tasks, so that what may have seemed impossible becomes achievable.

In order to achieve his goals, Māui observed, listened, discussed and then strategically planned out his various activities. For example Māui outsmarted Mahuika to gain

fire, Murirangawhenua of her jawbone, his mother into showing where his father lived and he captured and slowed down the sun (Reed, 1974; R. Walker, 1996).

### **Manawanui: Resilience**

Manawanui is stout hearted (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 174) and refers to all the qualities of resilience (Ngata, 1996: 20, 94, 328, 456). It is the ability to positively and successfully adapt and respond to new challenges. It is the capacity to hold strong to one's values and remain committed despite trials and tribulations. Manawanui is maintaining motivation and determination to complete a task. Māui often ventured into the unknown and put himself into new situations, testing his abilities. He undertook challenges that were considered impossible and changed shape from human to bird in order to move between worlds and to continue with his endeavours to find his father and defy immortality (R. Walker, 1996).

It is important that the individual is well informed, in order to make good decisions and minimise negative outcomes. When this quality is lacking, a person is said to be wharemoa and are submissive and easily led astray.

### **Ihumanea: Innovation**

Ihumanea is clever (Williams Dictionary, 2004: 466) and describes the quality of innovation (Ngata, 1996: 247). It is the challenging disposition that youth exhibit when testing and learning about their environment and the inquisitive and adventurous nature needed to undertake such exploits. Ihumanea involves having initiative to trying new things. It requires constant stimulation and encouragement; otherwise, the tendency to develop and grow is stunted.

The Māui pūrākau are about advancing society, making the future a better place and adding value to life. Māui spent his time thinking up new ways to develop his surroundings. He was innovative in his approach, challenging the norms of society. He was a risk-taker and did not let common limitations restrict him. He had an inquisitive nature and actively sought out challenges which helped him to be a pioneer in his achievements such as increasing daybreak (R. Walker, 1996). Māui was also often referred to as cheeky as he could not stop himself from pointing out mistakes or flaws or suggesting a possible solution or answer. He had to try his idea out or answer back. Sometimes this was perceived as being a know-it-all, while other times a sense of humour helped him to gain approval.

## **Māhaki: Humility**

Māhaki is humility (Ngata, 1996: 211). It is about being modest and not being boastful despite having certain knowledge or experience. It is illustrated in relationships such as between tuakana and teina. It includes being able to recognise one's place in the wider collective relative to others and to appreciate others' virtues. It is about putting the needs of the collective first and contributing to society and collective wellbeing and not being selfish. Ngākau māhaki refers to someone who is generous and shares their possessions, knowledge and experience with others (<http://www.reotupu.co.nz/wslivewakareo/Default.aspx>).

Although Māui may not be seen as humble to other humans, he confirmed a sense of humbleness in humankind about mortality when he tried to re-enter Hine-nui-te-pō.

## **Conclusion**

Ancestors like Māui have influenced Māori culture, values, beliefs, traditions and helped to define a uniquely Māori way of being and acting. Pūrākau are narratives that provide templates for behaviour. They are culturally defined and offer historically based solutions to contemporary issues. This chapter has discussed tikanga and āhuatanga exhibited in the Māui pūrākau. Tikanga are underlying values that determine a culturally appropriate approach and are exercised at a broad collective level. The tikanga identified were whanaungatanga – relationship building, mana - integrity, manaakitanga - responsibility and tapu - prohibitions. They relate to youth development, as they influence culturally appropriate approaches to interaction, between youth and their key social groupings.

Āhuatanga are personal characteristics that are exercised at an individual level and are relative to context. The āhuatanga identified were: māia – potentiality, ahu whakamua - foresight, manawanui - resilience, ihumanea - innovation and māhaki – humility. These tikanga and āhuatanga provide the basis of a Māori-centred approach to analysing contemporary Māori youth development.



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# Chapter Three: Contemporary Development

## Introduction

This chapter will focus on contemporary Māori youth development drawing on the goals of Māori development and youth development theory. It will highlight key issues in each approach and the limitations for Māori youth. Māori youth development exists within the broader parameters of Māori development, national youth related policies and international youth development theory. Māori youth make up a third of the total Māori population<sup>34</sup> and a fifth of all young people in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The positive development of Māori youth is therefore significant to whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities and the wider society. As indigenous peoples, Māori youth development is also relevant to, and cognisant of, international youth development theory. Recent approaches that have relevance to Māori youth development are the strengths-based approach (Kenneth et al., 2004; Saleebey, 1997), positive youth development (Damon, 2004; McLaren, 2002), and resilience (Benson, 1997; Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Lalonde, 2006; Masten, 2006; Ungar 2005).

Youth development theories assist in understanding the nuances of youth such as the pressures they face, their needs, desires and expectations and their potential for development. Theories have recently begun to explore the role of culture in development. The focus on culture highlights cultural values, beliefs and associated characteristics. For Māori youth, this would include tikanga and āhuetanga.

## Section One: Māori Development

Māori development and the advancement of Māori into the future is as much about adapting to modern times as it is part of a much older convention of cultural and social institutions that have evolved over centuries. Development has occurred since the beginning of time with significant challenges occurring such as the migration of Māori from Hawaiki to Aotearoa.

After arriving in Aotearoa, Māori overcame the difficulties of adapting to their new environment and their social and cultural traditions began to flourish (Ballara, 1998; M.H. Durie, 2003). The focus was no longer on mere survival but on codifying the appropriate or correct way of behaving based on proven experience and common sense. For example, the

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34 Māori youth (aged 12-25 years) currently make up more than a third (185, 000) of the total Māori population (550,000) and this percentage is further increasing every year (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

laws of tapu and noa evolved into a more complex system governing social, cultural and spiritual wellbeing.

Another significant challenge to Māori development was colonisation (M.H. Durie, 2003). The increase in the number of settlers, new technologies and different ways of life, were forced upon Māori whose population, by the beginning of the twentieth century was in significant decline.<sup>35</sup> However, as the Māori population grew to a sustainable level that guaranteed future survival,<sup>36</sup> the development of culture and the adaptation to new ways became more significant. Mason Durie (2003) asserts that distinct plans for Māori development began emerging during this period of recovery from the nineteen twenties. The goals were clear: retention of a strong Māori cultural identity, adaptation to western society (law), less dependence on the government, and a greater emphasis on Māori control and autonomy. Māori development has since come to include the political, social, cultural and economic advancement of Māori people (M.H. Durie, 1998; Mead, 1997; Loomis, 2000).

Māori development has been promoted as an apt descriptor for the conversion of Māori aspirations into action and outcomes. The Hui Taumata: Māori Economic Summit (1984) defined Māori aspirations of greater autonomy, cultural affirmation, social equity and economic self-sufficiency (M.H. Durie, 2005). Two broad aims were identified; facilitating Māori access to New Zealand society, the economy and the wider global context on the one hand, and enhancing Māori lives, Māori society and Māori knowledge on the other. This includes relationships between Māori groups and with external groups such as the Crown and private enterprises. Subsequently, Māori have taken a more active role in their own wellbeing and iwi, hapū and whānau development has become increasingly more significant. However, dedicated attention to youth has only begun to be recognised as an important focus for Māori development.

Pivotal to development has been the ability to successfully adapt to new influences and change whilst still maintaining a stable sense of culture, environment and history. As new challenges are encountered, Māori development approaches will need to continue to be responsive and inclusive. Development is continuous and occurs on a huge scale such as in response to the migration to Aotearoa and the colonisation of New Zealand. It also occurs on a much smaller scale such as in the lives of individuals.

## **Issues for Youth**

Māori development has focussed on groupings in Māori society such as whānau, hapū, iwi and community groups. However, youth are a distinct grouping with unique

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<sup>35</sup> 42,000 in 1896 (M. H. Durie, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> 82,000 in 1936 (M. H. Durie, 2003).

experiences and realities that distinguish them from other groupings within te ao Māori and require a dedicated approach.

Contemporary Māori development often appears to focus on physical resources such as lands, fisheries, and forests; however, the most valuable resource is people. A resource is defined by Māori as something tangible or intangible from which positive net benefits are derived (M.H. Durie, 1998). The human capacity includes education, health, employment, and participation in tribal affairs and social institutions (especially the extended family and the principle of reciprocity) cultural knowledge and spiritual values (ibid). As just over a third of the total Māori population, the human capacity of Māori youth is therefore a significant resource for Māori development.

The environment in which youth development occurs affects the capacity to develop positively and the effectiveness of development approaches (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004). In a history that is shared with indigenous populations around the world, following contact with colonisers, indigenous peoples have struggled. Communities have been forcibly relocated, access to resources and lands has been blocked, and traditional ways of living have been extremely difficult to sustain. In New Zealand, the history for tangata whenua has included colonisation, urbanisation, alienation and marginalisation (M.H. Durie, 1998). Local systems of regulation such as tikanga have been replaced with legislation that fails to acknowledge cultural ideologies. Where indigenous preferences have been recognised they have been typified in modernization theories as traditional or customary, relevant to the past but not to contemporary contexts (Royal, 2002).

An example of the effects of urbanisation include the alienation of many Māori from their hau kāinga and tūrangawaewae, affecting kinship links that previously provided a supportive environment for development (Loomis, 2000). The connections that many Māori youth would have had with their extended whānau and hapū have been severed resulting in a loss of potential support networks.

Crown policies served to remove Māori from their homelands, suppress iwi nationhood and governance, and undermine Māori culture and identity. They were undeniably effective as Māori continue to struggle to maintain cultural ideologies that form the basis of Māori society. Essentially, those policies threaten development and obstruct young people, particularly from disadvantaged backgrounds and those with troubled histories, to realise their full potential and develop positively (Damon, 2004). The contemporary legacy of these policies can be found in school performance, youth suicide, youth employment, almost any measure of health and economic or social disadvantage. An environment that fails to provide the basics for youth health and wellbeing is an interfering developmental environment (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004) and is prevalent in Aotearoa amongst Māori youth (Damon, 2004).

An interfering developmental environment (IDE) is one that fails to promote optimal development (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004). It does not respond to the individual, does not support mastery and competence, is culturally dystonic,<sup>37</sup> creates a barrier in development and is a result of policies such as colonisation, assimilation, marginalisation, urbanisation and globalisation. IDE's can be active or passive. The passive environment fails to support the young person simply because it lacks key resources. Conversely, a facilitating developmental environment (FDE) is one that supports optimal development, mastery and health, and is culturally syntonic<sup>38</sup> with the individual's and collective's objectives and needs. There are a number of factors that contribute to a FDE such as an integrated approach and a focus on culture and resilience.

## **Māori Development Approaches**

Cultural institutions and ideologies are a vital resource for indigenous efforts to conceptualise and secure their own self-determined development (M.H. Durie, 1998; Loomis, 2000). Indigenous practices can be relevant to contemporary development and indigenous philosophies can lead to sustainable alternatives to modern models of development. An exploration of Māori development approaches will help to determine what is relevant to youth and useful for a Māori youth development approach.

Along with cultural revitalisation initiatives that have occurred, Māori intellectual effort has focused on reassessing dominant approaches to development, reconstructing a Māori epistemology, and pursuing Māori kaupapa for a Māori development approach (Loomis, 2000). Māori academics (for example Royal, 1997; L.T. Smith, 1999; R. Walker, 1990) insist that self-determined development by and for Māori requires a decolonising of the mind and a renewed appreciation of mātauranga Māori. Some (M.H. Durie, 1998; Royal, 1998; Williams, 2000; Mead, 2003; L.T Smith, 1999; G.H Smith, 1997; R. Walker, 1996) suggest utilising key cultural constructs that underpin Māori ideology to provide a basis for an approach. Cultural constructs contained in Māori oral history, pūrākau, whakataukī, waiata and mōteatea have provided essential components of Māori models of development and well-being (for example M.H. Durie, 2003; Pere, 1988).

In 2004, for instance, Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Māori Development) developed the Māori Potential approach - a public policy approach based on Māori concepts (TPK, 2005). The aim of the approach was to better position Māori to develop their collective resources, knowledge, skills and leadership capability to support the realisation of Māori potential. Central to the approach is that Māori are the key catalysts for achieving well-being for

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37 Dystonic refers to insensitivity/unresponsive/indifference

38 Syntonic refers to normal response

themselves, their whānau and their communities as they have the capability, initiative and aspirations to make choices for themselves. The approach is intended to realise potential and remedy deficit by focusing on three principles: Māori potential, cultural distinctiveness and Māori capability.

The principle of potential recognises that Māori are a diverse people with a distinctive cultural value system and aspirations. It supports a strengths based approach in order to develop and facilitate opportunities and maximise potential. The cultural distinctiveness principle identifies the positive contribution of the Māori community and their indigenous culture to the identity, wellbeing and enrichment of New Zealand society. The capability principle affirms initiative, aspiration and the power of Māori to make choices for themselves and to bring about change in their life circumstances and their environments (ibid).

The framework also identifies three key enablers that are fundamental to Māori achieving improved quality of life and realising their potential; mātauranga, whakamana and rawa. Mātauranga is the acquisition, protection, maintenance and transferral of traditional and contemporary knowledge, skills and talents to develop confidence, identity, innovation and creativity. Whakamana refers to strengthening leadership and decision-making and relies on the capability and opportunity for Māori to lead, empower, influence, advocate and make positive choices and decisions for themselves and the collective. Rawa is the access, development and use of necessary cultural, social, intellectual, physical and financial resources to meet basic needs, as well as to improve their quality of life (ibid). While based on Māori constructs, this framework is generic and not youth specific. However, it provides an example of a model of development based on Māori constructs, which does have relevance to Māori youth.

More recently, the Hui Taumata 2005 (Māori economic summit) identified that a strong Māori cultural base was an asset in improving outcomes for Māori youth. There have been a few ad hoc Māori youth specific projects where Māori constructs were foundational to the initiative. Te Huarahi o te Ora mentoring project (Ngātokowaru marae Raukawa, 2008) and Whaia te hauora o ngā Rangatahi (2004-2006) research project (Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2006) are two examples. The rangatahi development package E Tipu e Rea (Keelan, 2002) was developed to help implement the principles of the national youth development strategy within a Māori context for Māori youth.



## **Māori Youth Development Approaches: E Tipu e Rea**

In response to the creation of the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa and a need to deliver similar outcomes for Māori youth such as *Kia piki te ora o te taitamariki*<sup>39</sup> the Rangatahi Development Package – including the ‘E Tipu e Rea’ framework, was produced (MoYA, 2002). E Tipu e Rea takes the YDSA as its point of reference and then applies the main principles to a Māori context (Keelan, 2001). The main aims attempt to address both youth development and Māori development aspirations. The youth specific aim is to encourage the active participation of Māori youth by designing activities that will increase their awareness of their individual potential, develop their capabilities to cope with challenges, and promote their resilience by emphasising factors such as a cultural identity and a sense of belonging (ibid). In terms of Māori development, the aim is to increase the capacity of Māori youth to actively and fully participate in all aspects of Māori development and promote practices that facilitate and support the inclusion of Māori youth in Māori development. The core elements considered are: leadership, positive well-being, participation, community development and Te Ao Māori. The key social environments of whānau, community and school and the key stakeholders in the education system and social / youth workers are identified as important.

It included an activity kit for organisations working with Māori youth which was most useful for non-Māori organisations seeking to incorporate Māori perspectives. However, many organisations did not have the capacity to implement the package effectively. This was due in part to a lack of funding, inadequate human resource and a lack of cultural competencies. The significant flaw with the approach, at least in relation to Māori youth, is that it is primarily underpinned by the concepts of the YDSA which are not Māori specific.

Recently, there has been an increase in interest in Māori specific policies, programmes and practices that employ appropriate cultural constructs and are more meaningful to Māori, such as the Māori Potential Approach or He Korowai Oranga (the Māori Health Strategy). There is a need for a similar approach to Māori youth development, one based on Māori constructs and informed by western youth development theory.

## **Section Two: Youth Development**

Youth are in the transition period from school, home, family and dependence to work, flatting, friends and independence. They test societal values and norms. During this time there is the potential to strengthen the capabilities that will help youth to make informed decisions, manage challenge and adversity and establish health-enhancing lifelong

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<sup>39</sup> Māori component of the mainstream youth suicide strategy.

behaviours. These will help youth reach their full potential and develop positively (AHRG, 2004).

Other than the obvious physical change during youth development, thinking skills improve, moral reasoning becomes more sophisticated and understanding of human motivation deepens<sup>40</sup> (Drewery & Bird, 2004; McLaren 2002). All of these capabilities support young people's evolving capacity to exert influence on their lives. The increased capacity to think enables young people to develop innovative solutions to their own problems and those of other people and enables development of visions for new approaches (McLaren, 2002). It also helps in forming a sense of identity as they develop.

Success for youth does not happen just by chance or by others influence alone (ibid). Youth are not passive; they can determine their future success. They have the capacity to determine their friends, their attitude towards education and work, who they are, how they act and where they want to go in life. Youth "make important choices that impact on their future education... ability to enter the labour force... [and] establish lifestyle patterns" (McLaren, 2002:21). Viewing youth as submissive individuals limits their agency. Valuing their perspective enables them to participate in and contribute to planning and decision making processes (Ormond, 2004; Smith et al., 2002). Youth development is about supporting the young person to make informed decisions, to realise their full potential and to develop positively.

## **Issues for Māori Youth**

Western youth development theory is relatively new and has evolved mostly from the disciplines of child psychology and social work. Youthhood is a distinguishable developmental period. Theories have begun to acknowledge diversity within the youth population, the unique experiences and realities of indigenous groupings and the role of culture in development. Māori youth have characteristics and cultural values that distinguish them from other youth and therefore require a dedicated approach.

