Negotiating multiplicity: Macro, meso and micro influences on the ethnic identifications of New Zealand secondary school students

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Abstract

In New Zealand, the number of people who identify with more than one ethnic group is increasing. This is particularly true for adolescents and for those whose identifications include Māori or Pacific Islands ethnic groups. However, there is little understanding of what identifying with multiple ethnicities means for individuals. This research examined the multiple ethnic identities of senior secondary school students (aged between 16 and 18 years), by focusing on how they identified themselves, what decisions formed the bases of their identifications, and what influenced their identifications at three interconnecting levels: the macro (state) level, the meso (institutional) level, and the micro (family and individual) level.

A mixed methods research approach was employed, including a nation-wide survey and fieldwork in one South Auckland secondary school. The fieldwork methods were participant-observation, interviews with students who identified with more than one ethnic group, and a photo elicitation exercise. Through these methods, data were collected that gave a broad understanding of multiple ethnic identifications for New Zealand adolescents, and a deep and multifaceted explanation for one group of participants.

This research explored the ways that the participants negotiated their multiple ethnic group identifications, despite macro, meso and micro pressures towards singularity. It examined macro-level influences on ethnic group data collection and the ways that ethnic group identifications are shaped and constrained by data categorisation protocols. It looked at the meso-level influences of the research school on students' ethnic identities. The school focused on cultural identity and provided opportunities for students to participate in cultural activities and speak their languages. It examined the micro level influences of family and individual decision-making around identities, and the way that the participants maintained multiple ethnic group identifications, despite family experiences that might encourage them to focus more strongly on a single identity. This research explored the complex and nuanced ways that ethnic identifications are constructed at each of the three levels, for adolescents who identify with multiple ethnic groups.

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Glossary

’Afakasi	‘Half-caste’, person with heritage from multiple ethnic groups
Ako	Teaching and learning, reciprocal learning
Aroha	Love, compassion
Fanau	Family
Fonuamalu	“A safe shelter”, the Tongan bilingual unit at Kia Aroha College
Haka	Dance, performance, war dance
Hapū	Sub-tribe, kinship group
Hui	Meeting, gathering
Iwi	Tribe, nation
Kaea	Leader of a haka
Kafa	Tongan belt or tie
Kai	Food
Kapa haka	Māori performance group
Karakia	Prayer
Karanga	Ceremonial call of welcome
Kaumātua	Elder, person of status
Kaupapa	Philosophy, collective vision
Kia Aroha	Through love
Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga	Mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties
Kimiora	“Seeking life or well-being”, the Cook Islands Maori and general unit at Kia Aroha College
Kīngitanga	The Māori King movement

Koha	Gift, contribution, reciprocity for being involved in research
Kōhanga reo	Māori-language early childhood centre
Kōrero	Speech, conversation
Koro	Grandfather
Kura	School
Kura kaupapa Māori	School based on Māori ideology, customs and philosophy, and using te reo Māori as the medium of instruction
Lumana'i	"Future", the Samoan bilingual unit at Kia Aroha College
Ma'ulu'ulu	Tongan sitting dance
Māori	Indigenous person of New Zealand
Marae	Meeting place or courtyard, also often used to refer to the complex of buildings around a marae; home of a particular hapū or iwi
Mātauranga	Knowledge
Mau rākau	Māori martial arts
Mihi	To greet, acknowledge, thank; speech of greeting
Minus	Cook Islands potato salad
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Palagi	"White" person
Pānui	Notices, announcement
Pōwhiri, pōhiri	Welcoming ceremony
Rangatiratanga	Chieftainship, autonomy, authority, leadership, self-determination
Reo	Language, Māori language
Ta'ovala, kiekie	Traditional Tongan skirt
Tangata whenua	People of the land, indigenous people
Tangi	Mourn, funeral (shortened form of tangihanga)
Taonga	Treasures
Taonga tuku iho	Cultural aspirations, heritage
Tau faka-Niua	Tongan sailors' dance

Te reo	The language, Māori language
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te Whānau o Tupuranga	"Future generations", the Māori whānau unit at Kia Aroha College
Teina	Younger sibling or cousin of the same gender
Tikanga	Values, beliefs, practices, protocols
Tuakana	Older sibling or cousin of the same gender
Tuakana-teina	Being a role model, helping peers and younger students, taking on leadership roles
Tupuranga	Growth
Tūrangawaewae	Iwi territory or homeland, place where a person has the right to stand
Wānanga	Meeting, discussion, conference; related to learning and the passing on of knowledge
Whakairo	Carving
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb, saying, motto
Whānau	Family, extended family
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, sense of family connection
Whare	House, building
Wharekai	Dining hall, part of a marae complex
Wharekura	Māori immersion secondary school
Wharenui	Meeting house, part of a marae complex

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is about people who identify with more than one ethnic group, why they choose to do so, and what this means for them in their everyday lives. It explores the practices of multiple ethnic group identifications for one group of participants, despite pressures from social institutions to prioritise one ethnic group. It focuses on senior secondary school students, as adolescents are considered to be interested in questioning and examining their ethnic identities (Burton, Nandi, & Platt, 2010; Phinney, 1992), and are exposed to ethnic group diversity in their schools and communities (Webber, 2012). The topic grew out of observations in the academic literature on ethnicity: that multiple identifications are becoming more frequent in New Zealand, especially for young people and for people for whom one of their ethnic identities is Māori (the indigenous population of New Zealand) or a Pacific Islands group (Kukutai & Callister, 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2014). It also grew out of observations I was making in my work life.

I am employed as a research officer at the Institute of Education at Massey University. Part of my job involves designing and administering surveys to students and teachers and other education stakeholders to gather data for various research projects. Given that ethnicity is an important factor in ensuring that educational provisions meet the needs of all students, these surveys often include a question asking for the respondents' ethnic groups. Over the years, I have found that the ethnicity question is the one that generates a lot of comments—respondents use the 'other' comment box of an electronic survey or the margins of a paper-based survey to complain about the question or to write a long and detailed explanation of how they identify themselves and why. Asking for a person's ethnicity is not a straightforward question, as people resist being put into simple boxes.

I remember the director of one research project instructing me to "follow the Statistics New Zealand protocol" and rank the people who had ticked multiple boxes, so that "Māori come first, then Pasifika, then Asian, then Other, and finally European". At the time I obediently did as I was told, but I recall feeling uncomfortable about it. Who was I to be making decisions about which box someone should go in? Was it a box they would choose for

themselves? Was ethnicity really that simple, that you could follow a flow chart and end up with the right number of people in each category? And why was I trying to clump people together into such general categories? Pursuing this thesis topic was a way of exploring these questions, and digging beneath ethnic categories to find out what influenced people's identifications and what impact their ethnic identifications had on their lives.

The prioritisation to which my project director was referring was the way that ethnicity data from the census was treated in New Zealand up to and including the 2001 Census (Callister, 2004a; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). It has since been abandoned by Statistics New Zealand because of the increasing incidence of people identifying with multiple ethnic groups, and because prioritising a person's ethnic groups on their behalf contradicts common understandings in New Zealand that ethnicity is based on self-identification (Statistics New Zealand, 2004). Other government agencies, such as the Ministry of Education, do still use prioritisation to reduce the multiple ethnic groups reported by school students to one group per student (Ministry of Education, 2017). The Ministry of Education (2017) collects and prioritises ethnic group data so they can monitor student "participation, retention and achievement by ethnicity" (p. 38), and so they can ensure that attention and resources are focused on ethnic groups who are not achieving as well as they could. What the Ministry does not articulate in their explanation is that they find ethnic group data easier to manage, and student achievement easier to report by ethnicity, when each student appears in only one ethnic group category.

In New Zealand there are ongoing debates among academics and those involved in collecting demographic survey or census data over the way ethnicity should be conceptualised and measured (Callister, 2004a; Statistics New Zealand, 2004). This is particularly contentious for those people who identify with more than one ethnicity. If ethnic categories are prioritised and limited to one per person, this has implications in terms of resource provision and policy development for the ethnic groups whose numbers are hidden by such prioritisation (Kukutai & Callister, 2009).

More importantly, people are classified into ethnic groups by official agencies without a clear understanding of what ethnicity means for those people or why they choose to identify with a specific group or groups. Kukutai and Callister (2009) argue that "in New Zealand we have little understanding of why people record more than one ethnic group, or what such responses are signalling" (p. 21). Similarly, Callister, Didham, and Kivi (2009) found that "we still know very little about how people construct their ethnicities in New Zealand and how this construction may be changing over time or in differing contexts, and what the

nature of the relationship between these changes may be" (p. 5). In an international context, Parker and Song (2001) agree that "as demographic patterns shift, there is an urgent need to reflect on the meaning of 'mixed race'"[1] (p. 2). There is a need for quantitative research to understand how people respond to questions about their ethnic identifications, and qualitative research to unpack the meaning behind people's ethnic identifications and to make sense of the complexity in the ways people construct ethnicity.

Theoretical framing of the thesis

Ethnic identity involves a sense of belonging to or membership of a distinct, bounded ethnic or cultural group. An influential definition of an ethnic group is a group of people who share a common culture, ancestry, history, or place of origin, and feel that they belong together (Smith, 1986). This thesis conceptualises ethnic identity as socially constructed, as fluid and dynamic, as relational, as changeable over time and according to context, as something that can be multiple, and as something that individuals identify for themselves as well as something that is ascribed by people both inside and outside their ethnic group(s) (Barth, 1969, 1994; Callister, 2004a; Callister et al., 2009; Nagel, 1994; Sökefeld, 1999; Song, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 2009). While ethnic identity is viewed as based on self-identification, or how individuals choose to identify themselves, identity choices are not completely free. Choice is constrained by the identity options open to an individual, based on their biological heritage or ancestry, and based on the cultures to which they are exposed (Bell, 2004b; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b).

Anthropological theories of ethnicity view the boundaries between different ethnic groups, what makes someone a member or not a member, as the most vital part of ethnic identity (Barth, 1969). This understanding is linked to issues of power and self-determination. Ethnic groups can be seen as "entities [that] arise and define themselves as against others also engaged in the process of development and self-definition" (Wolf, 1994, p. 6). Anthropologists such as Wolf (1994) and Sökefeld (2001) have argued that ethnic groups only have meaning when viewed as part of a network of other ethnic groups who have more or less access to power and resources.

[1] Parker and Song (2001) choose to use the term 'mixed race' when writing about people from multiple ethnic backgrounds in the United States and British contexts. They conceptualise 'race' as a social construction, but at the same time make use of the term to draw attention to the continuing power of racism.

Barth (1994) argues that in order to understand ethnicity, the experiences of individuals are key. The first site of learning about ethnicity is the family. However, the construction of ethnic identity for individuals is more complex than just being a result of learning about cultural practices and values from their families and replicating these practices and values in their daily lives. "Family socialization can no longer—certainly not in a modern Western society—be assumed to be the fount of all knowledge, skills and values, or to provide the only experiential base from which identity is forged" (Barth, 1994, p. 15). Instead, individuals are influenced by a variety of other factors. When people are exposed to different environments and different sets of influences, for example, at school or church, through friends or workplaces, then shifts in ethnic group identifications can occur. Through these experiences, individuals are exposed to new possibilities that they may use to add to or broaden their identifications (Unterreiner, 2017).

Barth (1994) has theorised that there are three interconnecting levels that operate to tell individuals what ethnicity is about and to shape and maintain the boundaries between ethnic groups: the micro or individual level, the median or institutional level, and the macro or state level. Researchers such as Keddell (2006) and Rocha (2016) have used this idea to look at the influence of narratives or discourses at each level on individuals' ethnic identities. Narratives about ethnicity operate at each level, telling people what ethnicity is and how it should be experienced. Rocha (2016) argues that ethnic categories, or the labels we give to groups of people, do not reflect an objective reality about the world. Instead they reflect the dominant narratives in a society, saying something about who has power to define who is and is not in a group, and who is marginalised from that power. Ethnic group categories are not the same as the lived realities of people's ethnic group identifications.

The study of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups helps to uncover the ways that these three levels operate to shape and constrain ethnic identity. Researchers can learn from individuals as they grapple with how to describe themselves in terms of ethnicity, as they discover that they do not fit into the categories that are available to them at the macro level, or they find that the way they express themselves culturally at home is not understood by people they encounter at school, in the community or in the workplace. Multiplicity challenges ideas that ethnic groups are an objective reality, are common sense, and are fixed and unchanging (Rocha, 2016). People can and do identify in more than one way at the same time. These three levels, macro, median or meso, and micro, provide the organising structure for this thesis. Chapter Four explores macro level ethnic group categorisations, Chapter Five looks at micro level family influences on identity, and Chapter Six examines the meso level influences of one secondary school.

Macro level

The macro level relates to the state or societal level of ethnic identity construction. Callister et al. (2009) define the macro level as the "broad frameworks that underpin the economic and political composition of society" (p. 9), whereas Keddell (2006) describes the macro level as "the wider, structural level of society, including historical context, laws, political environment, cultural values and attitudes" (p. 47).

Macro level narratives about ethnicity in New Zealand include the right to self-identify, that ethnicity is based on cultural experiences, and that people can identify with multiple ethnic groups (Callister et al., 2009). However, there are also strong tendencies to understand ethnicity as a matter of descent or ancestry, and to view ethnicity as biological and transmitted from parents to children through genetics. Ideas of race, of a genetic or biological basis for ethnicity still exist (Rocha, 2012), as does the notion that a person's ethnicity can be determined from their skin colour and physical features. Despite the rhetoric of choice and self-identification, ethnicity is understood as something 'out there' to be counted and categorised through tools such as the national census and other data collecting mechanisms. People's ethnicity responses are aggregated and condensed into ethnic categories, that then become part of the knowledge about a society: that a certain percentage of people are one group and a certain percentage are another group, that power and authority tend to belong to one ethnic group, that members of the numerically dominant group get to define the culture of a nation, and that certain hidden privileges adhere to members of the dominant group. As a result, individual ethnic identity choices are constrained at the macro level by the notion that people fit into discrete ethnic groups (Keddell, 2006).

Other influences on identity at the macro level in New Zealand include the societal values of equality, social justice and biculturalism (Callister et al., 2009). The New Zealand government recognises the different ethnic groups that constitute New Zealand society, and affords the same rights to all groups. The government also recognises that Māori hold special status under the Treaty of Waitangi[2] as the indigenous population of New Zealand, which includes explicit policies of Māori representation in parliament and access to resources in order to redress imbalance. This imbalance is part of the legacy of colonialism

[2] The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and New Zealand iwi. The Treaty recognised the rights of settler and indigenous groups and laid the foundations for biculturalism in New Zealand (Lourie, 2016).

in New Zealand, where Māori experienced the suppression of their language and culture, and the restriction of their legal rights (Durie, 2005).

Meso level

The median level, or meso level, relates to the institutional level of ethnic identity construction. Because both Keddell (2006) and Rocha (2016) have been influenced by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of human development, they use the terminology 'meso' for what Barth (1994) called the median level. I have opted for the term 'meso' as well.

Rocha (2016) refers to the meso level as an 'in-between space' that connects state or macro level narratives to personal stories of identity formation. "As the institutions and communities linking the state to the individual, meso-level structures reveal the interconnections and dissonances between the individual and societal levels" (Rocha, 2016, p. 11). Researchers can examine the ways that institutions seek to actively encourage or discourage ethnic identity and culture (Callister et al., 2009). Personal stories and reasons for ethnic group identifications, taught to individuals through the cultural practices and socialisation activities of their families, are further shaped by their experiences as they come into contact with other ideas and values at the meso and macro levels (Keddell, 2006; Rocha, 2016).

Narratives about different ethnic groups in operation at the meso level can have a powerful positive or negative impact on individuals. Institutions such as schools have a history of positioning their students as either academically capable or likely to fail, based on their ethnic group affiliations (Bishop, 2012). As Webber (2012) argues,

> When the social expectations of a racial-ethnic group are of laziness, irresponsibility, low intelligence and even violence, as they are for Māori, […] the outcomes can be toxic because they impact psychosocial functioning and the way individuals behave in the world. (p. 22)

One school in particular, Kia Aroha College in Auckland, New Zealand, provided an example for this thesis of the way that a school can challenge state level ideas about education and what matters in student learning. Kia Aroha College shaped its teaching and learning philosophy around the cultural identity of its students, and taught students in culture-centred units. The school helped its students to value and respect their ethnic backgrounds, and provided opportunities for students to learn about and participate in their cultural practices.

Micro level

Keddell (2006) situates the state at the macro level, institutions and community organisations, such as schools or churches, at the meso level, and the individual and family influences at the micro level. Rocha (2016) differs, locating the family at the meso level rather than the micro level. In this research it made more sense to consider the individual and family together, and examine the impact of meso and macro narratives on the identities that individuals had adopted within the micro level socialisation influences of their families.

At the micro level, understandings of ethnic identity focus on the experiences of individuals, and the interactions between those experiences and the messages transmitted to individuals by their families and other members of their ethnic groups (Barth, 1994; Keddell, 2006; Rocha, 2016). Identity construction at the micro level includes both family socialisation and individual experiences that may be different from, or conflict with, family understandings of ethnicity (Barth, 1994).

These micro level identity formation processes are the same for people who identify with multiple ethnic groups and for people who identify with a single group—they are all individuals making sense of their experiences and their families' understandings of ethnicity to construct their own identities. However, people who identify with multiple ethnic groups also encounter a variety of different narratives about what multiplicity means, and strong societal pressures towards maintaining a single identity (Rocha, 2012, 2016; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). Stephan and Stephan (2000b) have argued that one source of this pressure is surveys and censuses that do not allow respondents to select more than one ethnic group. Another pressure comes from societal expectations that people will gravitate towards one primary ethnic group identity. Rocha (2012, 2016) argues that in New Zealand, while multiplicity and fluidity in ethnic identifications is officially recognised in state discourse, common-sense understandings still also view a single ethnic group as the norm.

Narratives at the micro level often assume that individuals who identify with multiple ethnic groups have a weaker sense of ethnic identity or are less committed to their groups (Agee & Culbertson, 2013), that they lack authenticity in their ethnic identity (Nagel, 1994), that they do not truly belong to any of their groups (Rocha, 2012), or that they are at psychological risk of depression, low self-esteem, anxiety, and identity conflicts (Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). Contradictions abound: on the one hand it is assumed that people who could identify with more than one group cannot be mentally healthy unless they acknowledge and embrace all of their cultures (Keddell, 2006), or it is assumed that people

will be more mentally healthy if they make a choice to focus on one ethnic group at the expense of the others (Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). However, as Keddell (2006) argues,

> It is important to recognise once again that just because of a child's ancestry, they do not necessarily have to adopt an identity that is congruent with that. […] It is easy to slip into essentialist and even racist theorising if we say that a child *must* identify equally with both or only one ethnic group in order to be 'healthy'. (p. 55, original emphasis)

At every level, macro, meso and micro, identifying with a single ethnic group is often the easy path and is encouraged in various ways. At the macro level, official data collection tools encourage the notion that people fit into discrete ethnic categories. At the meso level, through institutions such as schools, individuals are categorised into single ethnic groups as funding and resources are attached to ethnic group counts, and academic achievement is reported according to ethnic group populations. At the micro level, assumptions that the psychological health of individuals depends on them having a clear and straightforward ethnic identification, or assumptions that people cannot authentically participate in the cultural activities of more than one group, encourage individuals to choose between their ethnic groups. However, despite the pressures towards singularity, identifying with multiple ethnic groups is common (Callister et al., 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 1989, 2000a, 2000b) and increasing (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This thesis examines why individuals choose to identify with multiple groups, as was the case for 27.2% of the survey respondents and the five fieldwork participants.

The specific research questions asked by the thesis are:

- How do adolescents in New Zealand identify themselves in terms of ethnicity?
- What decisions form the bases of their identity choices?
- How are ethnic identifications influenced at the macro, state level?
- How are ethnic identifications influenced at the meso, institutional level?
- How are ethnic identifications influenced at the micro, individual or family level?

The research context

Migration to New Zealand

The incidence of people reporting multiple ethnic identities in New Zealand is increasing (Kukutai & Callister, 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Understanding this phenomenon, and understanding what it means for people to identify with more than one ethnic group, requires an understanding of the forces that are bringing diverse groups and cultures into contact so that they can be mixed (Parker & Song, 2001). These forces include migration, and the resulting sexual relationships and marriages (Barth, 1969; Bell, 2004a; Nagel, 1994).

There have been several different waves of migration to New Zealand. The first wave was the Māori people, travelling from unknown parts of the Pacific approximately 1,000 years ago. They became New Zealand's indigenous population (Callister & Didham, 2009). European settlers began arriving in the early 1800s, looking for land and opportunities that were not available to them in Europe. Until the mid-twentieth century, the vast majority of people migrating to New Zealand came from Britain and Ireland and parts of western Europe (Callister & Didham, 2009; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009).

In the years following the Second World War, there was a rise in migration from the Pacific as people arrived in New Zealand seeking work and educational opportunities for their children (Macpherson, 1996). Asian peoples initially came to New Zealand from the mid 1800s as part of the gold rush, and more recently in the 1980s and 1990s when the New Zealand Government relaxed immigration laws (Callister & Didham, 2009; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). Currently, New Zealand is experiencing a rise in settlers and refugees from Africa and the Middle East (Callister & Didham, 2009). The 2013 New Zealand Census shows just how many people currently living in New Zealand are recent settlers: 25.2% of the population were born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

The Clover Park context

Parts of Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, have been particularly impacted by this increasing pattern of migration. The fieldwork phase of this research took place at Kia Aroha College, a secondary school located in Clover Park, a suburb in the south of Auckland. Kia Aroha College teaches students from Year 7 (approximately 11 years of age) to Year 13 (approximately 18 years of age). Kia Aroha College will be described further in Chapter Three and in Chapter Six. As Chapter Three explains, the school's Board of Trustees has given explicit permission for the school to be named in this thesis.

Clover Park is a small area within Ōtara, a suburb of South Auckland. At the last New Zealand census in 2013, Clover Park had a population of 4170 people. It is predominantly made up of people from Pacific Islands ethnic groups (73.8%). Fewer people come from Māori (17.3%), Asian (14.6%) or European (10.2%) backgrounds. It has a large migrant population, with 40.8% of residents having been born overseas. The demographic make-up of Clover Park is very different from the Auckland region as a whole or the New Zealand population, where people from European backgrounds make up the majority (see Table 1).

Table 1: Ethnic group and place of birth for individuals living in Clover Park, compared to Auckland and to New Zealand

	Clover Park	Auckland Region	New Zealand
Ethnic group			
European	10.2%	59.3%	74.0%
Māori	17.3%	10.7%	14.9%
Pacific Peoples	73.8%	14.6%	7.4%
Asian	14.6%	23.1%	11.8%
Middle Eastern, Latin American, African	0.3%	1.9%	1.2%
Other	0.2%	1.2%	1.7%
Place of birth			
Born in New Zealand	59.2%	60.9%	74.8%
Born overseas	40.8%	39.1%	25.2%

Note: Each ethnic group includes all people who selected that group, whether or not they also selected another ethnic group. This means that the percentages add up to more than 100%. These data are drawn from the 2013 Census data tables, available at archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/data-tables/meshblock-dataset.aspx.

Clover Park has a youthful population: the median age is 26.9 years, compared with 35.1 years for the Auckland region and 38 years for New Zealand overall. It is a low-income area: 27.2% of households earn $30,000 or less per year and the median family income is $50,900 per year. The median family income in Auckland is $78,600 per year, and for New Zealand overall it is $72,000 per year.

South Auckland, of which Clover Park is part, is impacted by negative stereotypes portrayed in the news media. The media represents South Auckland as a place of poverty, unemployment, crime and violence. As Allen and Bruce (2017) argue, "South Auckland has become identified in the popular imagination as a 'brown' place—a high risk, tough area of crime, poverty and violence, where dysfunction, disorder and gangs are commonplace" (p.

231). Members of the South Auckland community are engaged in work that attempts to disrupt and revise these stereotypes, including writers and artists from Pacific Islands backgrounds (Fresno-Calleja, 2016), and students from schools such as Kia Aroha College (Milne & Student Warrior Researchers, 2015, 2017). However, these myths still persist, in part because they tap into the fears of dominant Pākehā[3] New Zealand society and reinforce the idea that Māori and Pacific Islands groups are different and a threat to the 'normal' (or Pākehā) way of life (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009).

Researcher positioning

It is important to acknowledge the role of the researcher in a research project, and the assumptions brought to a study (Kukutai & Webber, 2011). In research about ethnic identity, I need to position myself in terms of ethnicity.

I identify as Pākehā. My choice of the term 'Pākehā' is very deliberate—I prefer it to any of the other possible terms, such as 'European', 'New Zealand European', 'New Zealander', 'Kiwi' or 'white'. I am not European—I have never been to Europe, nor do I feel any kind of connection with Europe as a place of origin. My family has been in New Zealand for many generations, with one branch arriving in the 1840s and the other arriving in the 1870s, so long ago that there is no living family memory of life in England. I do not use the national identity terms 'New Zealander' or 'Kiwi', as they are not specific enough to describe me: many different people from many ethnic backgrounds also consider themselves to be New Zealanders. I reject the term 'white', as it feels too laden with racist overtones. I prefer 'Pākehā', as it is a term that is unique to New Zealand, and it describes people like me who have European heritage yet were born and raised in New Zealand. I like that Pākehā is a te reo Māori (Māori language) word for my ethnic group, as it conveys to me a right to inhabit this country, given to me by the tangata whenua, the indigenous people of New Zealand.

My ancestors, those I know about, came from England, Oxfordshire and Sussex in particular. Paterson (2012) points out that the majority of the white colonial settlers in New Zealand were from England, rather than Scotland, Wales, Ireland or other parts of Europe. As such, English culture became the "main ingredient of the emerging Pākehā culture" (p. 124). Its status as the culture of the dominant population of New Zealand today has meant that English-now-Pākehā culture has pervaded New Zealand society. Being Pākehā in New

[3] 'Pākehā' refers to New Zealanders of European descent, the numerically and socially dominant ethnic group in New Zealand (Spoonley, 1988).

Zealand feels very unproblematic. Major public holidays are based on a Christian, European tradition of Christmas and Easter. The news media is steeped in a Pākehā sensibility. The education system is based around Pākehā values. The medical system draws from a Western biomedical model of health. The majority of television programmes are imported from other Western, English-speaking countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom or Australia. The legal system and the political system are adaptations of British traditions. Our head of state is also the Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

A further reason for identifying as Pākehā comes from a recognition of it being the dominant group in New Zealand—the white mainstream culture. I am very aware that I occupy a position of privilege, and while it is something I am not especially comfortable with, it is something I acknowledge. I know that mainstream New Zealand society is set up to my advantage, and I am aware of the roots of that advantage in the colonial relationship between Pākehā and Māori. I recall the first time I was confronted with that realisation: at secondary school there was a Māori boy in my classes (the top stream classes at my school), who quietly disappeared after a couple of years. He was very bright and very academically capable, yet for reasons I couldn't fathom at the time, he left school at age 15. It took me a long time to realise that what seemed so easy and so straightforward, uncomplicated, and common sense for me, might not have made sense to him. The school did not reflect his Māori culture in any way. I suspect he had to come to school and become a different person in order to get by in that environment. For me, my home and school experiences were complementary and therefore much easier.

My research

While I currently work in educational research, my 'home' discipline is social anthropology. All of my theoretical training took place within anthropology. For that reason, this research is framed as an anthropological study, although it intersects with other discipline areas such as sociology, education and psychology.

My research focused on senior secondary students who identified with more than one ethnic group. I chose to conduct a nation-wide survey to gather data on the respondents' ethnic identity choices. Data from the survey allowed me to examine how the participants responded to open and closed questions about their ethnic groups, the impact of categorisation schemes on these data, and the bases of the participants' identifications. The survey responses also allowed me to identify participants at one particular school where their ethnic identities were being fostered and supported by the school's ethos and

organisational structure. That school became the site for the fieldwork component of my research. These two methods—survey and fieldwork—enabled me to collect data that gave a broad understanding of the research area, and data that gave a deep and multifaceted explanation for one group of participants. The mixed methods research design will be explained in full in Chapter Three.

The fieldwork involved multiple visits to the school over a period of six months. The first visit enabled me to meet the Year 13 students who would become the research participants, and gain a familiarity with the school setting. I was able to establish rapport with the students and their teachers and principal. The second and third visits were spent conducting interviews with the five Year 13 students who identified with multiple ethnicities. During the first interview, we discussed each participant's family background and experiences related to their ethnicities. This interview also served as a way of strengthening their familiarity with me. The second interview made use of photo elicitation. We discussed photos that the participants had taken of things at home and at school that were important to them in terms of their ethnic identities. The fourth and final visit to the school took place at the time of the school's end-of-year celebration and prize giving. Not only was I able to observe and celebrate the achievements of the students, I was also involved as a participant by the school leaders—they asked me to present some of the prizes. Data from the fieldwork component of the research allowed me to examine the influences of institutions such as families and schools on ethnic group identifications.