Youth have inherent potential (Benson, 1997) however they are also constrained by many challenges (Kalil, 2003; Klein et al., 2006; Masten, 2006; Biasiny-Tule, 2006). These challenges are the individual and environmental factors that act as barriers to achieving optimal potential and development. These factors render the young person vulnerable to challenges and unfavourable outcomes (Kaplan, 1999; Ungar, 2005). For some Māori youth,

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40 Abstract reasoning and the ability to work through hypothetical situations aid success in other tasks such as relating well (interacting effectively) with others, achieving at school and work success, learning self-regulation or the ability to discipline oneself to achieve goals at school and outside, developing decision making skills and a personal set of values or morals.

a lack of recognition of certain āhuatanga in an environment that is not culturally conducive is a barrier to them achieving their full potential. There are many environmental factors that have been identified for Māori youth which makes them more ‘vulnerable’<sup>41</sup> than their non-Māori counterparts (MoYA, 2002).

Māori academics assert that Māori youth need to develop universal and cultural capacities (Keelan, 2001; MoYA, 2002; Tipene-Clarke, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 2002). They should be grounded in a Māori cultural base, engage positively in Māori communities as well as the community at large. Maori youth need to be able to withstand criticism from their own and Pākehā society and deal with it effectively (Tipene-Clarke, 2005). The developing of these capacities is primarily an individual responsibility which can be supported by whānau, friends, mentors as well as hapū, iwi and Māori organisations. Essentially, the health and wellbeing of Māori youth is a valuable asset for the nation now and in the future (AHRG, 2004; MoH, 2002a, 2002b; MoYA, 2002; McLaren, 2002).

Ageism is another barrier to youth development (Biasiny-Tule, 2006). Age and experience (not necessarily wisdom or knowledge) are often valued over youth and vitality. For Māori youth, ageism is particularly significant as the observance of tikanga, exacerbated by colonial attitudes, have stifled the voice of Māori youth. There is a perception that Māori youth are to be “seen but not heard” (Mead, 2003: 51). However, youth can provide innovative approaches and solutions to social problems and should be valued for their contribution to the wider collective and included in decision making processes. Additional barriers for Māori youth include limited access to learning institutions, economic hurdles, and a lack of role models (M.H. Durie, 1998).

Youthhood is seen as a window of opportunity when many capacities are open to positive change and development. Providing young people with the knowledge, support and resources to develop capacities is critical for positive development (MoH, 2002b; MoYA, 2002). Youth development requires new approaches and attitudes, innovation and creativity. Research on youth development in New Zealand is limited particularly for Māori. International youth development theories have begun to address the significance of culture.

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41 ‘Vulnerable youth’ are those that are lacking strengths in other areas. The MoH(2002) Youth Health Status Report asserts that Māori are more likely to be experiencing multiple risk factors and disadvantage that may cluster such as poverty, high unemployment, low educational attainment, family problems such as violence and abuse, institutional factors such as involvement in the justice system and disengagement from the education system, higher rates of mental disorders, particularly disorders relating to impulsivity such as conduct disorder and alcohol and substance use disorders.

## **Positive Youth Development**

During the past decade, a strengths-based approach to youth development has introduced a more affirmative vision of young people as assets rather than as problems for society (Damon, 2004; MoYA, 2002; Smith et al., 2001). This approach is “a refusal to the traditional view of youth as being a more complicated social category or set of problems to be solved” (Smith et al., 2002: 6). Instead, the approach begins with a vision of a fully able young person eager to explore the world, gain competence and confidence, and acquire the capacity to contribute positively to the world.

Positive youth development was formally endorsed within New Zealand in the YDSA (2002). This strategy emphasises that young people require supports to develop capacities that promote resilience and create good outcomes (McLaren, 2002). It purports to align with indigenous approaches to youth development by: valuing the unique role of the young person; taking an integrated approach to development; acknowledging a holistic view of health, and privileging cultural preferences (MoYA, 2002). However, the strategy is not based on Māori principles. Recent developments in resiliency theory identify the significance of culture as a key foundation for youth development.

## **Resilience**

Resilience involves the development of capacities that involve overcoming challenges. It also includes developing positively as a result of challenge (Benson, 1997; Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Kalil, 2003; Klein et al., 2006; Luthar, 2003; Masten, 2006; Ungar, 2005). Resilience is the ability to thrive, mature, and increase capacities. It includes the capacity to navigate and negotiate for resources (physical, social and cultural) that sustain well-being (pers. comm. Michael Ungar, November 13, 2008). Resilience is significant in that it will help young people and their communities to respond to future problems and will better equip them to cope with life circumstances (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004). There are numerous theoretical approaches to resilience. This thesis adopts the socio-cultural approach which examines youth in their day to day lives.

The socio-cultural approach examines the young person, their family and community and social, cultural, physical, political and economic influences. It considers the young person's capacity as well as the environmental capacity. Key factors that affect resilience include; good cognitive functioning, self regulation skills, positive views of the self and one's capabilities, a positive outlook on life, appealing qualities and positive relationships (Garmezy, 1991). These have been variously referred to as: health enhancing behaviours (AHRG, 2004; Stevenson, 2001), strength building (McLaren, 2002; MoH, 2002b; MoYA,

2002), self-efficacy<sup>42</sup> (Bennett, 2001), achievement motivation (McLaren, 2002), developmental assets (Benson, 1997), resourcing (Klein et al., 2006) and protective factors (Kalil, 2003; Klein et al., 2006; Masten, 2006). Resilience presumes that youth have potential. The ideal is to maximise potential and minimise the negative impacts of any challenges.

Recent research has investigated resilience under normative conditions (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Lalonde, 2006; Masten, 2006; Wright & Masten, 2005; Ungar, 2008) seeking to determine whether resilience capacities are relevant to youth facing risk, as well as the general youth population (Goldstein & Brooks, 2005; Masten, 2001). The level of challenge that youth experience is varied. Some are extreme (where armed conflict occurs), some are historically based (where colonisation has impacted negatively on indigenous populations) and others are in response to social and technological change (where, for example advancements in information technology have led to the growth of social networking). In reality, no young person is immune from challenges in today's world; for some communities these challenges, despite their extremely detrimental effects, become normalised.

Resilience also includes challenges (many enjoyable and welcome) such as driving a car successfully (Masten, 2001). Most young people eagerly seek such opportunities to challenge themselves and learn. A resilient approach can be developed by young people, their families and communities that will enable them to deal more effectively with challenge. This approach can help with developing clear and realistic goals, solving problems, relating comfortably with others, and treating oneself and others with respect (Damon, 2004; Goldstein & Brooks, 2005; Masten, 2001). Furthermore, the cultural context also needs to be taken into account.

## **Cultural Resilience**

Resilience research to date has focused predominantly on European samples, particularly psychosocial processes. Little attention has centred on the significance of biological, cultural or collective capacities (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Lalonde, 2006; Masten, 2006; Ungar, 2008). Culture incorporates cultural values, beliefs, qualities, skills, norms, supports, language, customs and behaviours. It is handed down between generations and provides young people and their communities with the resources for being resilience (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004). Cultural perspectives are increasingly acknowledged as being significant to development. Culture, for example, influences the meaning attributed to and the

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42 Self-efficacy relates to the optimism the individual has about their ability to deal with situations that will potentially place demands upon their coping resources; people high in self-efficacy are generally more motivated, challenge themselves more often and recover better from setbacks.

utilisation of resources. Where culture is affirmed in the environment, cultural resources are effective. The greatest dangers to young people are posed by threats that damage, disable or prevent youth from utilising those resources.

Recent studies support the significance of culture to resilience and the positive development of youth (Belgrave et al, 2000; Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Spencer & Dupree, 1996; Ungar, 2008). Spencer and Dupree (1996) incorporated culture and diversity into their research. They concluded that ecology and culture have an impact on how young people adjust to the environment; cultural values and practices have an impact on social interactions and development. This model set the precedent for most research with youth in their cultural contexts.

The proposition that cultural values can provide young people with resources for their development flies in the face of predominantly secular social-science traditions. The surest way for values to shape a young person's behaviour is when the young person begins adopting those beliefs as a central part of his or her personal identity. A young person's moral identity determines not merely what the person considers to be the right course of action but also why the person would decide that they must take this course, "As people see a value or a way of life as essential to their identity, they feel that they ought to act accordingly" (Nisan, 1996; 83 as cited in Damon, 2004).

Belgrave and associates (2000) conducted a study on the effectiveness of a cultural and gender specific intervention program designed to increase resiliency among African American preadolescent females. Results indicated that after participating in the intervention, participants scored significantly higher on African values, ethnic identity and physical appearance self-concept than those who did not engage. The researchers concluded that this intervention was responsive to the group as it promoted cultural values among their ethnic and gender identities.

Clauss-Ehlers (2004) investigated a culturally-focused resilient adaptation (CRA) model that explores how culture and diversity relates to resilience. He posited that cultural values enhance resilience since they build support and protective processes into young people and their communities. Therefore, resilience is dependent on the context which is socially and culturally defined. Furthermore, resilience is culturally appropriate and meaningful to the communities and contexts in which it occurs (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004; Lalonde, 2006; Masten, 2006).

Cultures also need to be resilient; able to endure change and still remain relevant to contemporary times (Lalonde, 2006). The process of developing a strong cultural base not only promotes the resilience of the culture itself, but also acts to support young persons in their efforts to be resilient. There has been little research conducted in New Zealand with

Māori youth that focuses on values. Research is therefore required with Māori youth that explores values.

## **Conclusion**

Māori youth today face the challenge of developing positively and realising their full potential. This chapter has explored the relevance of Māori development goals and youth development theory to Māori youth. The broad goals of Māori development are positive participation in te ao Māori and wider society. However, there is little specific acknowledgement of youth priorities. Recent youth development theory promotes building resilience so youth can develop positively and realise potential. Central to this approach is the idea that resilience must be understood within the contexts and communities in which it occurs. Therefore, as culture is inherent in the environment in which young people live, it should be adequately acknowledged in youth development discourse. Furthermore, culture should also be acknowledged in research methodologies with youth.

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# **Chapter Four: Methodology**

## **Theory: A Māori Youth Approach to Research**

### **Introduction**

This research project investigated the views of Māori youth regarding their values and their aspirations. Research approaches regarding Māori youth are complex because of their simultaneous connection to two distinct bodies of research; research with Māori and research with youth. Previous research of Māori youth has been conducted with little concern for cultural preferences and has treated youth as problems to be solved (McLaren, 2002; MoH, 2002b; MoYA, 2002; L. T. Smith et al., 2002). This supported a deficit approach to Māori youth research.

In this study, it was therefore important that the methodology created a safe space for the participants (Bishop, 1996a; Harvey, 2002; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Ormond, 2004; Tait, 1995; Tipene-Clark, 2005) that enabled the Māori youth to express themselves comfortably in their own unique way. The research was conducted in a manner that reflected and affirmed the participants' Māori culture and practices (Bishop, 1996a; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama, 1993; L.T. Smith, 1999; G.H. Smith, 1997; Te Awekotuku, 1991; H. Walker, 1995; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998) and privileged their unique youth voice and practices (Borell, 2005; Keelan, 2001; McLaren, 2002; MoYA, 2002; Ormond, 2004; Tipene-Clark, 2005; Webster et al., 2006). It also took into account the diversity in youth and cultural expression. It aimed to foster the innovative contributions that Māori youth offer to their own social issues and those of society at large.

### **Research with Māori**

Research with Māori youth comes under the wider research agendas of Māori and of indigenous peoples. Indigenous struggle to maintain control over research emphasises that research needs to be initiated and controlled by indigenous peoples, conducted according to their cultural practices and seen as beneficial (L.T. Smith, 1999). Research approaches have been established in Aotearoa that take into account Māori knowledge and people (A. Durie, 1998). Māori cultural preferences, practices and aspirations are central in the method, practice and organisation of these research approaches (Bishop, 1996a; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama, 1993; G.H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991; H. Walker, 1995; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998).

Kaupapa Māori<sup>43</sup> was one of the first Māori specific research approaches. It was developed as an indigenous approach to challenge the hegemony of the dominant discourse of western research and to reclaim space for tikanga in the research paradigm (L.T. Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori is grounded in a Māori worldview and is founded on a critical theory approach to research. It addresses notions of critique (of Pākehā constructions) resistance, struggle, emancipation and the importance of definitions of being and acting Māori (Cram, 2001; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; G.H. Smith, 1997; L.T. Smith, 1999). Although oriented towards benefiting the participants and their agendas, it also has a strong political element that challenges dominant ideologies.

Other Māori research approaches have developed which locate Māori people and experiences as the focus of the research and acknowledges the diverse realities of Māori (Bishop, 1996a; Cram, 1997; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama 1993; L. T. Smith, 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991; H. Walker, 1995; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). Māori-centred research is focused on producing quality benefits to the participants. This may include non-Māori researchers if they are deemed to be the most appropriate person for the job, and te reo Māori may not be preferred if neither the researchers nor the participants are fluent. Nevertheless, the agenda and process of Māori centred research still needs to be controlled by Māori with the distinctively Māori way of organising knowledge.

A Māori approach to research addresses the research issue at hand from a uniquely Māori perspective. It uses a wide range of methodologies, methods and analysis tools (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003) and focuses on whether an approach is culturally appropriate and meaningful and can produce useful outcomes for the participants involved. Research of youth has also undergone a similar change in focus to concentrate on the relevance, meaning and benefits of the research to participants.

## **Research with Youth**

A major factor in youth research in Aotearoa New Zealand has been the recent shift in the way young people are viewed. Previously, they were regarded as a problem to be solved. The lack of quality research with Māori youth means that adult non-Māori agendas have often defined the concerns which society deems to be important to young Māori people (Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2004; Webster et al., 2004). In the last decade, society has begun valuing young people as active participants and contributors in creating a healthier world (McLaren, 2002; MoH, 2002b;

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43 According to Tuakana Nepe (1991), Kaupapa Māori derives from distinctive cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations. Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith states that the concept of kaupapa implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices.

MoYA, 2002). The unique perspective they offer to social issues is now being recognised. This shift in focus from a deficit approach to an affirmative approach has thus led to increased interest in young people, particularly in their transition from childhood to adulthood.

There is a need now to gather better information about factors affecting young Māori people's health and positive development to effectively address the issues and challenges faced by them. Young people require specific research methodologies that set out to privilege youth voice and provide opportunities for participation and development through design, methodology and organisation (AHRG, 2004; McLaren, 2002; MoYA, 2002). Essentially, when seeking the views of young people, research needs to give consideration to; understanding their experience and realities, celebrating diversity, an affirmative approach, setting achievable goals, your own positioning as a researcher and relationship building (Tipene-Clark, 2005).

Māori youth have indicated that "if you want to interact and influence them, first you need to understand them" (Tipene-Clarke, 2005: 37). Understanding youth involves becoming familiar with a variety of mediums that youth employ to express themselves and their feelings, emotions, values, aspirations, goals and preferences in order to engage them in the research process. Music,<sup>44</sup> fashion,<sup>45</sup> and culture are just some of these mediums. For Māori youth this could include kapahaka, Māori motif clothing and abbreviated text messaging in te reo Māori. A research approach with Māori youth needs to recognize diversity, Māori cultural expression, youth practices and modern challenges. Recent studies have achieved this through collaborative research that investigates the experiences and stories of young Māori (AHRG, 2004; Borell, 2005; Harvey, 2002; Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004; Smith et al., 2002; Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2004; Webster et al., 2006).

The approach used in this research places Māori youth at the focus of the research. Their unique youth expression and cultural practices are reflected in each step of the research process.

## **Tikanga: Methodology**

Methodology is a process of enquiry (Crotty, 1998). It occurs within a cultural worldview and therefore reflects cultural preferences. Affirming the cultural preferences of the participants (being Māori) in the research methodology is a strategy for selecting research topics (kaupapa) that can facilitate a positive difference for Māori. The methodology also informs and shapes the actual method(s) or tools used to produce and analyse data so that the kaupapa of the research is reflected and reinforced throughout. The research

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44 For example hip hop.

45 For example Emo

methodology is an important tool when conducting research with Māori youth as it determines the level of engagement and quality of the data gathered (Harvey, 2002; Keelan, 2001; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Ormond, 2004; Tipene-Clarke, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998; Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2004; Webster et al., 2004).

The methodology used in this thesis is tikanga which reflects the cultural practices of the participants. Tikanga formed the basis for all aspects of the project - being applied as a set of guiding values. These values are more than mere ethical issues; tikanga are cultural values and are the foundation of a Māori worldview (see chapter 2). Tikanga are therefore critical when conducting culturally appropriate research with Māori and have been variously detailed by many Māori researchers such as Fiona Cram (1993), Arohia Durie (1998), Graham Smith (1990), Linda Smith (1999), Ngahua Te Awekotuku (1991), and Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata (1998). As they are dependent on the participants and the context in which they are practiced, youth preferences also had a huge influence on the tikanga that were employed. Tikanga relevant to youth were used in this research project.

Tikanga relevant to youth informed the whole research process: the topic (tikanga and youth development), the methodology (tikanga), the method (hui), the recruitment of participants (whakawhanaungatanga), the ethical considerations and the analysis of the data (providing the foundation of a theoretical framework). The incorporation of tikanga meant that the Māori youth that participated were able to speak in their own language of heritage (te reo Māori) and practice their own cultural values (tikanga) which created a safe and comfortable culturally affirmative environment. The methodology also addressed issues of youth expression, privileging youth voice and exercising agency. This element of empowerment is similar to the western notion of action research where the focus of the research is on social change for those the research is about (Munford & Sanders, 2003).

### **Incorporating Action Research Theory**

A Māori youth approach to research aims to enhance Māori communities to develop their youth but also to enable Māori youth to take control of their own lives, participate in decisions that affect them and contribute to whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori development. This sense of a participant-driven focus is similar to action research (Bishop, 1996a; M.H. Durie, 1998; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Royal, 1998; G. Smith, 1997; L.T. Smith et al., 2002). Action research is an applied approach that treats knowledge as power and abolishes the line between research and social action. It emphasises that research should do more than just understand the world; it should help change it for the better (Neuman, 1997; Munford & Sanders, 2003). It stresses that research should set out to “create new forms of knowledge through a creative synthesis of the different understandings and experiences of those who take part” (Rice & Ezzy, 1999:173).

Action research is also anchored in the tradition of critical theory that recognises that the researcher is overtly political and influences the data collection and analysis process (Munford & Sanders, 2003: 263). The researcher facilitates the process but does not lead it. The idea is to create a bottom-up solution to the issue at hand in partnership with the group or community interested. It involves group decision-making processes in which groups of people, in this case the Māori youth, work together to bring about change and improve their situation. In this sense, it values the unique and diverse experiences and realities of Māori youth, achieves their desired outcomes and gives a sense of ownership over the research critical to Māori and youth research aspirations (Bishop, 1996a; Harvey, 2002; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004; L.T. Smith, 1999; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Tait, 1995; Tipene-Clarke, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998; Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2004; Webster et al., 2004).

### **Hui: Method**

Hui is a Māori process of meeting (Salmond, 1976) and is the method employed in this research. It is an important cultural practice that provides a semi-structured process for the discussion of a common issue or *take* as determined by the group (Bishop, 1996b; Harvey, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999; Tait, 1995). The hui involves guidelines of engagement, mediation and conflict resolution where the flow of talk is circuitous. Opinions may vary, but the seeking of a collaborative story and arriving at a jointly constructed meaning is central. Hui is a culturally safe space for all voices to be heard and recognises the tapu and mana of the participants.

As a process, hui always have a kaupapa. There are also procedures that are followed no matter what the level of functionality/ formality (Bishop, 1996b; Salmond, 1976). It opens with a mihimihi to establish a sense of connectedness and karakia at the beginning and the end to ensure spiritual safety. Generally the first speaker or organiser of the hui will introduce the kaupapa and establish guidelines for the discussion. Then discussion will take place. Each person who speaks has the floor and expects no interruptions as every person will be given time to speak. At the end of the hui the organiser will summarize the discussion to unite all opinions and make the concluding statements. Kai is then shared and the hui finally closes with karakia.

This method accommodates tikanga such as *kanohi ki te kanohi* that invites participation (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998), *manaakitanga* that offers protection and *kotahitanga* which reinforces the collective nature of Māori society (Tipene-Clark, 2005). It is a culturally appropriate Māori approach for studying participants perspectives on a particular matter (Bishop, 1996b; Harvey, 2002; Royal, 1992; L. T. Smith, 1999; Tait, 1995). It is also



appropriate for research with youth as it enables the privileging of Māori youth voices to be heard, which in other situations would be disabled by their subordinate minority social group position (Ormond, 2004). It enabled the participants to draw their Māori cultural practices and youth practices into the research process to create a safe space and culture<sup>46</sup> where they were able to operate with confidence.

### **Incorporating Focus Group Method**

The focus group is similar to hui in that they are also often used to explore particular issues and obtain perceptions in a non-threatening environment that fosters empowerment of the research participants (Bennett, 2001; Harvey, 2002; Smith et al., 2002; Tait, 1995). They have also become a popular research method with youth and have provided a powerful technique for gaining an in-depth insight into the opinions, beliefs and values of youth as a particular segment of the population (Hoppe, Wells, Morrison, Gillmore, & Wilsdon, 1995; Murray, 2006; O'Kane, 2000). Focus groups generally involve a carefully planned group discussion that combines the strength of in-depth interviewing and observation of group context (Baker & Hinton, 1999; Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, & Robson, 2001; Gibbs, 2000; Kitzinger, 1994; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Krueger, 1995; Morgan & Krueger, 1993; Punch, 2002; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1992; Waldegrave, 1999).

Group discussion seeks to engage all participants as capable, social actors with the ability to communicate about their experiences and to examine how knowledge develops and operates within a given context (Harvey, 2002; Hoppe et al., 1995; O'Kane, 2000; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Tait, 1995; Tipene-Clarke, 2005). Some advantages of group discussion are the interaction of participants that can provoke responses that would be otherwise unobtainable. It encourages open conversation about embarrassing subjects and highlights the participants' attitudes, priorities, language and frames of reference. It encourages a wide range of communication that youth freely use to express themselves, helps to identify group norms and provides insight to social processes such as collective youth social behaviour (O'Kane, 2000). The focus group method allows relative freedom to freely express, discuss, respond and direct discussion on issues of concern without any direction, influence or intimidation of an authoritative figure setting boundaries or providing clues for potential responses.

Focus groups with youth are efficient as they can have between 6-12 participants at one time (Hoppe et al., 1995; O'Kane, 2000), however they do not easily tap into the individual biographies of the participants which are better obtained with individual interviews.

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<sup>46</sup> Culture is used in this context to refer to how these young people draw on Māori cultural lore, and youth attitudes and values to produce unique Māori youth perspectives.

Furthermore, there are some important differences between the focus group and the hui method. In a hui, the kaupapa or process for discussing the *take* is always outlined first so that all the participants are well informed and can come to an end point or resolution. In hui with youth, the facilitator takes on the tuakana role and has the responsibility to create a 'safe' environment for all present. The safety of the hui and the use of tikanga enhances the intimacy and interaction within the group and strengthens the young Māori people's cultural and social practices (Ormond, 2004).

## **Practice: Research with Māori Youth**

### **The Sample Group**

Most research with Māori youth has focused on high school aged youth<sup>47</sup> (Harvey, 2002; Keelan, 2001; Walsh-Tapiata, et al., 2004, Webster et al., 2004) more specifically, senior students: Years 11, 12 and 13 aged sixteen to eighteen years old (AHRG, 2004; Ormond, 2004; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Tait, 1995; Tipene-Clarke, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). This might be because they are considered the healthiest individuals of their age group, they have already experienced a degree of success and confidence by remaining at school or they may have a better ability to self-reflect and cause positive change at this age (AHRG, 2004). For the purposes of this research, youth who were not obviously exhibiting risk-taking behaviours, were still at school and had leadership roles within their community and who may slip through supports unnoticed due to their relative success were recruited. The Māori youth perspectives presented in this research are therefore representative of the participants of this research and are not meant to be representative of all Māori youth. Instead, the aim was to identify the participants' perspectives in a qualitative manner.

The research involved 8 Māori youth from the Manawatū region aged 16-18 years old in their senior years at secondary school. The number of participants was based on the suggested number for focus groups of youth of between 5 and 10 (Hoppe et al., 1995; O'Kane, 2000; Waldegrave, 1999). 5 male and 3 female Māori high school students made up the small gender balanced group. Permitting the exception of withdrawals, sickness and non-attendance, there was a consistent group of about 5 participants for each hui. All the

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<sup>47</sup> High school aged youth does not necessarily indicate those attending high school but refers to those young people who have the equivalent age of being in years nine to thirteen inclusive at a New Zealand high school which is generally between twelve to eighteen years old.

participants attended the same high school, were familiar with each other<sup>48</sup> and had some common interests such as kapahaka and different sporting ventures.

## **My Influence in the Research**

Māori researchers have refuted the objectivity or detachment of the researcher to avoid bias in western research and acknowledged the subjectivity of their position as members of their participants' community (H. Walker, 1995). The critical nature of this research also advocates an exploration of my role; my intent, purpose, ability to gain in-depth information and appropriateness to undertake research with this group of Māori youth. Whakawhanaungatanga is a Māori practice where the researcher can introduce themselves and acknowledge connections with other participants in the research. It enables Māori to relate to each other on many different levels and in some circumstances to distance themselves.

Initially I thought that as a young Māori I was essentially not an adult and was an insider. I saw this as an advantage in being able to relate to the young Māori participants, having common interests and similar preferences and perspectives (Borell, 2001; Keelan, 2001; Ormond, 2004). I was acknowledged as being cool or having street credibility and was accepted by the participants. However, at times they would refer to me as whaea which meant that despite my close age, I was not totally an insider, but more a tuakana. I had made some of the expected transitions to adulthood such as leaving school and home and gaining full time employment.

Likewise, I saw a similar Māori heritage to the young people as an advantage in being able to relate culturally. However, different tribal affiliations or status<sup>49</sup> could have created distance between us, although this was not the case. This continual negotiation of access and acceptance was a constant reminder of the importance of culturally appropriate and youth relevant processes. Honest and transparent lines of professionalism between the researcher and the participants and an ongoing social approach are an efficient and effective means of collecting quality data with Māori youth. Nevertheless, it was essentially the participants who determined my position.

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48 Some very well and others only by acquaintance.

49 All Māori share a similar heritage in terms of being tangata whenua (original inhabitants) in Aotearoa. Within this broad genre of ethnicity there are many affiliations such as waka, iwi hapū and whānau. There is also the paramount status of mana whenua or those with local authority derived from tūrangawaewae (place of standing or authority based on maintained familial connections to the land).

## **He Korowai Rangahau: Research Advisory Group**

An informal advisory group consisting of some key people involved in the Māori youth community were consulted throughout the project. As a young, female Māori researcher, it was important that I balanced this with cultural, professional and experiential guidance (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003). I sought advice from parents, youth workers, University lecturers, supervisors, colleagues, friends and whānau during different parts of the research. The involvement of these people early in the research project provided a supportive advisory group for both the researcher and the participants throughout the entire research project.

## **Whakawhanaungatanga: The Recruitment Process**

The recruitment of the participants was based on the tikanga whakawhanaungatanga by utilising established social networks to assemble a group of participants who were already connected. Whakawhanaungatanga in research is the process of establishing relationships by identifying through culturally appropriate ways your linkage, engagement, connectedness and unspoken commitment to each other (Bishop, 1996b). The participant driven approach also encouraged the participants to be involved throughout the research process. This included having the ability to enlist more participants and therefore determine the research whānau and create a safe and comfortable environment for them. The western method of purposive meaningful non-random sampling is similar to whakawhanaungatanga and is considered an effective recruitment method for focus groups, particularly with youth (O'Kane, 2000; Waldegrave, 1999).

Potential participants were identified by connecting to a person who was involved with local Māori youth who suggested a number of potential participants that fitted the recruitment criteria. A kapahaka kaiako identified a number of Māori youth in his group, a whaea who had connections with local Māori youth confirmed the names given and added more and another whaea used her research connections to further add names. This triangulation by those involved with the local Māori youth community validated the suitability of the participants. I also wanted to “hear them in their space” and “hear it like it is” (Reinharz, 1979: 15-16) so I attended local youth cultural events such as kapahaka practices and competitions, Manu Kōrero and a Māori youth symposium in order to establish and strengthen my own connection to the local Māori youth community. The combination of these connections enabled me to access participants.

While western norms of research support objectivity in the recruitment of participants, tikanga offered an alternative more culturally appropriate process that was more efficient and effective. One of the whaea acted as a liaison between the researcher and the potential participants. She encouraged potential participants who may not have been likely to

volunteer themselves for the research project. As a cultural leader for the young people in the community, she advised them of the benefits of participating in the research.

A group of 4 Māori youth out of this potential pool of participants indicated interest in the research and agreed to participate. I explained that I needed at least another 4 more participants for the research and so these youth identified and recruited the remaining 4 participants. There were other potential participants who said they would participate if needed, however they were busy so preferred not to.

Although all of the participants were over 16 years of age and parental consent was not required, however some of the participants' parents and siblings came to the hui, met and talked with the researcher and assisted with transport. While having parental involvement might be perceived as putting pressure on the Māori youth to participate, they were often the one's that wanted to include their parents and saw it as a cultural obligation that they knew would be of benefit to them. I also reinforced that the participants could withdraw whenever they wanted, however, none of them did.

### **Kei te Hui: Data Collection**

The hui was organised collaboratively with the participants and their whānau (as transporters) and held at a location that was a safe space for the participants (Harvey, 2002; Hoppe et al., 1995; Tipene-Clarke, 2005). The venue was the large outside garage of one of the participants' home which was familiar to most of the participants (and the parents dropping them off). It was a regular gathering point for social, sporting and cultural occasions. The hui were held at 11am on Saturdays as this day and time was convenient to all the participants. Each hui lasted for around one and a half hours which was just long enough to be able to explore issues in depth before participants would begin to lose focus.

The first hui was videotaped, but the rest were only audio taped. Although it may be preferred to have consistent data collection equipment (Royal, 1992), this was not always possible. The presence of a video recorder significantly impeded participation. The participants literally put their chairs in a semi-circle facing the camera but then became shy and discussion was hesitant and restrained. A dictaphone was then used for the rest of the hui as it provided less intrusion on the discussion.

Each hui began with karakia which was shared amongst the research whānau. For the first hui we also had a mihi whakatau or formal greeting. This allowed for whakawhanaungatanga amongst the research whānau, and established cultural practices and a mutually beneficial, collaborative working relationship (Bishop, 1996b). This was followed with kai to acknowledge the time and effort the participants had committed to the research project as well as creating time and space to initiate general talk.

In introducing the project, participants were asked to attend four hui of about one and a half hours in length where they would discuss what was important to them, their values, aspirations and tikanga. This initial explanation included the information sheet,<sup>50</sup> the participant consent form,<sup>51</sup> the confidentiality agreement<sup>52</sup> and the participant questionnaire.<sup>53</sup> During this time participants also had the opportunity to ask questions and establish group rules.

At the beginning of each hui, a quick revision of the previous discussion occurred as there were a couple of weeks in between the hui and the participants sometimes needed reminding. The next topic would then be introduced as the basis for discussion. Focus group literature states that it is the facilitator's responsibility to manage group dynamics by drawing out reserved participants, quietening down boisterous ones and keeping the conversation flowing and focused on the research topic (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). There were times when I had to initiate discussion by prompting either by; asking previously prepared open ended questions or providing further explanation or a personal example (Hoppe et al., 1995). The personal examples also helped to strengthen a connection within the research whānau (Tipene-Clarke, 2005) and again could be seen as an example of the tuakana (researcher) setting an example to the teina (participants) (Harvey, 2002).

### **Ngā Patapātai: The Questions**

Open-ended questions were used as a guide to initiate discussion for each hui. These questions were developed collaboratively by the researcher and the research advisory group. Literature on similar youth interviews and focus groups with youth conducted internationally and nationally<sup>54</sup> were reviewed and their experiences were considered. It became clear that the questions needed to be: broad rather than concentrate on a few specific issues, focus on protective factors and resiliency and have real-life examples (AHRG, 2004; Tipene-Clark, 2005). The questions were based on the *take* of each hui: the first being values, the second aspirations, the third tikanga, and lastly a reflection on strategies for realising potential. For example the first hui on values had questions such as: what are values? What are the most important values to you?<sup>55</sup>

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50 Appendix 2

51 Appendix 3

52 Appendix 4

53 Appendix 5

54 Such as the Adolescent Health Research Group 2004 findings

55 Appendix 6

The participants were also given a brief questionnaire to obtain basic background information such as contact details, tribal affiliation and ability and use of te reo Māori and tikanga<sup>56</sup> and provide a snapshot of the group's attitudes, values or behaviour at that point in time. The quantitative information obtained from the questionnaire was used to support the qualitative information gathered during the hui.

### **Mahi Whakawhanaungatanga: Team-building**

Trust and acceptance are important when working with young people. If they do not trust you then they will keep you at a distance, denying entry into their world. For data to be authentic and accurate the researcher and participants must mutually respect each other. I gained their approval by embracing their Māori cultural and youth practices within the research. I also maintained trust by keeping what was discussed in the hui confidential and I did not speak to the parents or community about it. I respected their viewpoints and did not control or dominate the conversation. I knew I was accepted when they kept their commitment to turn up at the appointed time and they participated in the hui and keenly inquired and helped to organise the next hui.

I also learnt what Morgan (1997: 53) meant when he wrote, "it's your group but it's not your focus". I learnt that it was the young people that controlled the focus group and I was constantly adjusting my research agenda to suit their needs. They gave me permission to access their world, experience and knowledge but only as a visitor. I was able to share in their conversations but they still engaged with me as an adult. Our mutual trust and acceptance meant that I could sit with them, share their food, listen to their kōrero, share my own experiences and enjoy their company in leisure activities.

At the end of each hui the participants were given the opportunity to choose an activity such as mini golf, movies, a game of frisbee and go cart racing. These activities were part of the whakawhanaungatanga process of getting to know each other outside of the research and to build whānau relationships. This time also doubled as an additional form of observation for the researcher and proved important as many critical ideas to Māori youth development were confirmed during these informal activities and discussions. They were also an expression of reciprocity; a way of giving back to the participants to show the importance and value of their contribution.

The participants were very wary of the cost of the activities for the researcher and regularly organised to pay for themselves which showed their commitment to the project. Although I felt that the youth may not be so keen to socialise with me (partly as an outsider),

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56 Appendix 5

they were very eager to undertake these activities as they emphasised that there was a lack of organised activities for youth in their local community.

## **Data Analysis**

After each hui I wrote field notes which included my first impressions of the hui, the discussion and the participants. It was important to record these while they were still fresh in my mind and without critical analysis (Hoppe et al., 1995). I felt that these reflections enabled me to get to know each youth individually and the group as a whole. My research journal became important in the writing up process of the research and was a constant reminder of the purpose of the research.

The discussions of the hui were transcribed, coded and analysed. Due to the qualitative nature of the research and the relatively small amount of data collected, this was completed manually. Thematic analysis was used to identify and describe broad themes of importance to the participants (Patton, 1990). The themes were reinforced when there were multiple references by a number of participants. Although the participants were articulate, I had to search for the underlying theme of their responses. Two categories were identified from the analysis: tikanga and āhuetanga. Each category had specific examples which highlighted the most important aspects of Māori youth development to the participants.