Anthropological research

The research I have conducted for my thesis is atypical for anthropology. Large-scale surveys are not common in anthropological research, and my fieldwork visits to the school do not fit the typical anthropological model of an extended stay and in-depth involvement in the everyday lives of the community. My choice of survey and fieldwork methods needs to be explained and situated in the history of anthropological research. The following discussion outlines 'traditional' anthropological research, changes in the discipline that occurred in the 1960s to 1980s, and a more recent questioning of method in anthropology. It also provides a justification for the use of a survey and for the way I have gone about conducting fieldwork.

Ethnographic fieldwork

Traditionally, anthropological research was conducted through ethnographic fieldwork. This involved the anthropologist living with a group of people (who were 'other'—culturally and geographically removed from the anthropologist's own people) for months, even years at a time. During this period, the anthropologist would record the minutiae of their everyday lives, in order to produce 'total ethnography', a complete description of the culture or society (Marcus & Cushman, 1982).

This style of fieldwork is often referred to as 'Malinowskian', after Bronislaw Malinowski, one of the founding fathers of British anthropology. Malinowski was also the first person to use the term 'participant observation' to describe this particular type of immersive fieldwork (Erickson & Murphy, 2008; Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001). In this tradition, the difference, or 'otherness', of place and people is emphasised (Holmes & Marcus, 2005). Conducting fieldwork has been thought of as "the key symbol, initiatory rite, and method of anthropology" (Holmes & Marcus, 2005, p. 1104). Fieldwork is what marks out a piece of research as anthropological and is the process by which researchers are turned into anthropologists.

Prior to the 1960s, fieldwork and ethnography were seen as unproblematic. The 'rules' of fieldwork that were established by Malinowski in the 1920s were elaborated and extended in subsequent years of anthropological research, but remained intact over that period. Fieldwork ideally involved participant observation in a bounded community or group, a lengthy stay, in-depth involvement, and use of the indigenous language. It would result in a written account—an ethnography (Barnard, 1990).

Critiques of anthropology and ethnography

Beginning in the 1960s, the discipline of anthropology experienced a critique of fieldwork and ethnography that came from the subjects of anthropological research (Barnard, 1990), and a critique of anthropology's role in colonialism that came from inside the discipline (for example, Asad, 1973; Fabian, 1983; Said, 1979). These critiques challenged anthropology's self-defined role of describing and explaining other cultures. They also highlighted anthropology's role in the colonialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Anthropology was complicit in smoothing the way for colonial rule: it was understood that "to avoid colonial struggle—race conflict, indigenous revolt—one should follow a colonial strategy based on anthropological knowledge and planning to achieve the desired evolutionary progress cheaply and without bloodshed" (Pels, 1997, p. 164). Because of these criticisms, it became more difficult for anthropologists to gain access to countries and

peoples when their work was viewed with suspicion (Barnard, 1990). Partly as a response to these criticisms, there has been a steady increase in the number of anthropological studies conducted at 'home'. This trend has been noted in Britain (Rapport, 2000) and in the United States (Moffatt, 1992). Jackson's book, *Anthropology at Home* (1987b), contained several papers focused on Europe and countries from other continents.

Several benefits of the move towards anthropology at home have been put forward in the literature. There are new understandings to be found by applying an anthropological lens to societies that have previously been studied through geography, sociology, psychology and economics, it is easier to access sites at home, and it is cheaper and therefore easier to secure funding for research in one's own country (Jackson, 1987a; Marcus & Fischer, 1986; Moffatt, 1992; Rapport, 2000). Jackson (1987a) also makes the point that studying at home is just as valuable and useful as studying a culture that is different from your own: "it was a grave mistake to think that the distant 'savage' had more to give to anthropologists than one's local 'compatriot'; they simply have different types of information to impart" (p. 8).

Subsequently, the 1980s saw a critique of ethnography, called a 'crisis of representation' (Marcus & Fischer, 1986). This crisis was focused on the way fieldwork accounts were written, and the ways anthropologists claimed knowledge of the objects of their research (Marcus & Cushman, 1982). Marcus and Cushman (1982) call the mode of writing that had been employed in previous decades of anthropological work, 'ethnographic realism'. As they explain:

> Realist ethnographies are written to allude to a whole by means of parts or foci of analytical attention which constantly evoke a social and cultural totality. Close attention to detail and redundant demonstrations that the writer shared and experienced this world are further aspects of realist writing. In fact, what gives the ethnographer authority and the text a pervasive sense of concrete reality is the writer's claim to represent a world as only one who has known it first-hand can, which thus forges an intimate link between ethnographic writing and fieldwork. (p. 29)

Realist ethnographies claimed to be descriptions of a whole society, encompassing parts such as kinship systems, economics, politics, religion and geography. The ethnographer was an unseen narrator in the text—so much so that descriptions of fieldwork methods were relegated "to prefaces, footnotes, and appendices" (Marcus & Cushman, 1982, p. 33). Individual people in the society being studied were also hidden, replaced by a generic, composite, stereotypical character. Descriptions of everyday life were detailed and were

framed in such a way as to present (or at least claim to represent) the 'native point of view'. Generalisations about the totality of the culture were then extrapolated from these details. "The particulars of whatever was being investigated (rituals, marriage practices, forms of political organization, etc) were seldom presented in their individuality, but rather were teased into a statement of typicality (a typical ritual, and typical marriage practice, a typical village council, etc)" (Marcus & Cushman, 1982, p. 35). Through these means, the ethnographer sought to establish their authority and legitimacy as an 'expert'.

The crisis of representation was an acknowledgement that the way anthropological research was written up in ethnographies, and the realist literary genre conventions that were used, also served to hide the reality and impact of the researcher's presence. Instead, anthropologists were called upon to rethink how they went about the act of writing (Marcus & Cushman, 1982; Marcus & Fischer, 1986). A range of experimental ethnographies emerged (Marcus & Cushman, 1982). In these new accounts, the experience of doing fieldwork was foregrounded, as was the relationship between the anthropologist and the members of the culture they were studying. The personal reflections of the anthropologist were included to make the account more reflexive.

Crisis of fieldwork

The crisis of representation focused on the writing of ethnography rather than on the research process itself (Marcus, 2002; Marcus & Fischer, 1986). Since the new millennium, however, Marcus and his colleagues have revisited their work on ethnographic writing and have updated their discussion to include a critique of fieldwork. Holmes and Marcus (2005) argue that there is a current 'destabilisation' in definitions of fieldwork: "it is not clear […] what fieldwork is to be experientially […] and what kinds of data it is supposed to generate" (p. 1103). Marcus (2002) argues that anthropology has been making use of only one style or model of fieldwork—Malinowskian participant observation. Marcus believes that traditional fieldwork, with its emphasis on a bounded community of participants living together in one location, is increasingly 'insufficient' to deal with the kinds of research problems being addressed today, in areas such as "science and technology, contemporary politics and political discourses, social movements, NGOs, international organisations, developmental issues, media, and to some degree with art, art markets, and museums" (p. 192). Anthropologists are responding with new fieldwork designs and practices, "mostly as pragmatic responses to being caught in unexpected conditions of research. Such works argue for multiple methods and make a virtue of them, worrying little about the traditional protocols of ethnography" (p. 192). Holmes and Marcus (2005) use the example of their

'multi-sited' ethnography of the European Union, which employed fieldwork that followed the participants from location to location rather than focusing on one core location, to show how anthropologists are experimenting with new styles of fieldwork.

Surveys and statistics in anthropology

While there is some anthropological research that makes use of surveys and statistical analyses, especially small-scale surveys or censuses of a fieldwork site, these methods are not used as often as they are in other social science disciplines (Chibnik, 1985). In fact, since the crisis of representation and the resulting emphasis on the written word as an ethnographic tool (Marcus & Cushman, 1982; Marcus & Fischer, 1986), there has been a reduction in the number of journal articles published in the United States that use quantification or statistics (Chibnik, 1999).

As the discipline of anthropology became more interested in understanding and interpreting other cultures (Geertz, 1973), and less interested in empirical and positivist styles of research, surveys and statistics became unfashionable and were marginalised (Barnard, 2003). The differences between empirical and interpretive approaches became more sharply demarcated (Murdock, 1997), and proponents of quantitative and qualitative approaches became less tolerant of one another. As Murdock (1997) states, "for devotees in empiricism, counting is a kind of communion, revealing truths and insights through the benediction of statistics. This arrogance has been met with an equally truculent rejection of any kind of calculating on the part of many interpretive researchers" (p. 179).

However, despite this interest in interpretive and qualitative approaches to anthropological research, there is also an argument that statistics are increasingly important as anthropologists focus their attention on large-scale societies at home or overseas. Official statistics and large private or publicly funded survey research projects are the only way to gain a broad and systematic description of cultural practices in such societies (Murdock, 1997). Barnard (2003) also finds it useful to remember that "one way in which modern societies know themselves is through statistical forms of knowledge" (p. 125).

Henry Barnard (2003) used a survey in his doctoral research and argued at length for its justification as an appropriate anthropological tool. In particular, he argued that in a society founded on Western values—such as twenty-first century New Zealand—a survey is indeed an 'experience-near'[4] way of understanding a society anthropologically. Members of New

[4] Geertz (1983) defines an 'experience-near' concept as one that is based on local knowledge and is understood by members of the local community, as opposed to an 'experience-distant' concept that

Zealand society are used to completing surveys; people are used to expressing themselves in written form; people are willing to invest a short amount of time in responding to a survey, whereas they might balk at the in-depth and time-consuming nature of interviews or participant observation. In the terms of my study, students at New Zealand secondary schools are used to filling out forms and responding to surveys, and it is a relatively time-efficient way of collecting research data that does not impose too much of a burden on the participants.

One of the reasons that anthropologists may have been reluctant to use statistical methods is related to the "impoverished and inappropriate" understandings of statistics that are held by social scientists (Barnard, 2003, p. 135). Statistical tools are often seen as "inappropriate to the kinds of materials social scientists deal with" (Barnard, 2003, p. 135). Statisticians tend to be looking for techniques and models that help to show causation—inferential models are seen as the epitome of statistical research, where the behaviour of one variable can be predicted by the behaviour of another, related variable. Anthropology, on the other hand, is a descriptive discipline and the kinds of tools that anthropologists would find useful are descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics provide ways of counting instances of a phenomenon and of looking at differences between groups of respondents. It is these kinds of analyses that are useful in anthropology.

Analyses of descriptive statistics are qualitative analyses. It is a misconception that all statistical analyses are quantitative. The kinds of data that an anthropologist might collect through a survey of people's opinions and perceptions tend to be categorical data. They are grouping data such as male/female, or responses to Likert scales such as strongly agree/agree/disagree/strongly disagree. Even though a researcher might assign a numerical code to survey responses, such as '1' for 'male' and '2' for 'female', so that statistical analyses may be conducted, that does not change these data into quantitative data. As Russell Bernard (2006) argues,

> When you assign the numeral 1 to men and 2 to women, all you are doing is substituting one kind of name for another. Calling men 1 and women 2 does not make the variable quantitative. […] Assigning numbers to things makes it easier to do certain kinds of statistical analysis on qualitative data, […] but it doesn't turn qualitative variables into quantitative ones. (p. 47)

relies on expert knowledge or specialist jargon. As an example, Geertz (1983) explains that "'love' is an experience-near concept, 'object cathexis' is an experience-distant one" (p. 57).

If surveys and statistics are appropriate tools to use to gain an anthropological understanding of a society, then we should not be afraid of using them. While anthropology is traditionally associated with participant observation, sociology with questionnaire surveys, psychology with experiments, and so on, "methods belong to all of us" (Bernard, 2006, p. 2). Bernard's (2006) statement serves as a reminder that there should be no ownership over particular methods, and any appropriate method is available to be used in any discipline. No method is exclusively used by only one discipline.

My approach

What I am advocating for is a mixed methods approach to anthropological research. When surveys are used by anthropologists, they are never used as the sole means of data gathering. The results from surveys need to be seen as providing ideas for further investigation and interpretation, or as a way of confirming and extending understandings. In my research, I have used a nation-wide survey of senior secondary students, followed by intermittent participant-observation fieldwork and interviews with students in one school. The survey allowed me to gain insight into the ways that one cohort of students across New Zealand described their ethnic identities, while the fieldwork enabled me to ask questions about the lived experience of identifying with more than one ethnic group and the impact of school and family on ethnic identities. Both approaches were necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the ways that ethnic identity operates at the macro, meso and micro levels.

My research took place at a time when 'traditional' fieldwork models were being questioned (Holmes & Marcus, 2005; Marcus, 2002). Rather than being the 'multi-sited' fieldwork that Holmes and Marcus (2005) describe, my research might be better termed 'multi-phase' as it involved several distinct visits over a six-month period. The 'traditional' model was inappropriate for me for a number of reasons. Because of family and work commitments, I could not afford the time to spend weeks or months at a stretch away from home. The research was also taking place in a school setting where I could not participate as a student or as a teacher, and where the school principal explicitly invited me for short periods at a time. Short, frequent visits that could fit around the school's timetable were therefore more appropriate. Depth of understanding was instead gained through the interviews and the photo elicitation exercise. The photo elicitation also enabled me to 'see' places and things that were important to the students but lay outside of the school gates. Giving the students a camera and free-rein over what photos to take was a way of empowering the students to choose what was important to them, rather than being guided by me through my questions.

The survey enabled me to collect broad, nation-wide data from across New Zealand, which is a 'large-scale, modern society' (Barnard, 2003; Murdock, 1997). The survey was an appropriate, 'experience-near' method (Barnard, 2003) for school students in New Zealand. The descriptive data from the survey provided another way of illustrating multiple ethnic identities.

Overview of the thesis

This thesis is organised into seven chapters, beginning with this Introduction. Chapter Two discusses the literature on ethnic identity. The different ways that ethnicity is conceptualised, and the impact of these conceptualisations on people who identify with multiple ethnic groups, are explored. These understandings of ethnicity are later used to inform the research findings from the survey (Chapter Four) and fieldwork (Chapters Five and Six).

Chapter Three describes the methodology used to conduct research on young people who identify with multiple ethnic groups. A mixed methods research design was used, incorporating a nation-wide survey and fieldwork in one particular secondary school. The fieldwork methods included participant observation, interviews, and a photo elicitation exercise.

Chapter Four examines macro-level influences on the way ethnicity data are collected and categorised and argues that ethnic group identifications are shaped and constrained by the way ethnicity data are collated. The chapter presents the findings from the survey phase of the research and discusses these in relation to multiplicity. The ethnic groups identified by the 732 survey respondents provide the context for a discussion about the way that ethnic groups are categorised and classified by the state, and an exploration of the different kinds of information received from different ethnicity question types. The respondents' feelings about and bases for their ethnic identifications are also discussed in light of the literature.