The findings of this project are not a panacea for Māori youth development. The number and profiles of the participants did not allow for generalisations, rather it provided a positive example from a relatively successful group of Māori youth. Further research with larger cohorts would need to be undertaken in order to make such generalisations.

## **Ethical Considerations**

There are common ethical considerations for research. These include informed consent, voluntary participation, the prevention of harm, the preservation of confidentiality and anonymity, the avoidance of deceit and the open, honest and faithful analysing and reporting of data (Davidson & Tolich, 2003; Sociological Association of New Zealand, 2006). However, there are also more specific implications for research with youth, with Māori and with groups. The ethical considerations in this research needed to ensure that the power and control of the research was located with the participants, their social and cultural norms were reflected in the research process and their voices expressed and heard.

### **Ethics for Research with Māori**

A Māori approach to research demands an in-depth understanding and practice of tikanga and a willingness to abide by this Māori system of ethics and accountability for



research (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Te Awekotuku, 1991; H. Walker, 1995; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). The principle of tino rangatiratanga located the focus of the research with the participants who had control over and were involved during the entire research process (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003). It is now widely accepted (and expected) that research must benefit those who are being researched and the knowledge gained must be demonstrated to be of value to them.

Aroha ki te tangata ensured that the best interests of the participants and their community were taken into account (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). Although parental consent was not necessary, whānau support was still sought. This was important and meant that there was for example support with travel and input from siblings and parents.

Kanohi kitea implies familiarity between the researcher and the community being researched (ibid). It meant that I had to make myself known to the research participants and their community. This involvement maintained accountability between myself and the community. Furthermore, the participants also chose to have their general involvement in the research be known to the community and chose not to adopt a pseudonym or be anonymous.

Manaakitanga provided for the holistic wellbeing of the participants (Harvey, 2002). Karakia ensured the spiritual safety of the participants during the research process. Kai was provided for the participants and the research whānau to nourish them physically. The after hui activities were also a means to give back to the participants and to address their social wellbeing. Their emotional wellbeing was protected when it was decided that although the participants agreed to reveal their identities, they did not want their individual contributions to be differentiated, but presented as a collective. This meant that the participants are named in the acknowledgements but the quotes from their discussions are not distinguished at all by names, pseudonyms or otherwise.

Te reo Māori was also part of the privileging of things Māori (Harvey 2002). All written documentation was provided in both Māori and English and the participants were given the opportunity to use both Māori and English during the hui. It was therefore essential that I was conversant in both te reo Māori and English in order to facilitate the hui.

### **Ethics for Research with Youth and Groups**

Traditional literature on interviewing young people in a group setting includes ethical considerations mostly to do with the implications of power relations, age and gender differences (Hoppe et al., 1995; O'Kane, 2000; Waldegrave, 1999). However, the cultural implications of tikanga may suggest otherwise. For example, restricting the age group could have prevented the older participants from dominating the discussion or intimidating the younger participants (O'Kane, 2000). However, the tuakana/ teina concept ensured

successful interaction between the younger and older participants. It is also recommended that boys and girls be separated at times as they have very different communication styles and may be distracted if interested in the opposite gender (ibid). Conversely, te ao Māori depends upon a balance between male and female forms of knowing and interacting (Mikaere, 2003). Therefore, an even representation of males and females in the research whānau was proposed.

Group dynamics are complex and complicated and can be hard to manage (O'Kane, 2000). Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero emphasised the importance of effective communication (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). It enabled equal opportunities for participation and helped create an atmosphere in which a young person's voice could be listened to and valued. This was supported with the establishment of positive ground rules (O'Kane, 2000).

Mana tangata or kua e takahia te mana o te tangata (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998) acknowledges and respects each person's uniqueness or mutual mana enhancement. It ensured that I did not try to be like the youth participants as this could undermine the unique perspectives that they brought to the research and could result in a lack of engagement.

Kia tūpato meant being aware of potentially awkward or uncomfortable situations as well as being prepared for the unexpected (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998). As the facilitator it was critical that I was aware of all the different influences that impacted on the group. Kua e māhaki (ibid) cautioned that youth are very quick to recognise if a person is not genuinely interested in their perspective or opinions and therefore may not participate or share their knowledge. The process of acknowledging that youth have rights that can be exercised and valued opinions gave the research 'realness'. It provided them with opportunities and the permission to speak about things that they nominated in ways they chose (Smith et al., 2002).

## **Conclusion**

This research is located in the broader contexts of research with Māori and with youth. A Māori research agenda emphasises cultural appropriateness and the use of cultural practices. Research with youth emphasises innovative approaches to engage with youth and privilege their unique voice. Both approaches locate the participants and their preferences, practices and aspirations as central to the research. This study extends on existing Māori and youth research approaches and combines relevant aspects of Māori practices and youth practices, to form an approach pertinent to Māori youth. It was culturally appropriate and youth relevant and created a safe space in which the participants could express themselves in their own way.

Tikanga was implemented throughout all of the research process; in the design, methodology and organisation of the research. This meant exploring the significance of tikanga to each stage and element of the research process and to the participants. Utilising hui as the method for the data collection reinforced culturally appropriate forms of inquiry and the sharing of knowledge and a familiar environment for the participants. Tikanga also provided guidance on ethical issues when working with Māori, with youth, and with groups. Some of these were not addressed in western literature on ethical considerations which reinforces the extensive ability of tikanga to develop the research paradigm.

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# Chapter Five: Results

## Introduction

A culturally appropriate and youth relevant research methodology was utilised for this study. The participants' responses to the research questions are presented in this chapter. Their perspectives and explanations are examined. These have been sorted into two broad categories: tikanga and āhuatanga. Each category has specific examples that illustrate the depth and range of qualitative information that emerged from the hui. The specific tikanga are: whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga and tapu, and specific āhuatanga are: māia, ahu whakamua, manawanui, ihumanea and māhaki. Each includes participant responses as well as my own observations from the research process. The quotes from the participants are not attributed individually; instead they are presented as a collective voice – a method agreed upon by the participants.

## The Participants

Initially, the participants are introduced to give context to their responses which follow. This will include some specific detail and some general information about the group as a whole. Eight Māori youth participated in the study; five males and three females. The first female participant was out-going and confident. The second was quieter but felt more at ease as discussion flowed. The third female participant was shy and observed the proceedings, making articulate contributions when she felt confident. The first male participant was very polite and courteous as his house was also the venue for the hui, making him a sort of host. The second male participant was very easy-going and humorous. The third was similar and liked to participate but sometimes lost focus when the tempo of the conversation slowed. The fourth male participant was shy but made valuable contributions to the discussion. The last male participant was very outspoken and was confident in his interaction with others.

The three young females were all 16 years old at the time of the first hui and in Year Twelve at secondary school. The five males came from a wider range of backgrounds. Three of them were 16 years, one 17 years and the other 18 years old at the time of the first hui and in Year Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen respectively at secondary school. They were all from different iwi around the lower and middle North Island. All the participants identified their iwi, however, some could not identify with other markers of Māori identity such as affiliation to hapū, marae, waka, maunga and awa. This may be because they all lived in an urban town

outside of their own iwi territory. Nevertheless, participants still returned to their hau kāinga in order to maintain links.

There was a range of knowledge and use of te reo Māori and tikanga. The females all had similar abilities in te reo and tikanga and felt confident in expressing this when appropriate. Conversely, the males had a wider range of abilities. Some of the male participants reported being close to fluent in both their knowledge and use of te reo Māori whilst others reported limited ability and use. However, all the participants indicated that their use of te reo Māori was less than their knowledge of it. The participants' knowledge of tikanga corresponded approximately to their ability in te reo Māori and they generally used their knowledge of tikanga to their full ability.

The overall high use of tikanga may indicate that tikanga is more readily available and prevalent in their immediate environment than the other markers of Māori identity. Each participant was actively involved in Māori institutions and networks such as kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, kapa haka, sports clubs, whānau and cultural events such as the Manu Kōrero (National Māori Secondary Schools) Speech Competitions. Familiarity with tikanga and an association with things Māori therefore play a key part in the lives of the participants.

## **Findings**

The research consisted of four hui of about one hour in length with a dedicated *take* all followed by a team-building activity. These were conducted over a two month period. The *take* discussed were: values or things important to the participants, tikanga, aspirations and strategies to realizing potential. Open-ended questions were used to elicit the most important and relevant responses from the participants. The relevance of tikanga and āhuetanga were confirmed by the in the hui. Some arose out of the discussion with the participants whereas others were more implicit and drew from my own observations.

### **Ngā Momo Tikanga**

The participants defined tikanga as “traditional protocol” or “rules which were regulated by Kaumātua.” They viewed tikanga as being based on common sense and similar to societal mores. Participants indicated that tikanga were not just to do with marae, but were also relevant to other domains such as around the house and at school. They emphasised that tikanga were about respect and keeping people in line. Essentially, tikanga is about knowing right from wrong within a cultural context. Some examples noted were the common practice of removing one's shoes indoors and not sitting on tables. Other specific tikanga emerged from the interviews which are analysed in greater detail.

## **Whanaungatanga: Relationship building**

Whanaungatanga encapsulated all of the relationships that the participants considered important. It included both kinship and kaupapa based relationships. As one participant stated “I sometimes consider friends as family.” During the hui participants referred to me as whaea. Tuakana/teina relationships that existed amongst them established critical values such as trust and dictated such things as who spoke first. The importance of whanaungatanga was highlighted by each of the participants:

*For me personally, it is having family and friends. They're always there for you and you can always ask for advice. How ever you're feeling you can always turn to your friends or family for advice. They can help you.*

*Friends and family. Without them I would probably be somewhere else right now like a foster home. I think I probably couldn't do anything now without my friends and family.*

*Friends and family would be a big one because at the end of the day all you have is whānau and friends. They are something to look forward to and keep you motivated, keep you on track.*

*For me it would be family and friends. You could be the richest man in the world and have no family or friends.*

Participants identified their friends and whānau as the most important people in their lives. They recognised that these relationships provided their main form of support - emotionally, socially and financially.

The significance of tuakana/teina relationships and the role modelling and mentoring associated with it became evident in some discussions, particularly when there was a large age or developmental gap such as between older and younger siblings or between generations. The participants defined a tuakana as “someone who displays good behaviour,” is “a good example for others to follow” and is a “leader.” They should “help others and share their knowledge” and “take control of the situation”. The participants identified that a tuakana exemplifies what is good and right and their role is to share this with others by providing advice and guidance.

A wide range of tuakana of different ages and positions that provided advice and guidance on a variety of issues were identified by the participants. Some were from other cultures such as the Pacific Islands. One participant said: “they're in the same situation as us, I look to them cos they're cool.” Others were identified for specific reasons such as teachers for their educational expertise. Those that have regular contact with youth in an informal capacity were also identified such as friends' parents but only as an alternative option to their own parents. The participants also identified that their friends role modelled

certain qualities that they aspired to such as for kapahaka “I look to [fellow participant] for haka.”

During the hui and the activities that followed, the participants exhibited the tuakana/teina relationship. For example, during ten pin bowling one of the participants who was excelling (which made him tuakana in this situation) shared his experience and knowledge with his peers who were not doing so well (teina). He suggested that they draw on one of their strengths (singing and rhythm) to focus on their game. This advice was generally successful for those teina that followed it.

Cultural guidance and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge was a large component of the role modelling. The participants referred to occasions where tuakana had exhibited this cultural leadership:

*Role modelling on the marae is our kuia and koro. They do the karanga and pōwhiri and they are role modelling because that's the way that they're meant to do it, That's how it's been done and that's what they have been taught back in the day. They're role modelling for the younger generation.*

*When my Grandmother was alive, we always used to go up to Hicks Bay. She used to lay out all the whakapapa and go on about everyone in the village and how everyone was related. It made me want to listen to her more so that I could pass it on to the younger generation.*

*My mum grew up with her aunties who were really influential. They treated you like a seed. They would put you in the ground and water you every day with their knowledge. Whatever mum learnt when she was growing up she tries to teach to us. I try to talk to my mum whenever I can.*

Tuakana included those who role modelled strong cultural knowledge and traditions. Being conversant and confident in tikanga and te reo Māori was seen as a desirable quality of a tuakana and could have a positive influence on teina:

*When I was little I got the choice to learn Samoan or Māori and I chose Māori cos I saw my granddad do whaikōrero on the marae. I was like one day I'm gonna do that. My dad will come around and we'll korero Māori and he'll use a bit of kīanga, kupu hou and whakataukī. I keep them in mind for the next time I talk to him.*

Participants highlighted that whanaungatanga also provided cultural support and contributed to their cultural development and well-being. Similarly, realising one's full potential in educational achievement was another important aspect of role modelling. One participant shared their role model for educational success:

*I look to my mum as an inspiration because at fifth form she was a prefect and by seventh form she was already at university. I am really grateful that she achieved so much and that she passed it on to us.*

Education and mental stimulation was also identified by the participants as being supported in their key relationships such as their tuakana. Role modelling and mentoring were identified as a large part of the supports that were essential to participant development and well-being. Without them, there is a lack of support and guidance in what is good and right behaviour which may lead to risk-taking. One participant commented:

*When we were younger we never really had role models in the youth department. We grew up and realised that we have experienced stuff that we wouldn't want people younger than us to experience, like smoking. We never had any prime examples for us as youth and that's why we strive to be role models for the ones younger than us.*

Participants recognised the need for positive role models to instil health enhancing behaviours that can have lifelong benefits.

The participants described some of the qualities of a tuakana previously mentioned in their own interactions with teina, particularly with younger siblings:

*I try my best to get her [younger sibling] to understand, to give her as much advice as I can so that she gets a good understanding of what she can do later on in life and how successful she can become if she pays attention to all this information*

*Being there for them [younger siblings] even though you make them cry. Being there for them when they're down and knowing you can give them advice when they need it.*

*I try to help him [younger sibling] with whatever he's going through, like with school work.*

*My little brother knows nothing about his Māori side cos he has a Pākehā mum and he stays in a Pākehā home. Every time he comes back to me I try and give him the talk. I sit him down and I try and tell him everything I know, get him to understand where we came from. I try and pass on the passion.*

*I try and support my sibling to make their own decisions and make good decisions and be responsible for their actions.*

*Being there for them [younger siblings] when they need you. Anything to make her happy. Just let her know that I'll always be there for her.*

*Who else is going to be there for them [younger nephews and nieces]? Because I'm as young as them I know what they are going through. Not so long ago that was me; I can really see myself like that.*

One participant's advice to teina was: "You got to watch out for the decisions you make and the friends you're with. You've got to decide for yourself, you've got to stay safe." Participants saw themselves as teina receiving guidance from others. They also defined themselves as tuakana, transmitting their knowledge and experience to others.

The success of these key relationships was dependant on the whanaungatanga developed. The participants clearly identified their key support network which was mainly

family and friends and what they would do to maintain the relationships in a positive frame. This also determined the nature of the support provided to the participants in their development and well-being. This was highlighted by one of the participants who said *“I have never been in a situation where I couldn’t turn to family or friends.”* This may be because they have never been in a compromising situation, or that they have practiced whanaungatanga to established positive engagement.

### **Mana: Integrity**

Mana is closely linked to whanaungatanga as it influences how people relate to each other. Mana is a person’s prestige generally speaking. It can be attributed to many different qualities of a person and is dependent on how others value these qualities. The participants discussed various qualities of a person that they admired. Some of these have already been discussed such as being a role model, being strong in cultural knowledge and educational achievement.

Independence and the ability to create their own destiny were also qualities of mana that the participants admired. This included self reliance, self-determination and independent authority. Independence was defined as *“a person who can stand on their own two feet”* and was key to being able to realise one’s full potential. The participants emphasised that independence was about empowering the individual to exercise their own agency. One of the participants described the need to have independence:

*One of my aspirations is to be independent. I’m moving out of home soon and I’ll be earning my own money and have independence on my own.*

Mana was also relative to age, experience and/ or developmental processes and could change over time. One participant explained how their independence had changed:

*When we were younger we must’ve thought that independence was going to a party or being at high school. Now that we’re at high school we might think it is having a flat and going to university. When we’re older we might think it’s having kids and owning a real house. So it will change as we get older.*

Participants recognised that independence and self-determination were important in being able to realise their aspirations.

Independence for the participants was mainly about becoming independent from their parents/caregivers and moving out of home:

*Independence means not going back to mum and dad all the time.*

*We’re teenagers. We just want to get away, break away from our parents and do our own thing.*

Physical separation and freedom from their parents/ care givers was identified as a key example of participants being able to assert their own mana. Asserting mana included taking on responsibilities such as getting a job, earning money, paying bills on time,

budgeting and flattening. This was summed up by one participant as; *“A car, money to spend, renting a house or flat and never [being] poor.”*

Monetary wealth and physical resources such as having a job, a flat and a car were all identified by the participants as major indicators of mana for them. Mana also included contributing to the greater collective such as not being a drain on resources and being able to help their whānau. This illustrates the interdependent nature of the whānau and the wider collective. The participants described somebody with mana as:

*A person who doesn't have to ask other people for money.*

*Someone who can hook up their parents, help their parents when they need it for a change, instead of the other way around.*

This recognition of a collective, reciprocal responsibility was reinforced during the activities that followed the hui. The participants offered (and insisted in some instances) to contribute towards the cost of the food. In doing so, they asserted a degree of independence and maintained their responsibility to the collective by helping out.

Mana was also associated with working hard. The following quotes demonstrate how the participants associated working hard with mana:

*People that are hard working are independent.*

*I think that being independent means that you do well with your studies.*

*You have to get the piece of paper to get some qualifications. With qualifications come flash jobs and with flash jobs come money.*

Participants acknowledged that mana was something that could be earned but required recognition from others. Obstacles to exercising mana were also discussed. Not being addicted to drugs or anything that disabled or impeded the participants from asserting their mana was emphasised. Although asserting independence entitled them to the choice to use drugs or not (which they valued highly), making the decision not to use or to moderate consumption was just as important.