Chapters Five and Six present the findings from the fieldwork phase of the research, and discuss the implications of the findings for a group of participants who identified with more than one ethnic group. The five participants identified as Māori-Pākehā, Māori-Cook Islands Maori and Tongan-Fijian.

Chapter Five examines the micro level influence of family and individual decision-making around identities. It discusses the participants' identity choices, over time and according to

context, and their feelings about enacting authentic ethnic identities. The role their families play in shaping ethnic identity is examined, including the way that cultural practices, values, languages and behaviours are taught and enabled. Each of the participants maintained multiple ethnic group identifications, despite family experiences that might encourage them to focus more strongly on a single identity. The interplay of individual identity choices and family messages about ethnicity are explored.

Chapter Six looks at the meso level influence of the research school on ethnic and cultural identities. Kia Aroha College is actively supporting its students to participate in and value their cultural identities. The school has a deliberate, culturally responsive approach to teaching and learning, and this is reflected in the school's structure and learning philosophy. The participants talked about the impact of this approach on their knowledge about and confidence in expressing their ethnicities.

Chapter Seven draws the thesis to a close by answering each of the research questions and discussing multiplicity at the macro, meso and micro levels. It reflects on the value of mixed methods research as an approach for exploring ethnic identifications. The contributions of the research and the limitations of the study are also discussed.

Chapter Two: Conceptualising Ethnicity

Introduction

The way that ethnicity has been conceptualised by social scientists has changed over time, from primordialism to constructionism to a more recent approach based on the insights of the cognitive perspective. The work of Fredrik Barth (1969) in repositioning the study of ethnicity towards a focus on the boundaries between groups was an important moment in this shift. Through his work and the work of those who came after him, forces such as migration, intermarriage, self-identification, social ascription, and the classification and categorisation activities of nation-states have been recognised as shaping the boundaries of ethnic groups.

In New Zealand, the government agency responsible for collecting census data—Statistics New Zealand—has been influential in developing understandings of ethnicity for this country. The New Zealand conceptualisation is atypical in the world as it based on self-identification with an ethnic group or groups, it is based primarily on cultural affiliation rather than biological heritage, and it allows for identification with multiple ethnic groups (Callister et al., 2009).

The numbers of people identifying with multiple ethnicities is increasing, both in New Zealand and internationally (Kukutai & Callister, 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2014). People with access to multiple heritages and multiple cultural experiences choose to express their identifications in a number of different ways for a number of different reasons. Factors influencing ethnic identification include ancestry, cultural exposure, a sense of belonging to the group or groups, recognition as a member by other people both inside and outside the group, and the political and social acceptability of the group itself (Callister et al., 2009; Song, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). In New Zealand, a common way of theorising multiple ethnic identities is through the concept of hybridity (Bell, 2004a, 2004b).

Issues of authenticity and stereotyping also play into people's ethnic identifications. A member of an ethnic group may have the authenticity of their ethnic identity called into question if they act in a way that is different to or challenges expectations (Brubaker, Loveman, & Stamatov, 2004; Kukutai & Webber, 2011; Song, 2003). Markers of authenticity are the cultural practices and behaviours that are considered 'typical' of members of an ethnic group, by people both inside and outside the group. These markers become the basis for including people within the group or excluding non-conforming people from it. It is recognised that questions over the authenticity of their identities can be more of a problem for people who identify with multiple ethnicities (Nagel, 1994).

This chapter discusses these issues in the conceptualisation of ethnic identity in general, as well as the particular ethnic identities articulated by the participants in this research: Māori identity, Pacific Islands identities, and Pākehā identity. Māori identity is discussed in terms of the traditional markers of cultural competence, alongside the way these markers have been adopted and adapted in a more fluid and evolving understanding of Māori identity, particularly by Māori youth. The status of Māori as the indigenous population also adds a layer of complexity to Māori identity. Pacific Islands identities are often collapsed together into a pan-ethnic understanding of the Pacific, yet the many different Pacific Islands ethnic groups are not homogeneous. There are also generational differences between the older migrants to New Zealand and the younger, New Zealand-born generation. Lastly, understandings of Pākehā identity are contested in New Zealand. The term Pākehā itself is resisted by a large portion of the population, but adopted by others as a way of showing a relationship to New Zealand or to Māori, or as a way of expressing solidarity with biculturalism.

The chapter focuses on different ways of conceptualising ethnicity. It begins by discussing how ethnicity is understood by the discipline of anthropology, followed by the classification and categorisation activities of states and how these activities shape ethnicity. Official conceptualisations of ethnicity in New Zealand are then explored, as they provide both the context for this study and an interesting counterpoint to international understandings of ethnicity. The chapter then discusses multiple ethnic identities, and the different ways of understanding multiplicity. Finally, Māori identity, Pacific Islands identities, and Pākehā identity are discussed.

Anthropological approaches to ethnicity

This thesis is focused on ethnic identity. The discipline of anthropology views identity in general, and ethnic identity in particular, as fluid and dynamic, as concerned with difference and plurality, as socially constructed, as negotiated, and as defined and produced through interactions between members of a group (Nagel, 1994; Sökefeld, 1999). It is malleable and changeable over time and according to context (Sökefeld, 1999; Song, 2003).

The most well-known anthropological theory of ethnicity was put forward by Fredrik Barth in 1969. Barth's introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) has been called an 'important' and 'classic' piece on the anthropological study of ethnicity (Vermeulen & Govers, 1994). Barth's work signalled a paradigm shift in understandings of ethnicity (Verdery, 1994) away from the idea that ethnicity is fixed, static, reified and essentialised towards a view where ethnicity is fluid and socially constructed (Barth, 1994). Barth was not the first person to argue that ethnic identities are flexible, changeable and dependent on context[5] (Verdery, 1994), but he helped these ideas to gain widespread acceptance in anthropology.

Barth's (1969) key insight was to focus on the boundaries between ethnic groups and the processes of boundary maintenance. He argued that ethnic groups should be seen as a form of social organisation, rather than cultural organisation; that it is the boundaries between groups that are important, not the "cultural stuff" (Barth, 1969, p. 15) that they enclose; and that who belongs to an ethnic group is a matter of social ascription and self-ascription, or being identified by others and identifying oneself as a member of the ethnic group. Barth's conceptualisation of ethnicity represented a move away from thinking of culture as the central defining feature of an ethnic group. Instead, culture was seen as the result, the outcome of ethnicity. Barth (1994) later argued that "the cultural differences of primary significance for ethnicity are those that people use to mark the distinction, the boundary, and not the analyst's ideas of what is most aboriginal or characteristic in their culture" (p. 12).

[5] Max Weber developed a much earlier understanding of ethnic groups as subjective, based on affiliation between group members, and based on negotiated understandings of what it means to be a member of the group. Weber's book *Economy and Society* was first published in German in 1922, then translated into English during the 1960s. He argued: "We shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists" (Weber, 1978, p. 389).

Boundaries between ethnic groups operate to determine who is a member of a group and who is not. In discussing Barth's theory, Nagel (1994) emphasises that there are many forces that operate to shape ethnic boundaries. Self-ascription and social ascription are forces that tell a person whether they feel they belong to an ethnic group, and whether other people (both inside and outside the group) accept them as a member of that ethnic group. State policies on immigration, resource allocation and political access also work to shape ethnic groups. People may cross boundaries through mechanisms such as migration or marriage, but the boundaries themselves remain fairly stable over time (Barth, 1969).

Twenty-five years on from his seminal work, Barth (1994) updated his theory to include three levels that work to create and maintain boundaries between groups. At the *micro* level, the focus is on individuals and interactions between people. Ethnic groups are maintained through individuals' lived experiences, daily life and ethnic identity on a personal level. The cultural practices that make up the fabric of everyday life for individuals and their families, such as food, clothing and language, operate at the micro level (Callister et al., 2009). At the *median* level, the focus is on "processes that create collectivities and mobilize groups" (Barth, 1994, p. 21), by which Barth means activities like ideological movements to gain rights and recognition for ethnic groups, along with stereotyping and assumptions about ethnic groups that form the basis of outsiders' understandings of group members. The actions of institutions such as schools in supporting and maintaining ethnic groups are also located at the median level (Callister et al., 2009). At the *macro* level, the focus is on the state. Through activities such as census-taking, modern states tend to create "categorical distinctions" (Barth, 1994, p. 19), or official ethnic groups, out of the wide range of cultural diversity. Government policies that allocate or restrict rights and access to resources also act to shape the boundaries of ethnic groups (Barth, 1994).

Both Rocha (2016) and Keddell (2006) have used a similar framework to analyse their research on people who identify with multiple ethnic groups. They explore individual narratives of ethnic identity, and how these are shaped by understandings of ethnicity at an institutional or meso level, and at a state or macro level. Rocha (2016) argues that people who identify with multiple ethnic groups serve to highlight the interactions between the three levels, as they negotiate the different messages they receive about their mixedness from the state, from institutions and organisations in which they participate, and from their families.

> Despite singular bases for racial categorization, the lived reality of 'mixed' and/or 'unmixed' individuals continues to be infinitely more complex. Mixed

> identities represent the intersection of the biological and the social, and the dissonance between classificatory frameworks and personal identification highlights how individual and state racial projects can overlap, intersect and contradict. (Rocha, 2016, p. 11)

Rocha (2016) advocates for a narrative approach to the examination of multiple ethnic identities, as it places the focus on personal stories and societal messages about identity. These narratives help to reveal what is similar and different about individuals as they negotiate how they fit or do not fit into wider social understandings of what ethnicity is and how it should be experienced. At the micro level, family messages about ethnic group membership and cultural activities shape individual understandings about ethnicity. Institutions such as schools, operating at the meso level, provide opportunities for individuals to encounter different cultural practices and different ways of understanding the world, and to contrast these with their family understandings. Individuals also encounter narratives at the macro level that encourage an understanding that people fit into discrete ethnic categories, through mechanisms such as national censuses. Further detail of these levels of influence can be found in the Introduction to this thesis.

Constructionism and primordialism

Barth's (1969) approach to ethnicity, with its focus on the boundaries between ethnic groups and the ways that ethnicity is constructed by those inside and outside the boundary, has been called a constructionist approach[6, 7] (Barth, 1994; Jenkins, 2008; Nagel, 1994). This model of ethnicity:

> […] stresses the fluid, situational, volitional, and dynamic character of ethnic identification, organization, and action—a model that emphasizes the socially 'constructed' aspects of ethnicity, i.e., the ways in which ethnic boundaries, identities, and cultures, are negotiated, defined, and produced through social interaction inside and outside ethnic communities. According to this constructionist view, the origin, content, and form of ethnicity reflect the

[6] Other terms for this perspective are instrumentalism, as ethnicity is conceptualised in terms of its usefulness to members of an ethnic group (Banks, 1996; Jenkins, 2008), or circumstantialism, as ethnicity is seen as an adaptation to different political or economic circumstances (Brubaker et al., 2004; Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). I have chosen to use 'constructionism' consistently throughout this discussion to avoid confusion.

[7] Cornell and Hartmann (1998) draw a distinction between circumstantialism and constructionism. While circumstantialism views ethnicity as a response to political or economic circumstances, constructionism emphasises the agency of individuals and groups in creating and maintaining their ethnic identities.

> creative choices of individuals and groups as they define themselves and others in ethnic ways. (Nagel, 1994, p. 152)

The construction of ethnicity is a two-way exercise. Ethnicity is both a self-identification by an individual and an acceptance by others that the individual is a member of the ethnic group. Stephan and Stephan (2000a) argue that both are necessary: "individuals cannot sustain an ethnic identity that is not accepted by other societal members" (p. 544).

In the literature, constructionism is described as the polar opposite of 'primordialism', an earlier anthropological approach to ethnicity. Primordialism is the view that ethnicity is a permanent, fundamental, essential, innate part of human nature. It is something that people 'have', that does not change and cannot change over time (Banks, 1996; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996; Jenkins, 2008). Authors often associate the work of Edward Shils (1957) and Clifford Geertz (1973) with a primordial view of ethnic groups (Eller & Coughlan, 1993; Gil-White, 1999; Jenkins, 2008). In the essay, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States" first published in 1963, Geertz (1973) drew on Shil's (1957) concept of 'primordialism' to explain the barrier that 'primordial attachments' (such as kinship, religion, language, race and so on) presented to the emergence of new states in the post-war, post-colonial period. His explanation of primordial attachments demonstrates the primordial perspective:

> By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the 'givens'—or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens'—of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, ipso facto; as the result is not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself. The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time. But for virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a

> sense of natural—some would say spiritual—affinity than from social interaction. (Geertz, 1973, pp. 259-260)

Here, Geertz is arguing that bonds such as kinship, language and custom, that we would today call 'ethnicity', are experienced by people as 'absolute' and 'natural', though their strength can vary between people, between groups, and across time.

However, the juxtaposition between constructionist approaches and primordial approaches can be misleading. Barth (1969) sees ethnic groups as stable and enduring, even as they are socially constructed. Similarly, Geertz (1973), in the above quote, talks about the 'assumed givens' of social life and variations in the strength of bonds, which implies that they are dependent on context. Jenkins (2008) argues that the ubiquity of ethnicity (that it is everywhere) has been confused with 'naturalness' (that it is fixed and innate and indicates essential differences between types of people). "To suggest that ethnicity is ever-present as one of the 'givens' of human social life—or that group identification, for example, is simply part of the human species-specific repertoire, and, thus, 'human nature'—is *not* to endorse any of the arguments of the primordial point of view" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 48, original emphasis). Likewise, Hale (2004) argues that adhering to either a strict primordialist or a strict constructionist approach means that some aspects of ethnicity (such as why it exists and why it is important to people) are not able to be addressed. Hale believes that a cognitive approach, one that draws on psychological research and one that examines the individual in the context of their social world, is more appropriate.

Cognitive perspective

The cognitive perspective represents another paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of ethnicity. Taking a cognitive perspective means treating ethnicity as a way that people view the world, rather than an objective thing in the world that people 'have'. Brubaker et al. (2004) provide a useful summary:

> What cognitive perspectives suggest […] is that race, ethnicity, and nation[8] are not things in the world but ways of seeing the world. They are ways of understanding and identifying oneself, making sense of one's problems and predicaments, identifying one's interests, and orienting one's action. They are ways of recognizing, identifying, and classifying other people, of construing sameness and difference, and of 'coding' and making sense of their actions. They

[8] Brubaker et al. (2004) use these three terms, 'ethnicity', 'race' and 'nation', as representative of one single domain of study. They are all related to notions of ancestry, culture and territory.