### **Manaakitanga: Responsibility**

Manaakitanga is closely associated with mana as the ability to acknowledge others mana. It assists in the development and maintenance of positive relationships. Manaakitanga was exercised by participants during the research. They were assertive in their role in making me feel comfortable and offered their help to set up equipment, prepare food, organise the activities after the hui, contribute to costs and assist with transport. They showed respect for my position as the researcher and as an adult at all times and initiated genuine conversation with me to make me feel part of their social group.

During the hui the participants discussed the importance of manaakitanga and how they practiced it in their interaction with their key supports to strengthen these relationships:

*I stay in contact and keep their hopes up about me. I try and keep them happy and listen to what they want for me.*

*To keep the family on a positive note with me, we do certain activities together or have bonding time or just sit down and have talks and make sure that they understand what's happening to me. They can listen to you and then they know that you trust them for their opinions.*

*To keep your family in a positive way, I reckon spend as much time as you can with them. Family comes first and they will always be there for you.*

Participants identified spending quality time, regular and open communication, negotiating expectations, agreeing on goals and building trust as important in developing manaakitanga in their key relationships.

The tuakana/teina relationship also depends on an element of manaakitanga. In order for the relationship to be successful for the tuakana and teina, there needs to be reciprocity and mutual benefits to both based on a healthy respect for each other. The tuakana is respected for their knowledge and experience, while the teina is valued for their fresh perspective.

The participants discussed that what one person may view as important to manaakitanga, another person may not value so highly. Sometimes they needed to disregard their own opinions and be reminded about what others may appreciate. One participant shared their personal experience:

*When I was growing up, I never used to like cleaning my room. She [mother] always used to tell me to make my bed and clean my room. Now I'm actually thankful for it cos I'm starting to see girls and you don't want a messy room cos no girl likes a messy room.*

Participants identified that having empathy or an understanding of what others may value or appreciate was an important aspect of manaakitanga. They recognised that manaakitanga was essential in all relationships. However, it could be shown in many ways, depending on the nature of the relationship. Being able to recognise the mana or prestige of others would help to determine the appropriate level of manaakitanga.

### **Tapu: Prohibitions**

Tapu is related to mana in that it also influences the way in which people are treated. It denotes a level of prohibition in relation to behaviour or actions. It was not discussed candidly by the participants which may be due to the nature of the topic itself. However, it was evident in the actions of the participants and the way in which they talked about different topics. For example, the tapu of te taha wairua was observed with karakia at the beginning and end of each hui which ensured the spiritual safety and well-being of all participating.



The observance of tapu also influenced the topics that were discussed and the sensitive way in which the participants discussed them. They identified the tapu associated with their bodies and the importance of keeping healthy and clean. This included keeping fit by playing sports or going to the gym and maintaining hygiene with regular washing. Their reaction to someone having bad hygiene prevented them from being able to interact with that person as they perceived it as being unsafe or risky.

When I introduced sexual activity and drugs into the discussion, the participants were initially hesitant as these are topics not generally discussed openly as they have proscribed implications. They talked about how sexual activity could involve the *whare tangata* which carries tapu associated with the passing on of *whakapapa* through procreation. Misuse of the *whare tangata* with risky or unsafe behaviour could result in contracting Sexually Transmitted Infections or unplanned pregnancies. They agreed that sexual interaction that involved the *whare tangata* had to be treated carefully, for example you had to be ready, get to know and trust your partner and be safe and use protection.

The participants all agreed that drugs alter the state of one's being and observing tapu could help to manage this change. Drugs can either lessen the influence of tapu or increase it depending on the circumstances. When drugs are used for recreational purposes then often the observance of tapu is overlooked which can result in risks to health and safety such as contracting diseases from needles. Associating tapu with things and activities helped to determine the best response to potentially risky situations. Essentially, tapu was considered most relevant when participants were exercising choices to avoid risky or unsafe situations.

The participants discussed how *tuakana* may not always observe tapu and may demonstrate risky or unsafe practices which may confuse or give mixed messages to *teina*. A participant gave the following example:

*They [kuia] will do a karanga and that is how you do it. But then afterwards they will go and smoke. That's what most of them do on the marae. We [the participants] know that it's wrong, but other young people might not.*

Participants agreed that *teina* needed to know right from wrong and what was safe and unsafe. They had to be selective about the qualities that they looked to *tuakana* to role model. The conferment of tapu to a situation can help to determine the safe and in this case healthy course of action. If tapu was associated with the mouth and its functions then smoking would be an offence of tapu and would caution the young people from partaking.

These were key *tikanga* that were evident in the discussion of the participants. There were also *āhuatanga* that were considered significant by participants.

## Ngā Momo Āhukatanga

The second category to arise out of the discussion was āhukatanga – the characteristics exhibited by individuals. Most of these emerged while discussing aspirations for the future.

### Māia: Potentiality

Māia refers to inherent potential. Potential can be inherited or it can be developed. Realising potential required preparation, practice and hard work. The participants emphasised that potential needs to be exercised and developed to its full capacity otherwise it may go to waste. One participant stated, *“You need to step up, being the best you can at everything.”* When asked what they aspired to, one participant responded with *“the sky’s the limit”* indicating their optimism and the wide range of opportunities that existed. Optimism enabled the participants to add value to their lives as opposed to merely surviving or living each day as it comes without any direction to better themselves or the wider collective. It gave the participants an air of confidence that they could do well. They had no doubt about their right to success and their ability to achieve.

Some of the potential strengths of the participants are discussed in other sections. There are cultural strengths such as kapahaka and ability in te reo, in which some participants aspired to their best, attending practices and competing in national competitions. Some of the more common areas of potential such as educational and sporting achievement were other strengths that the participants strived to develop. They also discussed parenting and the capacity to show regard as key areas of personal development.

### Ahu Whakamua: Foresight

Ahu whakamua denotes a future orientation in thinking. It focuses on planning ahead and goal setting. One participant described this as *“knowing where you want to go when you’re older.”* Ahu whakamua enabled participants to successfully achieve and reset goals. One participant stated: *“They [goals] change just like aspirations. When you achieve something you change your goal to something else. Then you seek another one.”*

The participants identified some of the shared long term goals that they were aspiring to:

*One of my aspirations would be to provide for my family in the future, to be wealthy and survive and hopefully to set a good example for the future.*

*Have a house with a family, kids and pets with a swimming pool.*

The importance of whānau in relation to future orientation was emphasised, reiterating the importance of participants being able to contribute to a wider collective.

One participant highlighted cultural development as a long term collective goal when they shared their aspirations about their children, *“When I have children I’m gonna send them to kōhanga.”* Some goals were not just about the individual participant, they were about the whole whānau, and even the next generation.

The participants also identified many smaller goals that contributed towards achieving bigger aspirations. For example meeting and getting to know their future partner, having children, earning an income and buying a house was all part of having their own whānau. They also discussed specific individual goals such as developing certain knowledge and skills. Some were based on the qualities of a parent that the participants aspired to become, for example being strong in cultural knowledge and language, educational achievement and having a successful career.

The participants perceived many benefits from ahu whakamua. One participant remarked, *“Do the mahi, get the reward. If I do the dishes my mum will be happy. If we practice then we’ll be good. Do the study, get the education.”* The connection between practice, preparation and foreseeable benefits provided motivation for participants. Continuously setting goals, achieving them and moving onto the next one were also important for achieving larger, long-term goals. *“You have to have aspirations all the time to stay motivated. Otherwise you just give up.”*

Being ready and confident was also important for achieving goals and realising aspirations. One participant stated:

*I didn’t really want to put myself out there – I wasn’t ready. I suppose I’m ready now, I’m more confident than I used to be, I’m ready to come out of my shell.*

Participants identified the need to have a positive attitude and commit to the goals they set.

### **Manawanui: Resilience**

Manawanui is being resilient or having the capacity to face and successfully overcome challenges. It also includes the ability to deal positively with disappointment. It is not just about how youth react to big challenges, it also relates to the everyday challenges and the steps taken to prevent them from becoming big problems. For example:

*If my girlfriend is hassling me to do something else [other than study] I just tell her to bring her books and then we’ll study together.*

*Me and my sister, we fight a lot. It doesn’t concern anything that happens within the family, just little things like washing. One minute we hate each other and then the next I’m asking her to come to the shop with me.*

Instead of allowing challenges to become significant problems, the participants actively took steps to resolve the issue.

Resilience also involved responding positively to challenging situations, rather than responding negatively or quitting or giving up all together. One participant described a bad experience of learning te reo Māori:

*When I was third form, when I first started schooling I didn't know much about Māori, or my culture, so I decided that I was going to take Māori as one of my subjects. It was all right. I was doing okay and then I got distracted. I just couldn't understand and she [the teacher] was going too fast for me and I was too scared to ask for help. Fourth form came and I didn't want to do it again. I joined kapahaka instead and have continued with it for NCEA. This year I chose kapahaka as one of my subjects and I love performing arts.*

Despite the initial negative experience the participant was not deterred in continuing to learn more about language and culture and found other ways in which to learn and be involved. For the participant, resilience required determination and steadfastness.

A shared experience amongst participants was that most came from solo parent homes. *"We've got a group of about 15 of our mates and only about 2 of their parents are still together."* This potential 'risk factor' was viewed as a common aspect of life to the participants. They all knew the implications of parents parting but agreed that their parents were actually happier once separated. Their parents could instead focus energies on their relationship with their children and on being better parents. The participants did not view common risk factors such as coming from solo parent homes as being a challenge. Rather, it was a part of their everyday realities.

One participant was also adopted out (term used by the participant) of the biological whānau. Although this is also a common 'high' risk factor, he identified it as at an advantage and referred to himself as being spoilt as he now had two whānau. As the youngest of his adopted whānau he has older tuakana that spoil him and he receives much love and attention. He has also grown up as the tuakana to his nephews and thus receives the benefits of being the oldest as well.

Another participant changed schools from a small kura kaupapa to a larger mainstream school. This change removed him from a familiar whānau based environment to an unfamiliar educational institution. This could have led to negative outcomes, however, he saw the change as an opportunity to make new friends and learn new skills. He identified that the cultural grounding from kura kaupapa provided a strong foundation for him to achieve in the mainstream school. The participants showed resilience by drawing on the positive aspects or strengths of challenging situations, rather than dwelling on the negative.

## **lhumanea: Innovation**

lhumanea is being innovative. It involves the challenging or mischievous quality that youth often exhibit which comes from a natural curiosity to test environments. It can sometimes be observed as a disregard for rules. Rather than focusing on this negative perspective, participant focus was on how they had developed from these experiences. For example, *“I used to be a little shit but now I think I’m on the right track.”* The participants all identified with this challenging behaviour as a normal part of growing up and developing positively.

Participants did not consider that they exhibited mischievous behaviour now even though, for example, one smoked cigarettes, some attended parties, some drank alcohol and some were in sexual relationships which could be considered risk-taking behaviour. The risky behaviour that they referred to was not viewed as particularly dangerous or harmful, more as normal behaviour for people of their age. There seemed to be an understanding that this quality sometimes drove them to test boundaries and challenge authority which could lead to outcomes both good and bad. Some referred to this as having to learn the hard way or having to learn the consequences by experiencing them first hand. However, the full consequences or implications of such behaviour were often not fully understood and sometimes others, such as adults or authorities, failed to appreciate this genuine misjudgement. Participants agreed that they were often reprimanded for their negative behaviour, whilst positive behaviour often went unnoticed.

The participants also talked about being able to learn from their experiences and the consequences of their challenging behaviour. One participant noted, *“There come rewards with lessons.”* However, it was often left up to the participants themselves to identify the learning from their experiences and to distinguish what was right in their behaviour. One participant noted, *“I think you only know that [lessons] when you get older because you understand the difference between right and wrong.”*

It was important for the participants that they were supported to learn from their challenging behaviour so that they understood the consequences, learnt the right actions and did not repeat the ‘risky’ behaviour. They also wanted to be encouraged to try out new things and be innovative and that all positive achievements be recognised.

Many of the participants identified that they had key support people, mainly their parents, who had helped guide them in their challenging behaviour:

*One of the things that has made me change from what I used to be [mischievous] to what I am now is the influences that I have seen around me – my family and friends. One of the main things that has changed me is my mum. She is the boss of me, tells me to do this and that. She shows me what happens if I do right from wrong. Basically, she has changed me quite a lot. She has introduced me to new things in*

*life that I could have in the future. I think she's a good influence on my life and she's one of the main things that has changed me.*

Challenging behaviour needs strong guidance and support in what is right and appropriate without limiting the natural innovation and originality that comes from such behaviour.

The participants also shared the lessons they had learnt with others so that the same mistakes and consequences were not repeated. Their advice was:

*You have to watch out for the decisions you make and the friends you're with. You've got to decide for yourself. You've got to stay safe.*

*I try and support the sibling to make their own good decisions and be responsible for their actions.*

The participants emphasised that positive supports are not always present when challenging behaviour occurs and therefore, it is essential that one is well informed, knows right from wrong, understands consequences and can make good decisions.

Another element of ihumanea was being cheeky or witty. It was particularly apparent when the participants were in an awkward or uncomfortable situation and they would use humour to counteract the challenging situation. It would defuse the tension as well as highlight that the situation was inappropriate or uncomfortable for them. Humour was used as a diversion away from getting offended or angry. It was also used in other situations such as when the participants were bored and would joke around with each other for entertainment.

### **Māhaki: Humility**

Māhaki is being humble. It was evident when the participants could appreciate the strengths in others such as their tuakana and the positives in situations such as potential learning. They all identified at least one attribute that each participant exhibited. One participant stated, "I look to her [fellow participant] for guitaring [expertise]." It was also apparent when the participants did not identify themselves as tuakana or as leaders.

Humility helped to create a safe and comfortable environment for the participants. It established confidentiality and trust within the group. Each participant's contribution was valued as part of the collective voice. No one put themselves before or above anyone else.

### **Conclusion**

The responses confirmed the relevance of tikanga and āhuatanga to the day to day lives of the participants. The specific tikanga were perceived as common or normal values which may be due to the participants' background and familiarity with te ao Māori. Whanaungatanga – relationship building highlighted the importance of key supportive relationships with whānau and friends. Mana – integrity, acknowledged a person's status and their influence on the nature of the relationship. Manaakitanga – responsibility, focused on

how to manage these connections through reciprocal and meaningful interaction. Tapu – prohibitions referred to participants exercising judgement to ensure appropriate behaviour. They associated it with avoiding risky or unsafe situations.

The participant responses also confirmed the relevance of specific āhuetanga. Some of these were culturally derived while others more broadly applicable. Māia – potentiality highlighted the participants' innate potential which included inherited qualities as well as those that could be developed. Ahu whakamua – foresight, highlighted planning, preparation and achieving goals. Manawanui – resilience was being steadfast to successfully overcome challenges. Ihumanea – innovation was being challenging and testing boundaries. Māhaki – humility was the unassuming nature that illustrated modesty.

The tikanga and āhuetanga discussed are not exclusively separate; indeed they are interrelated and overlap. However, they are sufficiently relevant and individually distinct to allow for their specific identification. The incorporation of tikanga and āhuetanga can provide the basis for a Māori centred approach for youth development.

# Chapter Six: Data Analysis

## Introduction

This chapter analyses the goals of Māori development and youth development theory with a view to identifying a dedicated approach for Māori youth development that is meaningful and relevant. The former, although significant, fails to adequately address the specific priorities and needs of Māori youth. The latter, has typically overlooked the importance of culture in the positive development of youth. There are, nonetheless consistencies across both. The proposed approach discussed in this chapter, based on cultural constructs and youth preferences, addresses these limitations. The individual and environmental capacity is also discussed.

## Cultural Capacities

The capacity of individuals influences their ability to develop positively and realise their full potential. Youth have the capacity to determine their future success by exercising agency over their lives, making their own experiences and engaging in purposeful and strategic analysis (Ormond, 2004; Smith et al., 2002). This includes: choosing their friends and role models, their attitude towards education, work and relationships, who they are, how they act and where they want to go in life (Drewery & Bird, 2004; McLaren, 2002). Youth need to develop thinking skills, moral reasoning, independence, self-sufficiency and a stable positive identity (McLaren, 2002).

For Māori youth, they also need to be grounded in a Māori cultural base in order to positively participate in te ao Māori and wider society (Keelan, 2001; MoYA, 2002; Tipene-Clarke, 2005; Walsh-Tapiata, 2002). A positive identification with things Māori such as tikanga and āhuetanga can assist Māori youth to develop. They are resources or strengths that can assist with overcoming challenges in their daily lives. These capacities can be developed and strengthened over time which is especially significant for those who may not necessarily have been taught these or supported to develop them early on in life. During youthhood, these capacities are particularly significant as they can assist young people to manage challenge, make important choices and establish health-enhancing behaviours (AHRG, 2004). The cultural capacity of individual's determines their ability and inclination to practice tikanga and cultivate positive āhuetanga.

A brief analysis of the participants' background reveals the capacity for a positive identification with things Māori. They were involved in cultural initiatives such as learning te reo Māori, kapa haka and strengthening tribal affiliations. Most of the participants had a



relatively high knowledge and use of te reo Māori. Participants indicated that they knew more reo than they actually used. There is a small but growing proportion of Māori youth who are fluent or have conversational ability in te reo Māori (TPK, 2006). However, for most, te reo Māori is not the language of communication; it is not used in schooling, at home or in the community and they have little or no ability in te reo (ibid). Therefore, te reo Māori may not be the most appropriate cultural capacity for an inclusive Māori youth development approach as it is not relevant to many Māori youth.

However, regardless of ability in te reo Māori, most of the participants reported a high knowledge and practice of tikanga but found it difficult to clearly identify or discuss it. The intuitive feeling that they were participating in tikanga but not being able to fully explain or understand their involvement illustrates the broad relevance of tikanga. Tikanga are often taken for granted and can be hard to distinguish, especially for young people whose cognitive abilities and self-awareness are still developing. Each participant was actively involved in Māori institutions and networks; they actively participated in te ao Māori. Tikanga and āhuatanga assisted them to determine the appropriate approach and behaviour to do this.

### **Āhuatanga: Individual Characteristics**

The relevance of āhuatanga to the youth was confirmed in the previous chapter. They are the characteristics considered significant and relevant by the participants in their development. The āhuatanga are recognised as positive in the context of this research. However, in other environments, these characteristics may either not be recognised or be considered negatively. For example, in a Māori context ihumanea is recognised as a characteristic that can contribute to originality, advancement and leadership. In a culturally dystonic environment, it could be considered as insulting or inappropriate.

### **Māia: Potentiality**

The recognition and development of potential relies on the support, resources and environment. Potential enables individuals to exceed expectations, break patterns and rise above recurring cycles of abuse such as violence, alcohol and drug addictions and gambling. Realising potential is a core component of the Māori Potential Framework (TPK, 2005) and of youth development (McLaren, 2002; MoYA, 2002). The framework recognises that Māori have inherent potential and have common or shared capacities such as values but are also culturally diverse. The Māori demographic is constantly changing in relation to the diverse environmental influences. Māori have the potential to integrate their shared cultural capacities with their diverse realities to develop and advance in new innovative ways.

However, the framework does not specifically relate this to youth or youth development. Youth development theory on the other hand promotes developing strengths and realising potential but does not address how these could be culturally derived. Youth development initiatives may focus on for example academic or sporting capacities as opposed to cultural capacities such as hospitality or humility. Furthermore, initiatives that are targeted at Māori youth tend to focus on developing specific skills such as oratory and performing arts as opposed to cultural capacities that can be used to in many different contexts and may assist with such skills.

### **Ahu Whakamua: Foresight**

Foresight was also demonstrated by the participants. The ability to plan and prepare is a key capacity of Māori development at a strategic level (M.H. Durie, 2003) and for youth development in terms of developing goals and aspirations (McLaren, 2002). Māori development focuses on strategic long term planning such as initiatives for the revitalisation of te reo Māori over the next fifty year period (M.H. Durie, 2003). However, these broad long-term collective goals are less relevant to youth who require more immediate, self-centred goals achievable at the individual level. Youth development theory emphasises that youth develop important functional abilities such as: abstract reasoning; the ability to work through hypothetical situations; learning self-regulation and self discipline. The increased capacity to think ahead enables young people to exert an influence on their life by setting goals and planning and by preparing them for the challenges they will face (Drewery & Bird, 2004; McLaren, 2002). However, youth development theory does not adequately take into consideration Māori aspirations that focus on collective wellbeing. For example, there is interdependency between Māori youth and their wider whānau and therefore their goals may require the involvement of other whānau members.

### **Manawanui: Resilience**

The participants successfully adapted to change and triumphed over challenge. These experiences demonstrated the capacity to deal positively with disappointment, stress, pressure, and disadvantage so that these problems did not grow into bigger problems. Youth need to be able to maintain a stable sense of self whilst also being able to change with the times and trends. Responsiveness and adaptability are core components of Māori development in terms of change and developments nationally and internationally, particularly economically and politically (M.H. Durie, 2005). Resilience is a burgeoning field in youth development (Masten, 2006; Ungar, 2005) as it helps to explain why and how youth cope. Resilience theory recognises that there are important capacities that develop which help to support a young person to respond to adversity. However, it has only just begun to explore

the role that culture has on resilience and successful adaptation in everyday situations. Māori development, on the other hand, has a collective response to change such as at an iwi or hapū level as opposed to individual resilience for young people (M.H. Durie, 2005).

### **Ihumanea: Innovation**

Innovation was also exemplified by the participants. Challenging accepted mores and stretching the boundaries provides potential learning opportunities for youth and enables the development of new approaches. This can be misinterpreted by adults as inappropriate or risky behaviour. Māori development depends on the ability to incorporate new influences to maintain relevant to contemporary contexts (M.H. Durie, 2005). However, there is a traditionalist perspective that focuses on preservation of culture as opposed to being inclusive and responsive to new influences.

Risk taking behaviour is a defining issue of youth development discourse (McLaren, 2002). Youth development theory has recently begun to recognise risk-taking as a natural part of development. Young people seek opportunities to learn and test themselves to explore their potential. However, this has not been fully explored within a cultural context such as the appropriateness of youth challenging norms and leading change. It has also not been considered in terms of application to practice with youth who exhibit challenging behaviour. Within a cultural context, challenging behaviour is differentiated from inappropriate behaviour. Challenging behaviour can be recognised as unrealised ingenuity or leadership that should be focused and guided. Inappropriate behaviour is that which is harmful or disrespectful to others and therefore is unacceptable.

### **Māhaki: Humility**

The participants exhibited humility. They were polite, appreciative of their situation and took responsibility for their actions. They found it hard to identify possible improvements in their development environment. They also had difficulties identifying themselves in leadership roles - usually reserved for kaumātua or pakeke. Humility is sometimes associated with shyness or shame and can prevent people from asking for help. However, it is more about knowing one's place in relation to others and in the wider collective. Humility is not an issue widely discussed in Māori development or youth development literature. However, it is a key characteristic of a Māori worldview and affects human interactions. It is not often associated with youth, but more with people in general who show generosity. Youth development theory does not discuss humility, although it does refer to developing abstract reasoning which aids interaction with others (McLaren, 2002).

These āhuetanga are some of the individual characteristics that the youth exhibited in their development. These were complemented with tikanga that helped to determine the appropriate course of action during their development.

### **Tikanga: Cultural Values**

The relevance of tikanga was also confirmed in the previous chapter. These tikanga were the broad underlying values that determined appropriate behaviour that helped in positive development. However, in contexts which fail to fully appreciate culture, tikanga may be overlooked or worse, be framed as irrelevant or detrimental. For example, relationship building is an essential foundation for all meaningful interactions between people. However, in a culturally dystonic environment it can be viewed as irrelevant and a waste of time. Therefore, it is the environment in which tikanga are employed that determines its relevance and effectiveness. A culturally conducive environment will recognise and employ tikanga.

### **Whanaungatanga: Relationship Building**

Whanaungatanga was highlighted by the participants as the means by which they established stable positive relationships and created their key support networks. Māori development identifies the importance of whānau as the key unit for addressing issues of development and wellbeing (M.H. Durie, 2003). The effectiveness of a whānau is dependent on the nature of the relationships within. Positive stable relationships based on interdependence assists with youth development. For various reasons, some Māori youth do not have access to such relationships within their immediate whānau. They need to be able to develop such relationships with other people.

Youth development theory acknowledges the importance of positive stable relationships and the family (Drewery & Bird, 2004; McLaren, 2002). The YDSA (MoYA, 2002) identifies the developing of positive connections with key influences such as peers, school and community. However, it also emphasises independence from parents and a closer association with peers rather than an all inclusive social grouping that provides the required supports for youth. Youth need support people that are like-kin and provide support expected of kin who go further than the limited funding, resources, personnel and hours allowed for in most agencies that work with youth. E tipu e rea (Keelan, 2002) identifies whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities as culturally appropriate supports for Māori youth development. However, it has limited implementation as a development package suggested for mainstream organisations and environments, rather than a national strategy that is implemented at every level (refer to the next section for an elaboration on this point). Youth

development theory does not adequately recognise the collective and interdependent nature of Māori society.

### **Mana: Integrity**

The participants emphasised mana as fundamental to a person's status and interactions within a group. It is relative to the role, responsibilities and expectations of that person. Self determination is a core component of Māori development (M.H. Durie, 2003; TPK, 2005). Iwi organisations in particular have pushed for autonomy from the State and the ability to determine their own aspirations and future. However, this is not being fully exercised at an individual or whānau level, at least for those who are dependent on government intervention and assistance. Independence is emphasised in youth development (McLaren, 2002). Youth development focuses on youth rights and empowering youth to be independent and to exercise their agency. However, it does not include a focus on youth earning these rights or the responsibility associated.

### **Manaakitanga: Responsibility**

Manaakitanga was expressed by the participants as looking after others. It determined the nature and success of their relationships. Manaakitanga is naturally exhibited in cultural contexts such as on the marae as it determines engagement and interactions between hosts and guests. Nonetheless, this culturally appropriate approach to managing positive relationships is rarely transferred to other contexts such as within education institutes, workplaces, health centres and social services which all have contractual, funding or legislative requirements and restrictions that determine and limit the extent of relationships.

Role modelling and mentoring is an important component of youth development (McLaren, 2002). There are many formal, funded initiatives that are mostly educational, sporting or in leadership such as the Project K mentoring scheme (Qiao & McNaught, 2007). However, these programmes do not address mentoring in a cultural context and do not provide strong cultural leadership. Youth development theory does not address the cultural implications of certain terms such as whaea, matua, pakeke, kaumātua and tamariki, mokopuna that determine the interdependent nature of relationships.

### **Tapu: Prohibitions**

Participants referred to prohibitions to caution and guide them, particularly in their interactions with others. Restrictions provide guidance away from what is unsafe or risky towards proven safe practices. These proved particularly helpful in challenging or risky situations. Youth development theory has an affirmative approach which emphasises positive

rather than negative aspects. For example, it promotes good, safe and health-enhancing behaviour as opposed to condemning improper behaviour (Damon, 2004; McLaren, 2002; Kenneth et al., 2004). However, youth also need to be able to identify, recognise and discuss inappropriate behaviour and its implications. They also need to be held accountable for the consequences in order to learn from their mistakes.

Tapu influences Māori contexts and commonly manifests in karakia to ensure spiritual safety during activities. Sometimes karakia is only observed out of habit and is not regularly applied to all activities. A lack of observance of tapu may result in misfortune, for example sickness. These tikanga are some of the values that the youth exhibited in their development. The usefulness of tikanga and āhuetanga in the development of youth is largely dependent on the environment in which it occurs.

## **Development Environment**

The environment in which youth live significantly affects their development (McLaren, 2002). Youth development is about providing adequate and appropriate resources and supports. The environment has to provide these resources, facilitate access to them and recognise their applicability and importance to positive development. Environments conducive to positive development are called facilitative developmental environments (FDE) (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004). For Māori youth an FDE would include the practice and affirmation of Māori social and cultural constructs such as tikanga and āhuetanga.

However, the reality and experiences for many Māori youth are quite different. Their surrounding environment is not always culturally conducive and may lack appropriate resources and support. It does not acknowledge the significance of culture to development. This is known as an interfering developmental environment (IDE) (Clauss-Ehlers, 2004). An IDE is prevalent in colonised communities where indigenous ideologies have been subjugated and western frameworks promoted (Damon, 2004). The comparatively high rates in almost any youth health and wellbeing statistic highlight the consequences of an IDE. However, an IDE does not necessarily completely limit the individual's ability to identify and secure resources. Youth may create their own resources.

Participants felt it was their responsibility and right to proactively seek out opportunities to participate in cultural initiatives. As a result, they exhibited āhuetanga unique to Māori and had a high ability in te reo Māori and tikanga. They expressed their desire and plans to ensure that similar cultural resources are sustainable and available for future generations.

## **Summary of Implications for Māori Youth Development**

The similarities and differences in the goals of Māori development and youth development theory and practice have implications for Māori youth development. The similarities provide a solid platform from which to address the differences. Māori development goals lack a specific focus on youth; youth development theory has inadequate acknowledgement of culture. These need to be integrated to develop an approach that is both relevant and meaningful. This is more likely to bring about positive benefits for Māori youth and therefore society as a whole.

One difficulty with the current approach in New Zealand is the disconnection between the cultural references in policy and practice and the realities and experiences of Māori youth. The YDSA and E Tipu e Rea both acknowledge the significance of culture in the development of youth. However, these cultural references do not address the diverse demographics of Māori youth. Most cultural initiatives target dislocated youth and focus on basic cultural practices. The limited implementation of a more in-depth approach to incorporating culture in development is mostly initiated by Māori organisations and affects a small proportion of the Māori youth population. A clear demonstration of the link from policy to practice is needed.

A Māori youth development approach should promote the implementation of cultural ideologies. When a young person views a value or a way of life as essential to their identity and development, they will adopt these values as their own (Damon, 2004). Therefore, cultural values should become an integral part of a youth development approach. The challenge is how to implement tikanga in daily activities of youth in a relevant and meaningful way. Tikanga is not a token show of doing karakia, not sitting on tables and taking shoes off. It is a value system that guides the culturally appropriate and meaningful approach in any circumstance. It will require a shift in approach by the institutions that create and implement initiatives that focus on youth. Cultural ideologies can provide useful solutions to contemporary situations if the underlying values are identified and applied appropriately (M.H. Durie, 1998; Mead, 2003; Royal, 1998).

The environment in which Māori youth development occurs will also need to be culturally syntonic. Cultural practices should be applicable outside of cultural contexts such as the home and marae. This is particularly relevant for those for whom participation on the marae is decreasing and the whānau unit is not a positive or stable environment (M.H. Durie, 2005). School, workplace, sporting activities, justice system and welfare are just some contexts in which the practice of tikanga will be important to creating a relevant and meaningful environment for Māori youth, especially if previous engagement with them has not been successful.

An increase in cultural understanding will also increase understanding of cultural constructs such as āhuatanga and tikanga. Too often Māori youth are misunderstood, their characteristics and actions misrepresented in a negative light as stereotypical of youth who are at-risk and come from disadvantage or underprivileged backgrounds (Smith et al., 2002). If environments surrounding Māori youth have the capacity to recognise these cultural values and characteristics, then appropriate and effective responses can be put in place. The challenge for a Māori youth development approach will be developing culturally appropriate mechanisms for distinguishing between these and harmful characteristics and behaviour and creating suitable responses.

The incorporation of culture should occur in a manner relevant to youth. A difficulty with the current approach to Māori development is the emphasis by some on preserving culture as opposed to developing it. Tikanga are only effective when relevant to those practicing them (M.H. Durie, 2003; Royal, 2002). They should be developed to respond to and include new influences and be transferable to new contexts and situations. For example, youth need guidance in how to manage the advancements in technology and telecommunications.

A Māori youth development approach will require mechanisms that allow for strong cultural role models to guide Māori youth in the application of tikanga in contemporary contexts. The whānau unit is an appropriate level of focus as participants emphasised that was where they felt safe and confident to develop and practice tikanga. These mentors may not necessarily be viewed as such from a western perspective as the strengths that they offer in their mentoring are culturally specific. For example, being strong in manaakitanga is not recognised as much as being intelligent or sporty.

Such an approach should also be cognisant of the nature of Māori youth relationships. Māori youth want to be both independent and part of the collective. They want to negotiate their interdependence with fluidity. They need defined yet flexible boundaries that help them to fulfil their roles and responsibilities. With rights come responsibilities and vice versa. For example, if they want to be treated with a certain degree of autonomy, then they also need to be accountable for their actions.

Neither youth development nor Māori development approaches fully recognise the contribution that Māori youth make to both te ao Māori and New Zealand society. A Māori youth development approach needs to recognise the particular qualities of Māori youth that enable them to participate successfully as Māori and as youth in today's world. The participants demonstrated āhuatanga which integrated cultural and contemporary youth characteristics. These āhuatanga assisted in positive development and the realisation of potential.



A Māori youth development approach should be flexible given the diversity of contemporary Māori youth. Globalisation and associated social change are changing society in single generations. This is impacting on Māori culture and social groupings, and youth culture. These new influences are generating diverse realities and experiences for Māori youth and are visible in the innovative integration of contemporary international trends and local cultural expression (Borell, 2005). The challenge will be how to incorporate this diversity in an approach that is relevant to all Māori youth.

These are just some of the key challenges for a Māori youth development approach. It will also need to provide suitable resources and training to ensure that Māori youth are well equipped and informed to make good decisions. The many considerations and challenges for Māori youth development highlight the need for a dedicated approach. The challenge for a Māori youth development approach will be how to integrate Māori and contemporary youth culture in an appropriate, relevant and meaningful way. Tikanga and āhuetanga were proven to be culturally appropriate and relevant to the positive development of participants and therefore provide an example for an approach.

### **A Māori Youth Development Approach: Kia Tipu Te Rito o Te Pā Harakeke**

An approach that encapsulates the tikanga and āhuetanga identified previously is the pā harakeke. The pā harakeke concept is commonly used within Māori society as a metaphor and symbol of whānau and development<sup>57</sup> (Metge, 1995; Pihama, Jenkins & Middleton, 2003). According to Huhana Rokx, the saying “kua tupu te pā harakeke: the flax plant is growing” (as cited in Pihama et al., 2003: 30) is an indication that a whānau is able to develop. Similarly, it can be used with Māori youth as an approach for development.

The pā harakeke refers to a collective grouping in which, the outer leaves (support network) nourish and protect the current and future inner leaves (new generations). Pivotal to the pā harakeke is the centre shoot or ‘te rito’ which determines the future survival of the pā and symbolises the central importance of the child or youth. Like the rito, the young are the hope of continuity. The surrounding leaves represents the significance of the supportive role of the kin-like network of peers, older siblings, parents, caregivers, role models/mentors and elders. Like a whānau, all the members of the pā harakeke share a commonality (their connection to the youth) and each leaf (member) has a particular role in the development of the rito and the well being of the collective.