> are templates for representing and organizing social knowledge, frames for articulating social comparisons and explanations, and filters that shape what is noticed or unnoticed, relevant or irrelevant, remembered or forgotten. (p. 47)

Proponents of the cognitive perspective suggest that people use categories to simplify and make sense of the world (Brubaker et al., 2004; Hale, 2004), particularly as it is not possible to 'get inside' someone else's head and understand all their motives for acting in the ways that they do. Hale (2004) argues that people are not cognitively capable of dealing with the multitude of pieces of information available in a given situation, so people simplify the information into 'rules of thumb', to which chunks of meaning are attached. This is done to reduce the uncertainty that people might feel in an unfamiliar situation. Brubaker et al. (2004), in much the same argument, discuss how stereotypes about certain groups of people help to make sense of our experiences. Our stereotyped expectations of how people in a group typically behave, or what they are 'like', enable us to "see different things—and treat different cases—as the same" (p. 38). Ethnicity is a particularly salient way of categorising people because the commonly understood markers of ethnicity—language, custom, appearance, cultural or religious symbols, location, and so on—are easy to perceive (Hale, 2004).

The cognitive perspective helps to show that the two positions, primordialism and constructionism, are not mutually exclusive (Brubaker et al., 2004). A cognitive reading of primordialism emphasises that it is the participants in primordially focused research (not the researchers themselves) who view ethnicity as natural and unchangeable. Cognitive research can uncover the mechanisms of thought that lead people to perceive ethnicity in that way. Likewise, the cognitive perspective can help to reframe constructionism. Constructionists argue that ethnicity is changeable according to situation and context, implying that people act strategically to emphasise or deemphasise their ethnicity to suit their needs. Cognitive research shows that this changeability can be an unconscious and automatic response to a situation. Primordialism "can help explain the seemingly universal tendency to naturalize and essentialize real or imputed human differences", while constructionism "can help explain how ethnicity becomes relevant or salient in particular contexts" (Brubaker et al., 2004, p. 51).

Classification and categorisation

All three ways of conceptualising ethnicity—primordialism, constructionism and the cognitive perspective—can be understood as focusing on classification and categorisation (Brubaker et al., 2004). Classification and categorisation are common activities of states, through censuses and other official data gathering practices. Such mechanisms help states to count and monitor their citizens, identify population trends and ensure that resources are allocated to groups in need (Stephan & Stephan, 2000a).

There are several reasons why a state may choose to (or may choose not to) collect ethnicity data through a national census. Morning (2008) draws on the French-language work by Rallu, Piché, and Simon (2004), who proposed four different motivations for the collection of ethnic group data:

1. Enumeration for political control (*compter pour dominer*),
2. Non-enumeration in the name of national integration (*ne pas compter au nom de l'intégration nationale*),
3. Discourse of national hybridity (*compter ou ne pas compter au nom de la mixité*), and
4. Enumeration for antidiscrimination (*compter pour justifier l'action positive*). (Morning, 2008, p. 243)[9]

The first category relates to the domination and control of one group of people by another, through exclusionary policies. Examples include censuses conducted by colonial administrations, apartheid-era South Africa, and the Soviet Union. In the second category, ethnicity data tend not to be collected in national censuses. Instead, the prevalent discourse is one of national identity, national unity and assimilation. Examples here are countries such as modern France and Germany. The third category relates to the valuing of a mixed society, of diversity, and of mixed ethnicities. Countries in Latin America are offered as examples. Finally, the fourth category relates to the collection of ethnic data to enable the specific needs of different groups in the population to be recognised and addressed. The United Kingdom, Canada and the United States serve to illustrate this fourth category (Morning, 2008).

[9] I am grateful to Dr Marie-Pierre Fortier (Université du Québec à Montréal) for help with checking and explaining Morning's (2008) English translation of Rallu et al.'s (2004) original French work.

In New Zealand, the official collection of ethnic group data is framed as contributing to the third and fourth categories. Ethnic group data are collected to help understand diversity and the multi-ethnic nature of New Zealand's population, and to target resources to groups in need. Statistics New Zealand (2004) states that:

> Government departments require ethnicity data to help them understand changes in New Zealand's social landscape so that they are able to target policies and programmes effectively. […] These statistics play a crucial role in a better understanding of the complexities of contemporary New Zealand society and its multi-ethnic composition. The development of policies must reflect the social, cultural and economic needs of New Zealand society. It must also facilitate the delivery of relevant services to ethnic communities and the equitable distribution of resources. (p. 4)

It is not just states that make use of census categorisations. Individuals and groups also make use of these categorisations. At the individual level, identifying with a clearly demarcated ethnic group can be a positive way of affirming oneself and rejecting negative stereotypes and discrimination. At the group level, a strongly defined ethnic group can be a mechanism for self-determination or a way of advocating for the rights of the group (Stephan & Stephan, 2000a).

As people tend to adopt their state's ethnic group labels as their own, official categorisations are viewed as one way that people's ethnic identities are shaped (Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Nagel, 1994). Kertzer and Arel (2002) argue that "the census does much more than simply reflect social reality; rather, it plays a key role in the construction of that reality" (p. 2). Callister et al. (2009) go further, arguing that official ethnic group categorisations help to shape how people see themselves, and in turn official categorisations are shaped by how people self-identify. People self-identify as members of an ethnic group or groups, whilst at the same time being subject to a process of 'othering' where they are classified into groups by other people, institutions and governments. These two forces are dependent on one another. As they argue,

> Firstly, the categorisation of others, as opposed to categorisation of self- or own-group-identification, is fundamental to the notion of ethnicity because it provides a social reference point against which self-identification can be expressed. […] The practice of 'othering' legitimizes perceptions of self in a contrastive sense. Secondly, power and authority have significant influence on the outcome of ethnic categories, especially in the maintenance of a sense of

> belonging. Power and authority is associated with ethnic self-identification in that people will identify with ethnicities with which they have an empathy. When the established groups do not resonate, individuals will tend to seek out other descriptors to define what they see as their ethnicities. (Callister et al., 2009, pp. 10-11)

Censuses and other more frequent institutional data collection activities such as completing official forms, help to perpetuate the notion that people can be categorised into a single exclusive group, and that they share a common collective identity with other members of that group. States' enumeration activities have helped to popularise the idea that "to *have* 'identities' is normal, and that any given person can 'have' only *one* identity of a certain basic kind (ethnic, national, gender)" (Verdery, 1994, p. 37, original emphasis). By classifying people into ethnic groups, states seek to homogenise those groups, describing them in terms of the things they have in common. As Verdery (1994) puts it, "state subjects are most frequently encouraged to have 'in common' (besides their government) shared culture and/or 'ethnic' origin. To institutionalize a notion of 'commonality', however, is to render visible all those who fail to hold that something in common" (p. 45). Through the state's 'homogenising project', in-group similarities are emphasised and differences between groups are highlighted. Difference thus becomes problematised: are there 'real' differences that exist between groups, or is difference something that has been created by the actions of the state?

Not only do ethnic groups become homogenised and distinct through this process, but people who identify with multiple ethnic groups become a 'problem' for a state to 'solve'. Censuses and other official data collection methods often use "forced-choice categories" (Stephan & Stephan, 2000a, p. 545) where respondents are given a limited number of options to express their ethnic identifications. Stephan and Stephan (2000a) find this problematic. They argue that such forced-choice systems collapse and combine diverse ethnic groups into over-arching pan-ethnic groups. Respondents can be left to make a choice between ethnic groups that they do not recognise and that they would not use to describe themselves. In addition, people who identify with multiple ethnic groups are often directed to identify with a single group or identify as 'Other'. In this way, multiplicity is hidden. Bonnett and Carrington (2000) agree that official categories can be ambiguous and often do not take account of people who identify with more than one ethnic group. The list of options available affects how people respond to the categories, especially if they do not recognise those categories as being an appropriate reflection of their identifications. This can lead to feelings of alienation, to poor response rates, or to invalid and incorrect

responses. Likewise, Aspinall (2012) suggests that pre-determined ethnic group categories can be misinterpreted by respondents, particularly if they are not familiar with the terminology being used, and that closed categories cannot capture the full ethnic diversity of the population.

Research has been conducted on the disconnection between individuals' preferred descriptors for their ethnicities and closed, forced-choice ethnic group categories. Bonnett and Carrington (2000), in their research on the collection of ethnic group data as part of the recruitment process for initial teacher education in the United Kingdom, found that 48% of their participants would prefer to choose from different ethnic group categories to those in official use in Britain. In a study on the recording of ethnic groups by general medical practitioners, Pringle and Rothera (1996) used an open-ended question where patients were asked to describe their ethnicity in their own terms, followed by a question that asked the participants to select one of nine categories from the list used by the British census. They found that the self-reported ethnic group matched or very closely matched the census category in only 28% of cases, suggesting that 72% of their participants were not comfortable with the prescribed census categories. During her research with high school students in California, Lopez (2003) gave her participants a survey that included four different questions on ethnicity: an open question, a closed question where students could select only one of eight categories, a closed question where they could select as many of the eight categories as they felt applied to them, and a closed question where they could select as many as they liked from a list of 64 categories. Lopez (2003) concluded that the "various question formats yielded different responses from students; though different does not necessarily mean discrepant, rather, some responses seemed to be more complete or elaborated than others" (p. 955).

These authors all suggest that asking an open-ended ethnicity question, where respondents are able to identify themselves in their own terms, is preferable to limiting people to pre-determined ethnic group categories. Such an approach is more respectful of people's self-identification choices. Stephan and Stephan (2000a) advocate for self-identification questions to be used in research and official categorisations of ethnicity. If it is deemed important to be able to collapse the number of ethnic groups to a few pan-ethnic categories, or to report only one group per person, then Stephan and Stephan's (2000a) preference is that an open-ended self-identification question is followed up by a question asking for the one ethnic group with which the respondent most strongly identifies.

New Zealand conceptualisations

The official New Zealand conceptualisation of ethnicity draws from the constructionist perspective. In this country, ethnicity is understood as something related to people's ancestry, cultural practices, self-identification and social ascription. How people live their lives is more important than any notion of 'blood quantum' or 'race'-based definition (Callister et al., 2009). In New Zealand, the common-sense understanding or operational definition of ethnicity is cultural identity (Kukutai, 2004). Self-identification is also a vital part of New Zealand usage. Because ethnic group affiliation is based on self-identification, it is understood that an individual's ethnicity may change over time (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

The work of Anthony D. Smith (1986) has influenced official understandings of ethnicity in New Zealand. Like Barth (1969, 1994) before him, Smith (1986) argued that ethnic groups do not exist outside of social relationships. Ethnic identity is seen as relational, as something that can be understood only through interactions with other people. It is not a pre-ordained part of some kind of objective reality. Rather, ethnic groups arise as people are "thrown together by circumstances" (Smith, 1986, p. 22), or shared geographical location and shared historical experiences, and share similar ways of interacting with and understanding the world.

Smith (1986) identified six defining features of an ethnic group, which he called a 'working definition' of ethnicity. In Barth's (1969) terms, each of these six features is a way of creating and maintaining boundaries between different ethnic groups. The first, a "collective name" (Smith, 1986, p. 22), helps to establish a sense of community and difference from other groups. The name becomes a symbol for all that is distinctive and characteristic about that group, a symbol that is understood by people both inside and outside the group. The second feature is a "common myth of descent" (Smith, 1986, p. 24), or a shared origin story for the ethnic group. It is the shared understanding of the group's origins, not the historical facts of how the group came into being, that is important. Such a story helps people to understand why they are alike, and why they belong to one group. Third is a "shared history" (Smith, 1986, p. 25). As with the second point above, the important element is the shared understanding of the group's history, not 'objective' reality. Stories and traditions provide links to the past and unite successive generations. Fourth is a "distinctive shared culture" (Smith, 1986, p. 26). Cultural elements, such as language, religion, customs, food, clothes, music, architecture, folklore, laws, and so on, bind people together and differentiate them from other groups. Fifth is an "association with a specific territory" (Smith, 1986, p. 28), or

a place of belonging. This territory might be where the ethnic group currently lives, or it might be where their ancestors came from. The territory might be somewhere people aspire to visit, or it might have become more of a symbolic homeland. Finally, sixth is a "sense of solidarity" (Smith, 1986, p. 29). Having a sense of community or groupness, of belonging together, of having the same goals, is also important.

Statistics New Zealand is the government agency in New Zealand responsible for collecting demographic data about the population. Their official definition of ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2005) draws heavily on Smith's (1986) understanding of ethnic groups. It is unusual among other international definitions in that it is based on the notion of self-identification (Callister et al., 2009) and ethnicity is seen as culturally constructed (Callister & Didham, 2009). It emphasises that people self-identify with an ethnic group and that they might belong to multiple groups. The official definition currently in use in New Zealand is that:

> Ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group.
>
> An ethnic group is made up of people who have some or all of the following characteristics:
>
> - a common proper name
> - one or more elements of common culture which need not be specified, but may include religion, customs, or language
> - [a] unique community of interests, feelings and actions
> - a shared sense of common origins or ancestry, and
> - a common geographic origin. (Statistics New Zealand, 2005, p. 1)

In the New Zealand census, people are able to select as many ethnic groups as they feel adequately express their identity. The list of options are: "New Zealand European, Māori, Samoan, Cook Island Maori, Tongan, Niuean, Chinese, Indian, Other such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan" (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, p. 10). Once the census data have been collated, people's ethnic group choices are reduced to a maximum of six groups per person. When ethnic group membership is reported by Statistics New Zealand, it is reported at the most broadly-defined level: European, Māori, Pacific Peoples, Asian, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American and African), and Other Ethnicity (which includes those people who chose to identify themselves as a 'New Zealander'). Callister et al. (2009) point out that, apart from

Māori, these are not groups that people can select for themselves in the New Zealand census. People are placed in these groups as a result of re-categorisations that occur after the census data have been collected. As such, "they are not strictly 'who we are', but are who statistical agencies group us with. For some people, it is not a grouping they would naturally choose" (Callister et al., 2009, p. 20).

New Zealander responses

The ability to identify as a 'New Zealander', or similar responses such as 'Kiwi', first appeared in the 1986 Census (Cormack & Robson, 2010). Until the 2001 Census, New Zealander-type responses were grouped into the 'European' category, based on the assumption that most people who identified as New Zealanders were of European descent (Callister, 2004b), but that this group were choosing to call themselves New Zealanders because they did not have a sense of affiliation with Europe (Statistics New Zealand, 2004). However, as Allan (2001) has pointed out, "the term 'New Zealander' cannot only be seen in the light of European ancestry. There are also many people who describe themselves as 'New Zealanders' and do not have European descent, white skin or cultural roots in Europe" (p. 12). Other long-standing groups in New Zealand, such as Chinese who have been in New Zealand since the nineteenth century gold rush in Otago, may describe themselves as New Zealanders through a desire to differentiate themselves from more recent migrants from their countries of origin (Callister et al., 2009).