The pā harakeke is a broad and encompassing concept for how tikanga relevant to youth such as whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga and tapu can be applied in Māori

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<sup>57</sup> An in depth discussion of whānau in relation to the notion of the pā harakeke is provided in the MoH report (2003) Te rito action area 13 Literature Review.

youth development. It emphasizes a support network of stable positive kin-like relationships - whanaungatanga. These meaningful connections are based on reciprocity and respect for one and other - manaakitanga. They are interdependent and contribute to the wellbeing of the greater collective - mana. All actions, particularly interaction between people, are guided by the avoidance of unsafe or risky practices in order to provide a safe and supportive environment - tapu. The pā harakeke is the access point to Māori youth and to te ao Māori and New Zealand society. It should create a facilitative development environment for the development of Māori youth.

The blossoming or puawaitanga of the rito is used to describe the development of youth. The rito (youth) has inherent potential when it is first formed, however it needs to be nourished and developed accordingly for it to blossom and realise its full potential. The nature and quality of the nourishment effects the development of the rito and the wellbeing of the pā harakeke. The outer leaves protect and nourish the inner leaves. This includes knowing when to support and when to hand over independence, responsibility and leadership to youth. Growing a plant also takes preparation and planning to ensure efficient and effective results. The rito needs to be hardy and able to withstand changes in the environment.

The pā harakeke enables the development of āhuetanga such as: māia, ahu whakamua, manawanui, ihumanea and māhaki. There are many different capacities required for positive development; cultural as well as youth specific. Planning ahead and preparation that will help to achieve goals and add value to their life is encouraged. Successfully adapting to change and maintaining a positive individual and collective cultural identity is fostered. Being innovative and pushing boundaries is acknowledged as essential to development. Being respectful and unassuming is emphasised particularly towards elders and guests. These āhuetanga are recognised and developed in the pā harakeke approach which supports Māori youth to realise their full potential and develop positively.

This approach is similar to positive whānau development and is not only about wellbeing. It is relevant to individuals as members of a whānau and a wider collective. While not all Māori affiliate to hapū, iwi or a Māori organisation, all are members of a whānau, even if not by whakapapa, then a kaupapa whānau.

It involves identifying important support people to the young Māori person one is working with. These could be immediate relatives, distant relatives, friends, friends' parents, social workers/ youth workers/ youth advocates, and tuakana such as cultural leaders, sports coaches and teachers. Non-kin support people and peers are particularly important in the instance where close kin relations are not available. It also involves identifying or allocating suitable tuakana that exemplify appropriate behaviour in a range of different contexts such as cultural and western settings.

Initially it might involve whakawhanaungatanga or establishing positive stable connections based on trust, respect, negotiation and reciprocity. This should also include exploring the young person's role, expectations and connection to their support people. The Māori youth should learn about the pā harakeke's distinct qualities which may originate from for example whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori whakapapa, waiata, haka and pūrākau and how this influences the young person. This should embrace active involvement with the urban marae or Māori authority such as attending tangi to maintain traditional support networks of the wider whānau. It should also consist of in-depth research and learning of whakapapa and whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori history to help affirm a cultural identity.

The nature of these relationships may change, however the supports must still be available and accessible. What is of importance is how Māori youth make use of these supports. Tuakana/teina relationships should be established within all contexts to demonstrate and provide guidance on appropriate conduct. For example in education institutes to address bullying and achievement, health and social services to establish stable positive relationships, the justice system to address behaviour and hapū, iwi and Māori communities to provide cultural guidance. Furthermore, role modelling and mentoring depends on the ability to successfully appeal to and engage with youth. Therefore, it needs to occur in a meaningful way for Māori youth and take into account their particular youth preferences and forms of expression.

This approach should also provide opportunities for Māori youth themselves to take on the role of the tuakana and support others. Responsibility for others and leadership should encourage Māori youth to exemplify best behaviour themselves. However, this should occur in a culturally appropriate manner as Māori youth are by no means considered leaders for the wider collective. Therefore, this approach should incorporate informal role modelling and care of youngsters such as nephews, nieces and younger siblings as well as leadership within peer settings. This focus on relationships is important to Māori youth development. Māori youth need to have the skills, time and resources to show manaakitanga in their relationships.

Working with Māori youth and their support people does not take any focus away from the young person or divert it to the support people. It is about recognising that although Māori youth are individuals, they are also members of a collective and are interdependent on the other supports in the pā harakeke. Māori youth want to develop a level of independence and autonomy while also maintaining a level of interdependence with their whānau and the wider collective. This will include supporting Māori youth in their transition into roles that assume more responsibility and contribute back to the collective. Too often youth have similar responsibilities to adults. They are expected to do the same tasks as adults such as being able to care for their siblings, cook, clean and motivate themselves for school, work

and sports. Instead of recognising these skills and their contribution to the collective with some adult rights, we continue to treat them like children. If we want young Māori people to develop important skills then we also need to recognise them when they demonstrate these skills. This should include recognising achievement in situations that may not conventionally accrue praise for example appreciating a decision not to do something as a result of exercising agency.

Youth will need to be well-informed so that they can make good decisions and take responsibility for their own actions and consequences, both good and bad. In doing so, they will become more confident in their decision making abilities and become independent and autonomous. This should include teaching and reinforcing the relationship between actions and consequences and the duality of rights and responsibilities. It should include providing opportunities where Māori youth can assert self-determination, take responsibility and enjoy the independence that results. For example, youth could work a part-time job, run a car, look after younger siblings, lead the kapa haka, organise a major event or participate in major decision making processes.

A Māori youth development approach needs to be able to deal with challenging behaviour in a culturally appropriate manner. Māori youth will participate in inappropriate or risky behaviour which is usually due to a lack of understanding the consequences and a desire to test the boundaries or experiment. It is not tradition to use force, rather to rely on cultural values to provide guidance in what is correct and appropriate and how to respond to inappropriate behaviour. For example, graffiti and tagging could be addressed with tikanga. The value of whanaungatanga could mean introducing the tagger offender to the owner of the property that has been tagged and develop a relationship so that the owner becomes like kin to the offender. Manaakitanga could mean developing the teh tagger offenders understanding of collective wellbeing.

Furthermore, these situations provide an opportunity to learn. The inappropriate behaviour should be identified, an explanation provided as to why it was unacceptable and any damage or harm it may have caused, and the proper action discussed. Learning the consequences provides the opportunity to prevent the same behaviour from happening again. If this behaviour is continued then it can be assumed that it is intentional. The potential for learning is dependent on the response the Māori youth receive when they have acted inappropriately, the opportunity they get to learn from their mistakes and the support and resources provided to do this. Unfair or strict boundaries will often provoke a rebellious response, whereas logical negotiated rules and routine create stability. Such phrases as “what did you do (wrong) now?” assume a negative response and undermine the opportunity for youth to respond positively and take responsibility and learn from their own mistakes.

This should also include alternative means of communication and expression. Humour is sometimes used as a means of engaging with Māori youth and relating serious issues in a way that they can understand. Reverting to humour is also sometimes a coping mechanism for Māori youth in adverse situations. Other forms of engagement include performing arts and the fine arts may be required.

Policies and strategies relevant to Māori youth should therefore incorporate a pā harakeke approach as opposed to an individualistic approach. A funding tool that includes a collective approach may be useful so that adequate resources and time are allocated to working with Māori youth and their support network and so that the people who do this work are recognised accordingly.

## **Conclusion**

An examination of the participants' capacities revealed their individual capacity for the development of āhukatanga and tikanga. The examples provided by the participants have some similarities to the descriptions of āhukatanga and tikanga provided in the Māui pūrākau as well as some new contemporary influences. They illustrated potential, were forward thinkers, demonstrated resilience, were innovative and humble. The participants were considered to represent a small but growing percentage of the Māori youth population who participate confidently in both te ao Māori and New Zealand society. They utilised tikanga to establish positive relationships, to develop integrity, to act responsibly and to avoid unsafe or risky practices. Māori youth have commonalities with Māori and with youth. Tikanga and āhukatanga were relevant, appropriate and meaningful to their positive development and the realisation of their potential.

The usefulness of āhukatanga and tikanga were dependant on a facilitative developmental environment which for these youth was one in which culture was affirmed and modern youth preferences were valued. The challenge now is how to create a facilitative developmental environment that provides the supports and resources critical to positive development and the realisation of potential for the diverse population of Māori youth. An approach is required that integrates the most relevant aspects of Māori development and youth development. It needs to be incorporated into international youth development discourse and prioritised in the goals of Māori development. In doing so, it will bridge the divide that currently exists. This approach should inform strategies and policies that concern and effect Māori youth development.

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# Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Recommendations

## Summary of Chapters

Chapter one introduced the topic and the research question: is tikanga a basis for the positive development of Māori youth? It outlined the research objectives; to identify significant values and aspirations of Māori youth, to determine the relevance of tikanga to Māori youth development and to outline strategies for the realisation of the aspirations of Māori youth. It located Māori youth within the wider groupings of te ao Māori and the youth community. In doing so it also contextualised Māori youth development in the broader contexts of Māori development and youth development. Significant issues and influences for Māori youth that distinguish them from other cultural or age specific groups were also discussed.

A Māori perspective of youth was discussed in chapter two. The Māui pūrākau provided a culturally appropriate template for the analysis of Māori youth development. Relevant tikanga – the broad principles or values that underpin Māori perspectives, were identified; these were whanaungatanga (relationship building), mana (integrity), manaakitanga (responsibility) and tapu (prohibitions). Key āhuetanga – characteristics exhibited by individuals, were also examined; these were māia (potentiality), ahu whakamua (forward thinking), manawanui (resilience), ihumanea (innovation) and māhaki (humility). These provided the basis for an affirmative approach to contemporary Māori youth development.

Chapter three discussed the broader contexts of the goals of Māori development and youth development theory. The goals of Māori development - to participate in te ao Māori, and the wider society are relevant to Māori youth today, but not specifically focussed on them. Recent research in youth development theory has begun to acknowledge the significance of culture in the positive development and resilience of youth. However, this has not yet been applied within New Zealand with Māori youth. This chapter highlighted the limitations of the broader theories that impact on Māori youth development. The lack of a dedicated Māori youth development approach was addressed further on in chapter six.

Chapter four explained the research process. The approach used was culturally appropriate and relevant to Māori youth. Tikanga relevant to youth informed the methodology which located Māori youth experiences and realities at the centre of the study. Participants were recruited using whakawhanaungatanga with already established social networks. Hui privileged the participant's voices and preferences and created a safe and comfortable environment. Mahi whakawhanaungatanga helped to create a whānau environment. An advisory whānau provided guidance during the study and tikanga guided ethical aspects.

Chapter five presented the participants' responses from the hui. They were collated into two categories: tikanga and āhuetanga. Each category had specific examples: whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga and tapu, and māia, ahu whakamua, manawanui, ihumanea and māhaki respectively. The participants offered contemporary illustrations of these in their everyday actions. The chapter concluded that the incorporation of tikanga and āhuetanga can provide the basis for a Māori centred approach to positive youth development.

Chapter six analysed the participants' responses and the relevant literature on Māori development and youth development. It highlighted similarities and differences between the development perspectives and the participants' responses. The limitations of the current theories and strategies that inform Māori youth development demonstrated the need for a dedicated approach to Māori youth development. Kia Tipu te Rito o te Pā Harakeke was offered as a Māori focused approach for positive Māori youth development. The challenge now is to make use of these findings to inform policy and validate the current initiatives.

## **Recommendations**

The research leads to recommendations in three key areas: the development of a dedicated Māori youth development approach, changes to current policy and practice, and the need further research.

### **Māori Youth Development Approach: Discussion**

The dearth of research and literature on Māori youth development and the limitations of relevant theory highlight the need for a dedicated Māori youth development approach. Such an approach should reflect the realities and experiences of Māori youth today that distinguish them as a unique grouping. It also needs to be relevant, appropriate and meaningful and consider the influences on Māori youth.

This thesis has highlighted an approach for the positive development of Māori youth - one founded on tikanga and āhuetanga Māori. The broader contexts of youth development and Māori development have been considered alongside the only current New Zealand Māori youth development relevant document, the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa.

A dedicated Māori focused approach should be incorporated into current policy and practice. The incorporation of cultural constructs in policy and practice has proved successful in improving outcomes for Māori in other social policy areas. This is evident in Māori models of practice in education<sup>58</sup> and health<sup>59</sup>. Furthermore, where previous policies have had a

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58 Te Kawa o te Ako model of learning in whare wānanga, Te Whariki in early childhood education.

deficit focus or have not adequately recognised Māori youth, these should be reviewed and changed accordingly.

### **Recommendations**

1. A dedicated approach to Māori youth development be adopted. It should incorporate:
  - a. An affirmative approach to Māori youth;
  - b. Culturally derived constructs that are relevant to Māori youth;
  - c. Diversity and expression of Māori youth;
  - d. Relevant youth development theory;
  - e. Relevant Māori development goals.

### **Policy and Practice: Discussion**

The key stakeholders of Māori youth development include; Māori and iwi organisations, the private sector and Government agencies. More specifically it includes the Ministry of Youth Development, the Ministry of Māori Development and the agencies most associated with wellbeing such as the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education. Past government policy specific to Māori youth appear to have been mainly linked to health (Kia Tipu te Ora o te Taitamariki, 2001), education (Ka Hikitia, 2008) and implementing the mainstream youth development strategy (E Tipu e Rea, 2001). Māori and iwi initiatives for Māori youth include for example: education (whare kura, scholarships), mentoring (Te Huarahi o te Ora mentoring project), te reo Māori (Ngā Manu Kōrero) and leadership (Young Māori Leaders Conference).

Currently, there is an ad hoc and piecemeal approach to Māori youth development initiatives by Māori, government and other agencies. A coordinated approach is required that incorporates the key stakeholders of Māori youth development. This will require a formal capacity where Māori – particularly youth - can participate in Māori youth development policy and practice. It is not a question of setting up a structure in opposition to the State. An independent Māori capacity for leading Māori youth development is necessary so that development is collaborative. The State should continue to play a major supportive role in Māori youth development policy, and responsibility should also be assumed by whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations.

There will also need to be development of Māori youth workers in order to implement such policies and strategies. Training in Māori youth development will need to be provided and recognised as a valued occupation both within the tertiary/academia sector and the workforce. This may require development of qualifications that address the needs of Māori youth and positions that cater specifically to Māori youth.

Māori youth development needs to be given greater emphasis and focus in long-term strategic plans. This will include dedicated funding, resources and support. A Māori capacity for participation in policy, a dedicated focus on Māori youth development, adequate resourcing, coordination and collaboration will make Māori youth development policy and practice more effective and efficient.

### **Recommendations**

1. A coordinated approach to Māori youth policy and practice be implemented. It should incorporate perspectives from relevant State agencies, and key Māori and tribal stakeholders;
2. A dedicated forum within which Māori, particularly youth can discuss and plan policy and practice be established. This will afford whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori greater recognition.
3. A collaborative and inclusive approach be taken.
4. Iwi should give greater priority to youth development initiatives.
5. Adequately resourced by both Māori and the State.
6. Professional training in Māori youth development.

### **Further Research: Discussion**

The findings of this research have implications for theory, policy and practice in Māori youth development, and other sectors that influence the development of Māori youth. However, the qualitative nature of the research and the relatively small numbers of participants limited the applicability of the findings. For example, there are other tikanga and āhuatanga relevant to youth that were not included. The relevance of other cultural constructs will need to be further investigated in other research. Studies will also need to expand the participant number and the sample criteria so that Māori youth from other backgrounds are represented.

The overall lack of research with youth in New Zealand and in particularly with Māori youth on issues of positive development highlights a need for a significant investment in Māori youth research. A more comprehensive research and planning portfolio needs to be developed. Innovative research approaches that are culturally appropriate and relevant to youth are also required.

### **Recommendations**

1. A dedicated Māori youth development research capacity and a Māori youth development research fund should be established.
2. Further research be undertaken to investigate the positive development of Māori youth. The research should be: culturally appropriate, relevant to youth, innovative and beneficial to the participants.

These recommendations come at a time when a newly appointed National government is facing change in the economic environment with the recession as well as an increased awareness of the potential and need for investing in people. Treaty of Waitangi claims are also coming to a closure with most iwi forecasting to be settled with the Crown by 2015. The monies from these claims will also be largely put towards investing in people. This presents opportunities for the government and for iwi to work collaboratively to provide the resources and support for more effective Māori youth development policy and research.

## **Conclusion**

The participants exhibited āhuatanga – characteristics and tikanga – cultural values illustrated in the Māui pūrākau. These distinguished them from other youth and other Māori and highlighted the need for a dedicated development approach that addresses the realities, experiences and diversity of the Māori youth population. The participants also confirmed the relevance of cultural constructs to contemporary contexts. Cultural narratives are constantly being explored for tested solutions to contemporary challenges.

Māori have endured many challenges such as colonisation, alienation, marginalisation, assimilation, urbanisation and globalisation. Māori youth of today need to be able to adapt to the new influences in the same way that the early Māori settlers successfully overcame the challenges of a young Aotearoa. Māori youth need to be able to positively participate in te ao Māori, New Zealand society and the wider global community.

Māori youth cannot be developed solely within a class at school, or a youth initiative, or even a Kura Kaupapa Māori - although these can provide sound starting points. It is not just the responsibility of government departments, Māori organisations, sporting institutes or parents to provide a facilitative developmental environment. The provision of an environment that is conducive to Māori youth development requires a multifaceted approach and an actual shift in societal views that recognise Māori youth.

This research is important because it examines new ways of understanding and engaging with Māori youth and cultural ideologies. The participants have provided a social critique and insightful solutions to the social issues that they experience. Māori youth have innovative perspectives and solutions. They draw on Māori and contemporary youth culture to help navigate to success in their daily lives.

The positive development of Māori youth and the full realisation of their potential have huge benefits for te Ao Māori, New Zealand society and the international community. It enables Māori youth to positively participate in each setting. The youth of today are the

leaders of tomorrow. The wellbeing of today's Māori youth will determine the wellbeing of the future generations of parents, neighbours, leaders, teachers, role models and citizens.