Following a review of the statistical standard for ethnicity in the 2000s, Statistics New Zealand decided that New Zealander-type responses would be grouped into the 'Other' category from the 2006 Census onwards (Statistics New Zealand, 2004, 2005). The reasons for this decision included an understanding that ethnic groups should be self-identified, and if people self-identified as New Zealander, then this should be respected; an understanding that some people objected to the use of 'European' in the ethnic group term 'New Zealand European' and did not feel a connection to Europe; and an understanding that not all people who identified as New Zealander were of European descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2004).

Kukutai and Didham (2009, 2012) have criticised the inclusion of New Zealander as an ethnic group in the census. They believe that 'New Zealander' is more indicative of a national identity than an ethnic identity. Callister et al. (2009) have questioned whether the choice of the term New Zealander is linked to the rejection of specific ethnic group labels or the rejection of labels altogether: "it is known anecdotally that some people chose the label deliberately to express their rejection of other labels (notably in this context New Zealand European and/or Māori), or indeed a rejection of the validity of the concept of ethnicity

entirely" (p. 11). Callister (2004b) has drawn links between increases in the reporting of multiple ethnic groups and increases in identification as New Zealander, arguing that for some people, identifying as New Zealander may be a way of incorporating a range of ethnic heritages into one term.

Categorising and prioritising ethnic group data

Statistics New Zealand reports ethnic group data in two ways: as total response output and as single/combination output. In the first method, total percentages for each group are reported, so when a person identifies with more than one group they appear in each group and the percentages add up to more than 100% (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). In the second method, individuals are placed in one category only and the groups total to 100%. The number of single/combination categories can vary based on the level of detail required. For large sets of data or where more detail is necessary, 15 categories can be reported: "European Only, Māori Only, Pacific Peoples Only, Asian Only, MELAA Only, Other Ethnicity Only, Māori/European, Māori/Pacific Peoples, Pacific Peoples/European, Asian/European, Two Groups Not Elsewhere Included, Māori/Pacific Peoples/European, Three Groups Not Elsewhere Included, Four to Six Groups, Not Elsewhere Included" (Statistics New Zealand, 2005, p. 6). For smaller datasets or where less detail is needed, eight categories can be used: "European Only, Māori Only, Pacific Peoples Only, Asian Only, MELAA Only, Other Ethnicity Only, Two or More Groups, Not Elsewhere Included" (Statistics New Zealand, 2005, p. 6). While these two reporting methods allow people to be categorised into more than one ethnic group, if an individual identifies with two groups from the same over-arching category, for example Samoan and Tongan, they will be classified as belonging solely in the group 'Pacific Peoples'. The nuances of multiplicity are still lost.

Statistics New Zealand is not the only government body that reshapes ethnic group data. The Ministry of Education has a policy of prioritising the ethnicity data collected about school students (Leather, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2012, 2017). According to the Ministry of Education's guidelines (for example, Ministry of Education, 2012, 2017), while schools may collect more than one ethnic group for each student, only one group per student can be reported to the Ministry. Ethnic groups are prioritised so that identification as Māori is the most important, followed by Pacific groups, Asian groups, other ethnic groups, European groups, and finally, those who identify as New Zealand European or Pākehā. Within each overarching ethnic group, further prioritisation occurs. For example, the Pacific Peoples category is ordered so that an identification as Tokelauan takes precedence over an identification as Fijian, followed by Niuean, Tongan, Cook Islands Maori,

Samoan, and finally Other Pacific Peoples (Ministry of Education, 2017). Under the Ministry of Education's prioritisation scheme, recording an identification with multiple ethnic groups is not possible.

The rationale for prioritisation is to monitor "participation, retention and achievement by ethnicity" (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 38) and to ensure that attention and resources are focused on ethnic groups that are not achieving as well as they could. The so-called 'long tail' of under-achievement is disproportionately made up of students from Māori and Pacific Islands groups (Bishop, 2010; Durie, 2005). Through their presentation of ethnicity data, the Ministry of Education ensures that every student who might identify as Māori, whether or not they also have another ethnic identity, and whether or not they identify more strongly with that other ethnic group, is counted as Māori. However, this process results in the under-reporting of students from other, non-Māori ethnic groups in official education statistics, especially Pacific groups and Asian groups (Leather, 2009). Callister (2004a) argues that prioritisation results in one group being given more significance than all others, the preferences of people who identify with more than one ethnic group being excluded, and population figures becoming biased towards the group accorded first priority. The Ministry of Education is prioritising students' ethnicities for benevolent reasons—to ensure that certain groups, especially Māori students, get the resources that they need. However, by so doing, the Ministry may inadvertently be restricting resource provision to other groups of students, such as students from Pacific Islands groups, that it also deems priority learners (Ministry of Education, 2016b).

Multiple ethnic identities

In New Zealand, the number of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups has been increasing. In 1991, 4.9% of the population gave multiple responses to the ethnicity question in the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings[10]. In 2001, the figure was 9.0%, and in 2006 it was 10.4% (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). In 2013, 11.2% of the population identified with more than one ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This trend is particularly apparent among young people and people who identify with Māori and

[10] Recording more than one ethnic *group* has been possible only since the 1991 New Zealand Census (Callister, 2004a). Prior to 1991, the census asked for people to specify their ethnic origins, even at times asking for a specific fraction of blood. The 1986 census did allow people to select one or more ethnic *origin*. Between 1986 and 1991, the terminology changed from origin to group. The intention behind the change was to "capture a person's cultural affiliation rather than the ethnic origin of their ancestors" (Kukutai & Callister, 2009, p. 19).

Pacific Islands groups (Kukutai & Callister, 2009) and among those who were born overseas (Carter, Hayward, Blakely, & Shaw, 2009). Data from the 2013 New Zealand Census[11] show that 22.8% of children (aged between 0 and 14 years) identified with more than one ethnic group, as did 53.5% of Māori and 37.2% of Pacific peoples[12] (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

New Zealand was one of only 25 countries throughout the world that allowed multiple responses to an ethnic group question in their circa 2000 national census (Morning, 2008). These countries tend to cluster in North and South America and the Pacific. As Morning (2008) points out, these regions have a relatively recent history of colonialism and migration, which may contribute to an awareness of ethnic group diversity in these countries. Like New Zealand, other countries that allow multiple responses in their censuses, such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, have reported increases in the number of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups (Lopez, 2003; Parker & Song, 2001; Spickard & Fong, 1995; Thompson, 2012).

The increasing incidence of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups helps to challenge primordial and essentialist understandings of ethnic group classification and categorisation. The experiences of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups demonstrate that human beings are not organised into distinct, 'pure', unchanging ethnic groups (Parker & Song, 2001; Song, 2003). People can and do cross the boundaries of ethnic groups through processes such as self-ascription, social ascription, migration and marriage (Barth, 1969; Nagel, 1994).

As the number of people who identify with more than one ethnic group has increased, so too has the academic literature on mixedness and multiplicity. As a whole, this body of literature demonstrates that there is great diversity in the experiences of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups, based on the unique peculiarities of their ancestral backgrounds, their cultural practices, their social class, who they interact with in their everyday lives, their treatment by other people, and their knowledge about their ethnic groups (Song, 2003).

Song (2003) focuses in her work on the aspect of choice that is involved in the process of ethnic identification. People from mixed heritages have access to a range of identity choices that are not necessarily open to people whose parents identify with a single ethnic group or

[11] In New Zealand, census data are collected every five years, although the 2011 census was delayed by two years by the Christchurch earthquakes in September 2010 and February 2011.

[12] In other words, 53.5% of people for whom Māori was one of their ethnic groups and 37.2% of people who recorded at least one Pacific group in addition to one or more non-Pacific groups.

who have experiences of a single ethnic group's cultural practices. However, these options are at all times constrained by a number of factors both inside and outside the control of the individual. Biological heritage and cultural exposure are constraining factors when it comes to making ethnic identity choices (Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). Cultural exposure includes experiences with people who are members of the ethnic group, and knowledge of the group, its history and its cultural practices. Biological heritage relates to ancestry and parental ethnic identifications. Stephan and Stephan (2000b) make the point that both of these factors are not necessary. Four approaches are possible: a person (1) may be biologically a member of the group and be a participating member in the culture of the group and therefore identify with the group, (2) may be biologically 'entitled' to claim an identity with the group yet choose not to do so through a lack of cultural experience, (3) may have biological heritage and identify strongly with the group despite lack of contact with members of the group or knowledge of its culture[13], or (4) may identify with the group through cultural exposure despite a lack of biological association with the group. Other factors that influence ethnic identity choices include a personal sense of affiliation with an ethnic group, and recognition by other people—both other members of the group and people outside of the group—that an individual is a group member (Song, 2003). The political and social acceptability of the group is yet another factor, as people will choose to associate with a group with which they empathise and feel a connection (Callister et al., 2009).

There are a number of possible identity outcomes for people with access to multiple ethnic group heritages or cultural experiences. Such people may choose to focus on both ethnic groups equally, may choose to focus on one ethnic group exclusively, or may find one identity more salient than the other at a particular moment in time (Kukutai, 2007; Nakashima, 1996; Song, 2003). Other identity outcomes are also evident in the literature about multiple ethnic identities. Some authors, especially those in the United Kingdom and the United States, argue that people who identify with multiple groups have experiences in common, regardless of the particulars of their heritage and cultural practices. This commonality means that a new identity as 'mixed' is emerging (Mengel, 2001; Parker & Song, 2001; Weisman, 1996), where the emphasis is on the 'mixedness', not the blending of the component ethnic identities. Another approach in the literature argues that people who identify with multiple ethnic groups embody assimilation and show how the very concept

[13] This third approach is what Gans (1979) called 'symbolic ethnicity'. He defined this as "characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior" (p. 9).

of difference and ethnic group categorisation is no longer relevant. The ultimate outcome of this line of thinking is the abolition of ethnic categories altogether (Nakashima, 1996; Parker & Song, 2001). As Parker and Song (2001) state, however, this may be too extreme a reaction: "those who argue that 'mixed race' leads to the dissolution of 'race' have yet to develop a fully thought out position and tend to remain at the level of utopian speculation" (p. 11). Finally, some authors argue that new blended or hybrid identities are emerging from the experiences of people who identify with more than one ethnic group (Parker & Song, 2001; Song, 2003).

Hybridity

The concept of hybridity is commonly used in New Zealand as a way of thinking about the processes of identity negotiation and identity construction for people who identify with more than one ethnic group. Many authors have used hybridity to describe people of Māori and Pākehā heritage, for example Bell (2004a, 2004b), Meredith (1999b), Moeke-Maxwell (2005), and Webber (2008). Hybridity can be defined as the "forms of mixture and combination that result from culture contact" (Bell, 2004a, p. 125). It refers to the process through which new identities are created and how identities change over time. As hybridity focuses on mixture, plurality and change, it is used to challenge and disrupt essentialist ideas about culture and ethnicity (Meredith, 1999b). The acknowledgement of hybrid identities, such as Asian-American, Fijian Indian, or Black British, helps to foster the idea that ethnic or cultural identities are not static, singular, bounded entities that are set in stone. Rather, people who identify with a mixed or hybrid identity help to demonstrate that identities can be inclusive of people from different backgrounds and heritages (Bell, 2004a).

The notion of 'hybridity' to describe multiple ethnic identities comes from biology, where two species combine to create a new, hybrid variety. Such hybrid pairings could result in a more robust and resilient offspring, or a weaker, even a sterile, combination of the two parent specimens. During the nineteenth century, the same thinking was applied to people who were coming into contact with different groups through the process of colonialism (Bell, 2004a).

Nineteenth-century race theory held that white, European people were naturally superior to people from other parts of the world—people who looked different, who lived in different ways, and who constituted different 'races'. The process of colonialism was an attempt to 'civilise' the 'natives' in colonial territories, to assimilate them into European ways of living and thinking. Bell (2004a) points out that this contact between peoples was only intended

to move in one direction, with the natives becoming more like the Europeans. Any movement in the other direction "was considered a form of 'taint' or degradation of European racial essence and superiority" (p. 124). The trap inherent in this logic is that the 'natives' could never assimilate fully, could never change their biological makeup, and therefore would always retain elements of their own culture. The term 'hybrid' was employed to describe people caught in this trap—who adopted parts of colonial culture, but could never completely assimilate (Bell, 2004a).

More recently, the notion of hybridity has been reclaimed and applied to constructionist understandings of ethnicity (Bell, 2004a). Bell (2004b) argues that there are two types of hybridity discussed in the literature, ontological hybridity and performative hybridity. The first, she terms 'ontological hybridity' because it focuses on different types of reality, on different mixtures of cultures or ancestral heritage. Ontological hybridity arises out of contact between different groups of people—through migration or through mixed parentage. The mixing that is occurring in this type of hybridity is the mixing of culture or ethnicity, or what Bell (2004b) calls the "'substance' of identity claims" (p. 76). The focus is on the product of the mixture, or on the person and how they identify themselves and negotiate their multiple identities.

Performative hybridity, on the other hand, focuses more on the process of mixing. This type of hybridity draws on the work of Homi Bhabha (1994). For Bhabha, hybridity refers to something new that emerges from the encounter between coloniser and colonised. It refers to the space between these two identities, a space Bhabha calls the 'third space' (Meredith, 1999b). In the third space, identities are played out, performed, practiced and enunciated, and assimilation is resisted (Bell, 2004b). In the third space, "the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; […] even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). Bhabha's performative hybridity is utterly anti-essentialist. For him, "no identity has an originary essence. Rather, all are derivative, constituted in and through difference" (Bell, 2004b, p. 106). For Bhabha, all identities are hybrid.

For the purposes of this thesis, ontological hybridity is a far more useful way of conceptualising multiple ethnic identities than performative hybridity. Ontological hybridity is a step beyond essentialism, where ethnic identity is seen as fixed and unchanging, but it does not take hybridity into the realms of the abstract in the same manner as performative hybridity. People of mixed descent or those who have experience of different cultures have the choice to assert a hybrid identity, but this choice is constrained

by the ethnicities of their parents or by the cultures in which they live—the 'substance' of their lives, in Bell's (2004b) terms. An ontologically hybrid identity is grounded in these ethnic or cultural elements, elements that still have essentialist undertones of what a 'proper' member of an ethnic or cultural group acts like and looks like.