Unuhia te rito o te harakeke, kei hea te kōmako e kō?

Whakataerangitia - rere ki uta, rere ki tai

Ui mai koe ki ahau he aha te mea nui o te ao?

Māku e kī atu he tangata, he tangata, he tangata!

Mā te kākanō, ka tipua

Mā te tipua, ka puawaitia

Mā te puawai, ka puta ngā hua

ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama

Tihei Mauri ora!<sup>60</sup>

If youth in our community are not developing positively how will this effect society?

It will affect all of us and our future

Ask me what is of most importance?

I assert it is youth, it is youth, it is youth.

Infants develop into children,

Children develop into youth,

Youth should be supported to develop positively and realize their full potential to become contributing citizens to society<sup>61</sup>.

---

60 Literal translation: Remove the heart of the flax bush

And where will the bellbird sing?

Proclaim it to the land; proclaim it to the sea,

Ask me what is the greatest thing in the world?

I will reply, it is people, it is people, it is people!

From the seed comes growth,

From the growth comes blossom

From the blossom come fruits brought into the world, the world of today.

61 Author's interpretation

## Glossary

Ahu	Towards, to move in a particular direction
Ahu whakamua	Foresight
Āhuatanga	Quality, characteristic, attribute,
Aroha	Love
Aroha ki te tangata	Love for people
Hine-nui-te-pō	Goddess of death
Ihumanea	Innovative
Kai	Food, to eat
Kaiako	Tutor, teacher
Kanohi kitea	A face seen
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Karakia	Prayer, to pray
Karanga	First call to welcome guests onto a marae
Kaua e māhaki	Do not be boastful
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not disrespect a person
Kaumātua	Grandparent, elders
Kaupapa	Agenda, issue, reason, purpose
Kaupapa Māori	Cultural ideology
Kete	Basket, container
Kīanga	Saying
Kia piki te ora o te taitamariki	To raise the wellbeing of Māori youth
Kia tūpato	Be cautious or careful
Kōhanga reo	Language nest, Total immersion Māori language early learning
Kōrero	Speak, talk
Kotahitanga	Consensus decision making
Kupu hou	New words
Kura kaupapa Māori	Total immersion Māori language primary education
Māhaki	Humble
Mahuika	Goddess of fire
Māia	Potentiality
Mana	Influence, power, integrity, authority

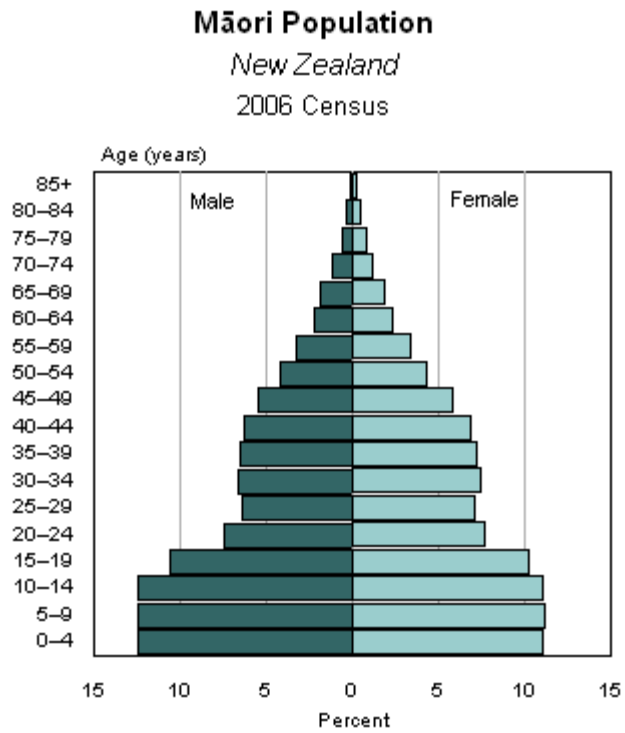
Mana atua	Spiritual authority
Mana moana	Authority derived from association to the sea
Mana tangata	Human authority
Mana whenua	Authority derived from association to the land
Manaakitanga	Responsibility
Manawanui	Resilience
Manu Kōrero	Annual Regional and National Māori Secondary Schools Speech Competitions
Māori	Normal, ordinary
Mātauranga	Education
Mihimihi	Welcome/greetings
Mōteatea	Traditional chants
Murirangawhenua	Māui's grandmother
Ngākau	Heart
Ngākau māhaki	Generous
Ngāpuhi	Tribe who descend from Rāhiri and whose geographical boundaries are in the top part of the North Island of New Zealand
Noa	Free, unrestricted, safe
Oriori	Lullaby
Pakeke	Adult
Pōtiki	Youngest (of a family)
Pōwhiri	Welcome ceremony
Puawaitanga	Blossoming, development
Pūrākau	Narratives
Rāhui	Sanction, prohibit, ban, restrict
Reo	Language
Taha Hinengaro	Mental/emotional domain (component of health)
Taha Tinana	Physical domain (component of health)
Taha Wairua	Spiritual/cultural domain (component of health)
Taha Whānau	Social/cultural domain (component of health)
Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi	Sun deity
Tāne-mahuta	A Māori deity
Tāne-nui-a-rangi	A Māori deity
Tangi(hanga)	Funeral
Tapa	Naming ceremony



Tapu	Sacred, restricted, risky
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Tika	Correct, right
Tikanga	Values, principles, ethics
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination
Tīpuna	Ancestors
Titiro	Look
Tohi	Naming ceremony
Tūrangawaewae	Place of standing
Waiata	Song, to sing
Whaea	A term used to refer to women of the older generation with authority
Whaikōrero	Speech
Whakamua	Infront, to the fore
Whakapapa	Biological kinship system, genealogy
Whakarongo	Listen
Whakataukī	Proverbial saying
Whānau	Family, traditionally extended kinship relations, contemporary form includes non-kin relations
Whanaungatanga	Relationship building
Wharemoa	Passive
Whare kura	Total immersion Māori language secondary schooling
Whare tangata	Womb, place of procreation
Whare wānanga	Māori tertiary education institute
Whenua	Land, placenta

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Figure 1. Age structure of the Māori population



Statistics New Zealand, 2006

## Appendix 2: Information sheet

### Tikanga Māori and positive Māori youth development

E ngā reo o tēnā kāinga, nei rā te reo mihi e rere atu nei ki a koutou. Ki ngā tini mate o ngā kāinga maha kua haere ki tua o te ārai, haere, okioki mai rā. E te hau kāinga o Manawatū, ko ngā tini whetū ki te rangi, ko Rangitāne ki te whenua, tēnā koutou katoa. Ko Felicity Ware ahau. He uri nō Rāhiri ahau, ko Te Ahuahu te marae, ko Ngāti Whakaheke te hapū, ko Ngāpuhi te iwi. Nā reira, ngā mihi, ngā mihi, ngā mihi.

E te hunga taiohi! Ever wondered how Maui's trickster traits made him a legend?

I am inviting you to take part in an exciting new research project. I myself am a student, studying at Massey University completing a Master of Arts (Māori Studies). As part of this qualification I am required to complete a student research project. I have chosen to look at positive Māori youth development. This research will explore tikanga Māori and positive development.

I would like to get together a group of senior Māori high school students to talk about what is important to them, what their aspirations are, their thoughts on tikanga Māori, and look at ways for them to realise their dreams.

I am looking for students who are interested in taking part in this exciting opportunity. You must of Māori descent, 16 years or over and still at school. I need 4 young women and 4 young men. The project will involve about 4 meetings of about 1 hour each in length. These meetings will be recorded. Help with transport to and from the venue will be provided. You will be rewarded for your time and effort and most importantly, fed as well. If you think this is you or would like to know more information about this project, please contact myself or voice your interest to my research supervisors Julia Taiapa & Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata.

#### **Contact details**

Researcher: Felicity Ware

Phone: 06 353 0278

Cell phone: 0273267045 (text's are good)

Email: [F.J.Ware@massey.ac.nz](mailto:F.J.Ware@massey.ac.nz)

Please take your time to consider taking part in this research. Feel free to talk it over with others Please do not hesitate to contact me.

Nā reira, i runga i ngā mana o tēnā, o tēnā, o tēnā, mauri ora, kia ora tātou katoa. Nāku noa,

Nā Felicity Ware

Ngāpuhi nui tonu

Master of Arts (Māori Studies), Massey University

**Appendix 3: Participant consent form (English and Māori)**

**Tikanga Māori: a basis for positive Māori youth  
development**

**PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

**This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years**

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio/video taped.

I wish/do not wish to have the audio-visual material returned to me.

I wish/do not wish to have data placed in an official archive.

I agree/do not agree to leave the information presented in the Māori language without translation into English.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

**Signature:**

**Date:**

.....

.....

**Full Name - printed**

.....

# Tikanga Māori: hei tūāpapa mō te whanaketanga pai o ngā rangatahi Māori

## Puka whakaae mō ngā kaimahi

Ka pupurihia tēnei puka whakaae mō te wā o ngā tau e rima (5).

Kua pānui e au te pānui whakamārama, ā, kua mātua whakamārama mai ki au ngā āhuatanga o te rangahau nei. Kua whakautua pai, kua ea āku pātai katoa, ā, e mārama ana au ka taea tonu te pātai atu i te wā katoa.

E whakaae ana/ Kāore au i te whakaae kia hopukina ngā kōrero ki runga rīpene hopu reo.

E hiahia ana au/ Kāore au i te hiahia kia whakahokia mai ki au ngā rīpene katoa.

E hiahai ana/ Kāore au i te hiahia kia tukua ngā kōrero hei pūrongo mā te katoa.

E whakaae ana/ Kāore au i te whakaae kia waiho ngā kōrero i te reo Māori me te kore whakapākehātanga.

E whakaae ana au kia uru atu ki te rangahau nei i raro i ngā tikanga o te pānui whakamārama.

**Tō hainatanga:**

**Te rā:**

.....

**Tō ingoa**

.....

**Appendix 4: Confidentiality agreement (English and Māori)**

**Tikanga Māori: a basis for positive Māori youth  
development**

**CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT (focus group)**

I ..... (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project:

Tikanga Māori: a basis for positive Māori youth development

I will not retain or copy any information involving the project or other participants.

I will not discuss any of the information gathered during the focus group sessions with anyone who is not involved with the project.

**Signature:**

**Date:**

.....

.....

# Tikanga Māori: hei tūāpapa mō te whanaketanga pai o ngā rangatahi Māori

## Te whakaaetanga kia noho tapu (mō ngā kaimahi)

Kei te whakaae au ko ..... (tō ingoa)

ki te āta pupuri i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te rangahau nei:

*Tikanga Māori: hei tūāpapa mō te whanaketanga pai o ngā rangatahi Māori*

Kāore au i te tango mai, i te kape rānei ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te rangahau nei.

Kāore au i te whākī atu ki ngā tāngata kāore i te whakauru mai ki te mahi rangahau nei ngā kōrero kua puta i ngā wā whakawhiti kōrero.

**Tō hainatanga:**

**Te Rā:**

.....

.....

**Appendix 5: Transcribers confidentiality agreement (English and Māori)**

**Tikanga Māori: a basis for positive Māori youth  
development**

TRANSCRIBER'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I ..... (Full Name - printed) agree to  
transcribe the tapes provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them, other than those  
required for the project.

I will not translate any Māori language text into its English equivalent.

**Signature:**

**Date:**

.....



# Tikanga Māori: hei tūāpapa mō te whanaketanga pai o ngā rangatahi Māori

## Te whakaaetanga kia noho tapu (mō te kaiwhakawhiti ā-tuhi)

Kei te whakaae au ko ..... (tō ingoa)

ki te whakawhiti ā-tuhi ngā rīpene hopu reo ka homai ki au.

Kei te whakaae au kia āta pupuri i ngā kōrero ka homai ki au.

Kāore au i te whakapākehā i ngā kōrero Māori ka puta.

Kāore au i te tango mai, i te kape rānei ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te rangahau nei, atu e nga mea mō te mahi nei.

**Tō hainatanga:**

**Te Rā:**

.....

## Appendix 6: Participant questionnaire

### He uiui ā-tuhi mō ngā taiohi /Participant questionnaire

Tēnā koe mō tō kōwhiringa kia uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau kia titiro ki ngā tikanga Māori me te whanaketanga pai o ngā taiohi Māori. E whai ana tētahi uiui ā-tuhi poto rawa kia mōhio ai ko wai koe. Kaua e whakamā ki te whakautu i ēnei pātai. Heoi, kei a koe te tikanga kia karo i ngā pātai nei. Mēnā he māharahara, he pātai rānei tāu e pā ana ki tēnei uiui ā-tuhi, whakapā mai koa ki au, ki te kaiwhakahaere rānei.

Thank you for choosing to participate in this research project to explore tikanga Māori and positive Māori youth development.

The following are some questions about you so that I can contact you and get to know a little about each of you.

Please do not feel intimidated by the questions. However, you have the right to decline to answer any of these questions. If you have any worries or questions please contact me or my supervisor.

#### Contact details:

Researcher: Felicity Ware

Phone: 06 3530278

Cell phone: 0273267045

Email: [F.J.Ware@massey.ac.nz](mailto:F.J.Ware@massey.ac.nz)

Primary Supervisor: Julia Taiapa

Work phone: (06) 356 9099

Email: [J.Taiapa@massey.ac.nz](mailto:J.Taiapa@massey.ac.nz)

Secondary Supervisor:

Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata

Work phone: (06) 356 9099 ext 2830

Email: [K.Walsh-Tapiata@massey.ac.nz](mailto:K.Walsh-Tapiata@massey.ac.nz)

Ngā ara whakapā atu ki a koe /Your contact details			
Ingoa tuatahi /First name:		Ingoa whānau /Last name:	
Waea /Phone:		Waea pūkoro /Cell phone:	
Wāhi noho /Address:			
Īmera /Email:			
He kōrero mōu /About you...			
Ō tau /Age:			
Iwi /tribe:		Waka /canoe:	
Hapū /subtribe:		Maunga /mountain:	
Marae:		Awa /river:	

## Ngā pātai

Kōwhirihia koa kia kotahi te whakautu, ā, porowhitahia  
/please choose one answer and circle

He aha te taumata o tō reo Māori, ki a koe?  
/How do you describe your ability in te reo Māori?  
(0 = kore reo /no knowledge, 5 = matatau /fluent)  
He kōrero anō? /Any comments

Kei te pēhea tō kōrero i te reo Māori, ki a koe?  
/How do you describe your use of te reo Māori?  
(0 = kāore i te kōrero /never used, 5 = kōrero i ngā wā  
katoa /used all the time)  
He kōrero anō? /Any comments

Kei te pēhea ō mōhio ki ngā tikanga Māori?  
/How do you describe your knowledge of Māori culture?  
(0 = kore mōhio /no knowledge, 5 = mātua mōhio /very  
knowledgeable)  
He kōrero anō? /Any comments

Kei te pēhea ō whakamahi i ngā tikanga Māori?  
/How do you describe your practice of Māori culture?  
(0 = kore whakamahi /no practice, 5 = whakamahi i ngā wā  
katoa /practice all the time)  
He kōrero anō? /Any comments

Ngā taumata/ scales					
0	1	2	3	4	5
0	1	2	3	4	5
0	1	2	3	4	5
0	1	2	3	4	5

## **Appendix 7: Interview schedule**

### **Interview schedule**

#### **Focus group 1**

1. He aha ngā mea tūhono/pūmau ki a koe? He aha ai?

What are the things most important to you? And why?

2. He aha ēnei mea te uara me te tūmanako?

What are values and aspirations?

3. Hei aha ai?

Why are they important?

#### **Focus group 2**

1. He aha ēnei mea ngā tikanga Māori?

What are tikanga Māori? (Refer to user-friendly explanation of tikanga Māori)

2. Kei te hāngai tonu ngā tikanga Māori ki ōu uara, tūmanako hoki? Kei te pēhea?

Are tikanga Māori relevant to your values and aspirations? And how?

#### **Focus group 3**

1. Ka aha koe ki te tutuki i o tūmanako?

What are you going to do to reach your aspirations?

2. Ka pēhea te huarahi (ki te tutuki i o tūmanako)?

How will this be accomplished?

3. Kei te hāngai tonu ngā tikanga Māori ki te tutuki i o tūmanako? Kei te pēhea?

Are tikanga Māori relevant to the realisation of your dreams? And how?

4. Tēnā, ki ōu whakaaro, kei te hāngai tonu ngā tikanga Māori ki te whanaketanga pai o ngā taiohi?

Therefore, do you think that tikanga Māori are relevant to youth development?

#### **User-friendly explanation of tikanga Māori**

Tikanga Māori are values and principles

These values and principles form how we behave, act, what we do

This is also called the right or Māori way of doing things. For example: the value of

Manaakitanga – looking after one and other (providing for your guest - can be food, shelter, a shoulder to lean on, an ear to listen, advice etc)

## Appendix 8 Table 1: Collation of questionnaire

Table 1. Collation of the answers given by the 8 participants (3 females, 5 males) in the self-report questionnaire on knowledge and use of te reo Māori and tikanga.

	0 no knowledge or use	1	2	3	4	5 fluent knowledge or use
Knowledge of te reo Māori		1 male	1 male	1 female	3 males, male	2 females
Use of te reo Māori	1 male	1 male	1 female	1 female, 3 males	1 female	
Knowledge of tikanga		1 male		2 males	3 females, 2 males	
Use of tikanga			2 males,	1 female, 1 male	2 females, 2 males	
Totals	1 (male)	3 (males)	4 (3 males, 1 female)	9 (6 males, 3 females)	13 (6 females, 7 males)	2 (2 females)

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