Bell (2004b) discusses two different types of ontological hybridity: doubled and syncretic. A doubled identity is one where the distinctiveness of the two original identities is maintained and combined into a hyphenated identity. Examples include African-American or Asian-British identities. A syncretic identity is a fused or blended identity, where the constituent identities have been subsumed into a new, singular identity. In the New Zealand context, both Māori and Pākehā identities are syncretic identities—blended identities that arose out of the experience of colonial contact. Prior to the arrival of European settlers, Māori identified themselves in terms of their whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe). The term 'Māori' came into use as a way of distinguishing the original people of New Zealand from the new settlers (Webber, 2008). Likewise, Pākehā is a relational identity, only having meaning in contrast with Māori identity (Bell, 1996, 2004b). People from many different white European backgrounds came to be known as Pākehā (or New Zealand European; see Chapter Four), as a means of defining themselves as one group of New Zealanders who were not Māori (Bell, 2004b).

Syncretic hybridities demonstrate that ethnic identities can be 'opened up' to include diversity and help to challenge essentialism by showing that identities are not fixed and absolute but can change and evolve over time (Bell, 2004a, 2004b). Doubled hybridities help to show that binary, 'either or' distinctions between ethnic groups or cultures are artificial (Bell, 2004b). People can and do cross the boundaries between ethnic groups, through processes such as self-identification and social ascription (how you identify yourself and how others identify you), and forces such as immigration, marriage, political power and representation, and the government policies that regulate these forces (Barth, 1969; Nagel, 1994). In addition, doubled hybridities often reflect the lived experience of individuals who identify with more than one ethnic group, as they negotiate their multiple ancestries and cultural experiences (Bell, 2004b).

The value of using theories of hybridity in New Zealand is that they help to make sense of the experiences of people with mixed backgrounds. Meredith (1999b) conceptualises the person of the Māori-Pākehā hybrid as a 'cultural lubricant' who can help to translate and negotiate between the two groups. Likewise, Moeke-Maxwell (2005) sees Māori-Pākehā

women as able to cross boundaries and translate between cultures, thus helping to disrupt and resist essentialising notions of what it is to 'be Māori'.

Markers of ethnic identity

The construction of ethnic identity is a two-way process, involving self-identification and social ascription, or "what *you* think your ethnicity is, versus what *they* think your ethnicity is" (Nagel, 1994, p. 154, original emphasis). The actors in this process are the individual, other members of the ethnic group, and people outside of the group. People inside the group act to shape what is meant by group membership by defining what behaviour is appropriate, what elements of cultural practice are important, and what values should be held by the group (Song, 2003). However, this activity by people inside the group can also act to freeze and reify the markers of ethnic identity: "the people and movements we seek to understand make it more difficult for us by their *own* reifications of these vast social categories constituted as ethnic groups: imagining them, ascribing properties to them, and homogenizing and essentializing them" (Barth, 1994, p. 13, original emphasis).

People outside the group base their assumptions on shared knowledge and stereotypes about what members of the ethnic group are 'like' (Brubaker et al., 2004). Stereotypes can be understood as "cognitive structures that contain knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about social groups" (Brubaker et al., 2004, p. 39). Stereotypes help people to simplify and make sense of information about members of an ethnic group, and to make assumptions about what is essential and homogeneous about the group. Stereotypes are built through the actions and expectations of people both inside and outside the group. Stereotypes can be neutral expectations of the members of an ethnic group, they can be negative portrayals that feed the assumptions and prejudices of people external to the group, or they can be positive reflections of the perceived strengths and benefits of ethnic group membership.

A shared sense of ethnic identity can be of particular benefit to members of minority ethnic groups. As Sökefeld (2001) has argued, an identity is constructed by people and groups in response to specific political needs. By asserting a particular set of characteristics—an identity—a group is also asserting their rights to recognition as a distinctive group with a need for resources, power and a voice in how they are treated. For minority groups living within a different cultural context, such as Māori living in a New Zealand society that is largely based on the values and culture of the Pākehā majority, a shared sense of identity can help to maintain boundaries and resist pressures to become more like the majority.

While these actions and activities all tend towards the homogenisation of ethnic groups, Song (2003) points out that individuals' experiences of their ethnic groups are much more nuanced and diverse. No group is truly homogenous. As she says,

> While there may be some shared meanings about ethnicity which are quite durable, in relation to a shared history or a racialized minority status, ethnic groups are made up of members, who are diverse with respect to gender, class, and age; hence there is unlikely to be an easy consensus about the meanings and images associated with a particular ethnic identity. (Song, 2003, pp. 42-43)

If a member of an ethnic group acts in a way that is different to or challenges expectations, the authenticity of their ethnic identity can be called into question. Both Kukutai and Webber (2011) and Song (2003) discuss authenticity in terms of 'scripts of behaviour'—notions of what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour for members of an ethnic group. Authenticity "refers to the ways in which cultural scripts perceived as endemic to a group are used to evaluate individuals in terms of their credibility as group members" (Kukutai & Webber, 2011, p. 9).

Markers of authenticity are the cultural practices, cultural values, behaviours and phenotypical indicators that are considered 'typical' of members of an ethnic group (Nagel, 1994). A particularly salient marker for many ethnic groups is knowledge of the group's language (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2012; Song, 2003). Markers of authenticity help to determine what it means to be a member of an ethnic group, but also limit the potential scope of that ethnicity (Kukutai & Webber, 2011) and suppress the individuality of group members (Song, 2003), as members of an ethnic group face strong social pressure to conform to what is expected of them. The markers of ethnic authenticity can become the basis for including people within the group or excluding non-conforming people from it (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2012).

Any ethnic group has a core set of cultural practices, behaviours and values that make up a collective identity (Kukutai & Webber, 2011). A collective group identity is important to maintaining the boundaries between one ethnic group and another, and is important for the group members to enable them to seek resources, political power and self-determination (Barth, 1994; Nagel, 1994; Song, 2003). However, as Kukutai and Webber (2011) argue, "the potential to reify or exclude arises when those core symbols are treated as fixed characteristics of individuals, rather than flexible, evolving entities able to accommodate change" (p. 12).

What is considered 'authentic' is situational: what are considered the 'proper' behaviours of a member of an ethnic group can change according to the context and according to who is doing the observing (Kukutai & Webber, 2011). What another group member considers to be the 'real' markers of ethnicity may be different from what a person outside the group believes makes someone a 'real' group member.

Questions over authenticity and whether an individual is a 'real' member of an ethnic group can be more of a problem for people who identify with multiple ethnicities (Nagel, 1994). Individuals who draw on multiple ethnic heritages or multiple cultural practices can be treated with suspicion when claiming an identification with a particular ethnic group. They can be accused of lacking a depth of knowledge or experience of cultural practices, or of fraudulently claiming an identity in order to reap the perceived benefits of preferential access or extra resources (Nagel, 1994).

The students who were the participants in the fieldwork component of this study identified as Māori-Pākehā, Māori-Cook Islands Maori, and Tongan-Fijian. What then were the expectations of group membership and group ethnic identity that surrounded them?

Māori identity

In the 2013 New Zealand Census, 598,605 people or 14.9% of the population identified with the Māori ethnic group. Of these, 53.5% also identified with one or more other major ethnic groups. The Māori population was more youthful than the total New Zealand population, with 43.6% of Māori aged under 20, and 33.8% aged between 0 and 14 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The New Zealand Census also asks a question about Māori descent. In 2013, 668,724 people or 17.5% of the total population considered themselves as having Māori ancestry. This means that 561,333 people identified with the Māori ethnic group and claimed Māori descent, and that 107,391 people claimed Māori descent but did not identify as Māori. A further 4,212 people identified with the Māori ethnic group but did not claim Māori descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

But what does it actually mean to identify as Māori? One recent attempt at a Māori cultural identity measure was developed by the Department of Māori Studies at Massey University as part of their Te Hoe Nuku Roa research project (Durie, 1995a, 1995b; Stevenson, 2004). This team created a framework to capture the complexities and realities of Māori identity in modern New Zealand, and defined Māori cultural identity in terms of self-identification as Māori, ancestry, marae participation, connections with extended family, connections with ancestral land, contacts with Māori people, and Māori language (Stevenson, 2004). The

measure "moves beyond equating a Māori identity with knowledge of Māori culture. Instead the focus is on a range of quantifiable measures potentially available to Māori by virtue of ethnic inheritance" (Durie, 1995b, p. 467). In other words, people do not need to be considered experts in Māori culture or language to identify as Māori.

The Te Hoe Nuku Roa research grew out of an understanding that Māori people are diverse in terms of age, geographical location within New Zealand, urbanisation, socio-economic status, employment, education and qualifications, and have differing experiences of and access to elements of Māori culture. There is no such thing as a 'typical' Māori (Durie, 1995a, 1995b). Instead,

> Māori individuals have a variety of cultural characteristics and live in a number of cultural and socio-economic realities. The relevance of so-called traditional values is not the same for all Māori, nor can it be assumed that all Māori will wish to define their ethnic identity according to classical constructs. (Durie, 1995b, p. 464)

McIntosh (2005) calls the kind of understanding encapsulated in Te Hoe Nuku Roa's Māori cultural identity measure a 'traditional Māori identity'. It is 'traditional' in the sense that it draws on conventional understandings of the elements of ethnic identity, not that it denotes a pre-colonial Māori identity. Traditional Māori identity draws on a variety of cultural markers to constitute what it means to be Māori. She lists these markers as whakapapa (ancestry or genealogy), mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), te reo (Māori language), tikanga (customs and protocols), links to iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe), and connection to marae (meeting place) and tūrangawaewae (iwi territory or homeland). Being Māori in this sense involves obligations to the whānau (family), hapū and iwi, and "comes with a set of expectations that someone will not only 'be' Maori, as indicated by knowledge of one's whakapapa lines, but will also 'know' what being Maori is and will 'act' Maori" (McIntosh, 2005, p. 44)[14].

A traditional understanding of Māori identity carries a lot of power in New Zealand, partly through the actions of the Māori sovereignty movement of the 1970s and 1980s. The leaders of this movement made strategic use of traditional indicators of Māori culture in order to strengthen Māori claims to political power and access to resources (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Sissons, 1993). However, in so doing they also served to essentialise and reify what it means

[14] When using direct quotations, I have maintained the macron use (or lack of macrons) of the original source.

to be Māori. Elements of Māori culture, such as language, welcoming ceremonies on marae, beliefs and values, and hapū and iwi structure, became standardised and were understood as symbolic indicators of authentic Māoriness (Sissons, 1993). They were also adopted as distinctive elements of a New Zealand national identity (Bell, 1996). Markers such as welcoming ceremonies and haka (Māori performance) are how New Zealand is recognised on the international stage.

In contrast, a fluid Māori identity is an evolving identity that merges elements of traditional Māori identity with the realities of contemporary life for Māori people, in particular Māori youth (Borell, 2005; McIntosh, 2005). This articulation of Māori identity recognises that many Māori people do not live in a way that supports the traditional indicators of identity—they are not geographically close to their iwi territory, they might not speak the language, they might not participate in cultural groups, or might not have Māori cultural practices that permeate their everyday lives. Yet these people still identify as Māori. Instead, "the fluid identity 'plays' with cultural markers such as language, custom and place and reconfigures them in a way that gives both voice and currency to their social environment" (McIntosh, 2005, p. 46). A fluid Māori identity is expressed through markers such as music, dance and clothing styles, which may be fusions and adaptations of popular culture from overseas made relevant for the New Zealand context. Community groups, schools and urban Māori authorities have grown to fulfil the role of hapū, iwi and marae in providing a supportive community setting for Māori. As Borell (2005) concludes about her study with Māori youth in South Auckland,

> The opinion that urban Maori in general and urban young people in particular are somehow 'lost' as Maori and do not possess the connections to land and community that exist in the tribal heartlands simply denies the reality for many Maori. […] What is highlighted here are strong and meaningful associations to the local land, environment and community that engender the same feelings of security, belonging and connection that some may claim as the sole domain of Maori in tribal communities. (pp. 203-204)

Adding to the complexity of Māori identity is its status as an indigenous identity[15]. Prior to colonial contact, Māori did not identify as one group of people. Instead, identity was

[15] The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) does not contain a specific definition of indigeneity. Instead, Article 33 expresses the right of indigenous people "to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions". The United Nations draws its understanding of indigeneity from Martínez Cobo's 1986/7 report on the *Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations*. In this report, Martínez Cobo

constructed in terms of hapū and iwi membership. A pan-iwi Māori identity only came into existence when the people of New Zealand were confronted with an 'other' in the shape of British colonial settlers (Bell, 1996, 2004b; Kukutai, 2004). As descendants of the pre-colonial inhabitants of New Zealand, Māori have special status as a sovereign people. This "confers specific legal rights relating to ownership of land and natural resources, cultural preservation, and political representation" (Kukutai, 2004, p. 87).

Pacific Islands identities

In the 2013 New Zealand Census, 7.4% of the population (295,941 people) identified with one or more Pacific Islands ethnic groups. Of these, 37.2% also identified with one or more other major ethnic groups. Of the people who identified with the Pacific peoples ethnic group in the census, 62.3% were born in New Zealand, and 35.7% were aged between 0 and 14 years. With regard to specific Pacific Islands ethnic groups, 144,136 people identified as Samoan (48.7% of the Pacific people group), 61,839 (20.9%) identified as Cook Islands Maori, 60,333 (20.4%) identified as Tongan, and 23,883 (8.1%) identified as Niuean (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

Statistics New Zealand's preferred term for people from the many Pacific Islands groups is 'Pacific peoples' (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). For the Ministry of Education, the preferred term is 'Pasifika' (Ministry of Education, 2013b). These terms, and others such as 'Pacific Islanders' and 'the Pacific Islands' are useful catch-all phrases, but they are misleading. There is no single, homogenous Pacific Islands identity (Macpherson, 1996). Both Macpherson (1996) and Anae (2001) argue that the differences between individual Pacific Islands ethnic groups, such as Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Cook Islands Maori, Tokelauan, Niuean, and so on, have more of an impact on people's daily lives than any superficial similarities between the groups.

There are dangers inherent in the use of 'pan-ethnic' terms such as Pacific Islander or Pasifika. Subsuming the many different Pacific Islands ethnic groups under one all-encompassing identity limits the identity choices available to individuals. As Siteine (2010) cautions, when discussing her research on the impact of teacher practices on students' sense of identity, "the emphasis on a Pasifika identity rather than a Tongan, Samoan, Niuean,

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defines indigenous peoples as having historical links to ancestral lands, and ancestry, culture and language in common with the original, pre-colonial inhabitants of those ancestral lands (United Nations, 2009). Membership of an indigenous population is a matter of self-identification and acceptance by other group members, and indigenous peoples have "the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference" (Martínez Cobo, 1986/7, cited in United Nations, 2009, p. 5).

Tokelauan or Cook Island identity, for example, further homogenises and limits a vision of the self. Furthermore, it consolidates the lack of choice offered to students to self-identify" (p. 9). Anae (2001) argues that reporting statistical data based on an aggregated Pacific Islands population means that governing bodies are making decisions based on limited, pan-Pacific understandings of the people who constitute that portion of the population. "We are lacking analyses of social cohesion, culture, language, social institutions and structures, and more importantly, cultural ideas about life in New Zealand for Samoans, Cook Islanders, Tongans, Niueans, Tokelauans and other ethnicities caught in this pan-Pacific web" (Anae, 2001, p. 103). The great diversity amongst people of Pacific Islands backgrounds, in terms of origin, ethnic group, and social mobility, is being missed.

There is also diversity within Pacific Islands populations in terms of generational differences. Macpherson (2001) teases out differences between the older, migrant generation and the younger, New Zealand-born generation of Pacific Islands peoples. For the migrant generation, living in geographically close communities within New Zealand cities, "island world views and lifestyles were widely supported and readily reproduced" (p. 67). For the New Zealand-born generations, exposed to a wide variety of ethnic groups and cultural expressions through their schools, communities and workplaces, their "world-views, lifestyles and identities have been constructed in very different social and economic circumstances. […] These circumstances have allowed, and indeed encouraged, them to question the cultures and identities that served their parents' and grandparents' generations" (p. 67).

In earlier work, Macpherson (1996) wonders whether these generational differences point towards the emergence of a new, New Zealand-based, pan-Pacific Islands identity. New Zealand-born Pacific Islanders have experiences in common that are different from the experiences of their parents and grandparents. "For many, the centrality of cultural values and practices of their parents' homelands, of Christian religion and of rights and obligations associated with extended kinship, are shared experiences" (Macpherson, 1996, p. 138). Anae (2001), however, argues that the distinct and unique experiences of each ethnic group is a more important factor than place of birth. She also argues that research on Pacific Islands communities living in New Zealand needs to explore these inter- and intra-ethnic differences rather than assume that all Pacific Islanders are one homogenous group, as such research might expose diverse experiences and sets of needs (Anae, 2010). Anae (2001, 2010) doubts that an over-arching Pacific Islands identity will overtake the many specific Pacific Islands ethnic identities in the near future.

Anae (2010) describes Pacific Islands communities in New Zealand as multi-ethnic in terms of the diverse ethnic groups that constitute 'Pacific Islanders', as well as multi-ethnic in terms of the increasing numbers of children who identify with multiple ethnic heritages. Writing about a United States, specifically Hawaiian, context, Spickard and Fong (1995) make some relevant observations about Pacific Islands multiple ethnic identities. They believe that Pacific Islands peoples living in Hawaii are more open to multiplicity, and more inclusive of people who identify with more than one ethnic group, than people from other ethnic groups.

> Pacific Islanders historically have constructed their ethnic identities rather more complexly than many other peoples. Pacific Islanders have long had a greater consciousness than other American groups of being mixed peoples, of having multiple ethnic identities—Samoan and Tongan, Marquesan and Tahitian, Maori and European, and so forth. They seem more comfortable than other Americans with holding in tension two or more ethnic identities, with being deeply involved in more than one at the same time. (Spickard & Fong, 1995, p. 1368)

This may not be exactly the case in the New Zealand context. Participants in research conducted by Agee and Culbertson (2013) have "identified the experience of being 'afakasi—being Pasifika with a multiethnic heritage—as a taboo subject that was not often acknowledged or talked about within the community" (p. 46). While identifying as 'afakasi[16] might have been a hidden topic for the older, migrant generation, this understanding seems to be shifting with exposure to diverse populations in New Zealand. Both Agee and Culbertson (2013) and Macpherson (2001) have identified changes in the younger, New Zealand-born generation. Increases in intermarriage and experiences with people from different cultural backgrounds means that multiple ethnic identities are more common, more accepted, and more readily acknowledged. Tupuola (2004) has used the term 'Pasifika edgewalkers' to describe youth from Pacific Islands backgrounds in New Zealand and the United States. She argues that her research participants, young women from Samoan backgrounds who were living in multi-ethnic contexts, were able to easily shift and move between different cultures without compromising their sense of identity.

[16] 'Afakasi is a loan word from English that literally means 'half-caste'. It is used to refer to Pacific Islands people with heritage from multiple ethnic groups (Agee & Culbertson, 2013; Macpherson, 1999).

Pacific Islanders with multiple ethnicities provide a number of reasons for their identity decisions: ancestry, family, cultural practices, and place (Spickard & Fong, 1995). The family is an important site of transmission for ethnic identity. Through interactions with family members and at family occasions, cultural knowledge is passed on, language acquisition is facilitated, and people have the opportunity to participate in cultural practices (Agee & Culbertson, 2013; Spickard & Fong, 1995). While ancestral ties are very important, 'family' does not have to be based on descent. Family membership is also extended to people who are adopted or marry into the family (Spickard & Fong, 1995).

Cultural practices are an important part of how various Pacific Islands ethnic identities are defined. People are considered Tongan or Samoan or Cook Islands Maori, or any other Pacific group, because of the way they behave, the way they live, and the language they speak. For many people of Pacific Islands backgrounds, language competence is the most important marker of ethnic identity (Anae, 2001; Spickard & Fong, 1995). Language is important as it is through language that cultural knowledge is shared and cultural practices are enacted. Language is also an indicator of an 'authentic' identity, especially for the migrant generation (Anae, 2001).

Likewise, place is an important marker of ethnic identity for Pacific Islands peoples. The identification with place does not necessarily have to be through a physical experience of being in a certain country; rather the concept of a shared homeland or place of origin is what counts. As Spickard and Fong (1995) have highlighted, "not all Pacific Islander Americans have had personal contact with places that symbolize their ethnicity. But nearly all have heard about such places from their relatives, and the collective memory of those ethnic places is a powerful reinforcer of their ethnic identity" (p. 1378).

Spickard and Fong (1995) argue that Pacific Islands expressions of multiple ethnic identity provide a challenge to Barth's (1969) notion that the boundaries between different ethnic groups are the most important feature that defines those groups. Instead, as Spickard and Fong (1995) state,

> Barth may be right about ethnicity in some other contexts, but his ideas will not work for Pacific Islander American ethnicity. The boundaries surrounding Pacific Islander American ethnic groups are not very important at all. Pacific Islander Americans have inclusive, not exclusive, ethnic identities. What is important for Pacific Islander American ethnicity is not boundaries but centers: ancestry, family, practice, place. If one qualifies for acceptance at the centres of

> ethnicity, then one is of that ethnic group, no matter to what other ethnic groups one may also belong. (p. 1378)

One logical outcome of Barth's conceptualisation is that people with multiple ethnic identities are located in the boundary space between groups—able to cross in and out of those groups at will, but not really belonging within any one group. Evidence from Spickard and Fong's (1995) research shows that this is not necessarily the case for people who identify with Pacific Islands groups. Boundaries do not have to exclude people with multiple ethnic identifications; instead boundaries can encompass individuals and all their identities.

Pākehā identity

The 'European' ethnic group is the largest ethnic group in New Zealand. In the 2013 New Zealand Census, 2,969,391 people or 74.0% of the population identified with one or more European ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This group, as defined by Statistics New Zealand, includes people who select the 'New Zealand European' box on the census paper, and those who complete the 'Other' box with an ethnic group such as Pākehā, British, American, Canadian, Australian, South African, any European nationality such as French, German or Italian, or any other 'white' ethnic group with its origins in Europe[17]. The census form does not specifically include an option for people to identify as Pākehā. The 1996 Census trialled the inclusion of the term 'Pākehā', bracketed alongside 'New Zealand European', but this met with a "significant adverse reaction from some respondents" (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, p. 10), so the option reverted to just 'New Zealand European' for the 2001, 2006 and 2013 censuses.

The term 'Pākehā' has been used since the early nineteen century to refer to settlers in New Zealand (Barber, 1999; Biggs, 1988). It is a Māori word, but its origin in te reo is unclear. "What we can be sure of is that Pakeha appeared in North Auckland before 1815 and was well established as a respectable term for white men [sic] by 1840 when it occurs in the Preamble to the Treaty of Waitangi" (Biggs, 1988, p. 19). The term was originally used by Māori to refer to all non-Māori people. Over time its meaning has shifted, so that now it is commonly used to refer to New Zealanders of European descent (Barber, 1999; Bell, 1996). A widely cited definition of Pākehā comes from Spoonley (1988):

[17] See the Statistics New Zealand Level 4 Ethnicity Classification, found at archive.stats.govt.nz/methods/classifications-and-standards/classification-related-stats-standards.aspx.

> New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experiences of being a member of the dominant group of New Zealand. (pp. 63-64)

As Spoonley's (1988) definition makes clear, part of an understanding of Pākehā identity is that it is a dominant or majority identity. Pākehā hold power in New Zealand, both in terms of numbers and in terms of political power. Bell (1996, 2004a) has pointed out that this power, and the Pākehā identity itself, arose out of the process of colonisation in nineteenth century New Zealand. 'Pākehā' is a relational term that only has significance in contrast to the term 'Māori'.

There is a persistent myth in New Zealand society that the word 'Pākehā' is a derogatory term that derives from Māori insults for outsiders. Academics in the area of Pākehā identity insist that this is not the case and that there is no evidence for Pākehā ever having been a negative term (Biggs, 1988; Goldsmith, 2005; Pearson & Sissons, 1997; Spoonley, 1988). However, this myth has impeded widespread acceptance of Pākehā as the name of the ethnic majority of New Zealand (Pearson & Sissons, 1997; Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

Other critiques of Pākehā identity come from within academia. Pearson (1989) distinguishes between an ethnic *category*, where people are grouped together for enumeration purposes; an ethnic *group*, which has a collective name, shared stories and history, distinctive culture, and a sense of shared homeland (drawing on Smith's (1986) understanding of ethnic groups); and an ethnic *community*, which has all the features of a group, plus a sense of solidarity and shared interests. Pearson believes that Pākehā succeeds as an ethnic category, but fails as a group in terms of a distinctive shared culture, or as a community as there is a lack of solidarity evident amongst Pākehā.

Bell (2004a) agrees with Pearson's (1989) analysis, that Pākehā is most usefully conceptualised as an ethnic category. "I use the term to label an ethnic 'category', […] which means to talk about New Zealanders of European descent generally, whether or not they use the term 'Pākehā' to talk about themselves" (Bell, 2004a, p. 122). This is a useful distinction, as it allows the majority population of New Zealand to be described as Pākehā, even if they would choose to identify themselves as New Zealand European or as some other ethnic category.

It has been theorised that those people who do choose to identify as Pākehā do so to align themselves with a particular set of political beliefs. Identifying as Pākehā, according to this tradition, means recognising Māori as tangata whenua, or as the indigenous people of New

Zealand with rights to sovereignty and self-determination (Spoonley, 1991, 1995). Use of the term means recognising the close relationship between Māori and Pākehā, and the process of colonisation that was the origin of both identities (Bell, 1996, 2004a). It also means a support for biculturalism (Spoonley, 1995), which has a particular meaning in New Zealand of a partnership between Māori and the New Zealand state, based on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Pearson, 1996).

Pearson and Sissons (1997) conducted research on preference for the terms 'Pākehā' or 'New Zealand European', used to describe the majority ethnic group in New Zealand. They investigated how widespread the use of the term 'Pākehā' was in New Zealand society, using data from the 1996 iteration of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). Of their sample, 83% said they never or only sometimes used the term Pākehā to describe themselves, instead preferring terms such as 'New Zealand European' or 'European New Zealander'. Yet when asked how close they felt to their ethnic group, the majority of respondents (79%) felt close or very close, no matter whether or not they chose to use the term Pākehā to describe themselves. For those who never described themselves as Pākehā, the most frequent reason given was their belief that the term was a negative or derogatory descriptor (77%). For those who did describe themselves as Pākehā, most suggested it was because of the relational value of the term—it described a New Zealander who was not Māori (62%), 36% felt that the term 'New Zealand European' did not suit them, and only 25% believed it expressed a bicultural, Treaty-based partnership between Māori and Pākehā.

Pearson and Sissons (1997) drew on further data from the ISSP to probe whether the use of the term Pākehā corresponds with a political belief in biculturalism and support for Māori rights to sovereignty and self-determination, as suggested by Spoonley (1991, 1995) and Bell (1996, 2004a). The survey participants were asked to respond to a series of questions about biculturalism in New Zealand. Pearson and Sissons (1997) analysed these, looking for differences between those who always identified as Pākehā and those who never identified as Pākehā. They found very little variation between the two groups, leading them to conclude that there was no straightforward, binary relationship where identifying as Pākehā meant a belief in and support for biculturalism, and not identifying as Pākehā meant an opposition to biculturalism. In fact, they were disappointed to report that neither group showed a particularly strong support for issues of Māori partnership.

Constructing ethnicity

Ethnic identity is conceptualised in this thesis as fluid, dynamic, situational, multiple, subjective, and constructed by people in interaction with one another. Ethnicity is not something that people 'have', but rather something with which people identify. Understandings of ethnic groups and ethnic identities are shaped by a number of factors, such as self-identification, social ascription, intermarriage, migration, and categorisation and classification activities. The boundaries between ethnic groups are maintained and crossed through these factors.

People who identify with multiple ethnic groups provide important insights in the study of ethnicity. They help us to question primordial and essentialist understandings of ethnicity. Ethnic groups are not distinct, 'pure', 'natural', impermeable ways of categorising human beings. People cross the boundaries of ethnic groups in numerous ways, sometimes choosing to identify with two groups equally, sometimes choosing to focus on one group more than the other, and sometimes forging a new, blended, hybrid identity. These boundary crossers may settle on one option, or may choose to shift the way they identify over time or according to context.

Ethnic identity is constructed through interactions between the individual, other members of their group or groups, and people outside of the group. Group members develop shared understandings of what it means to be a member of the group, or what an authentic member acts, sounds and looks like. People outside the group also develop understandings of a 'typical' group member. Individuals who do not conform to these expectations can have the authenticity of their identity challenged, or can feel that they are not adequate members of the group. This can be a particular problem for people who identify with more than one ethnic group. They might be treated with suspicion by members of both groups, and accused of lacking a depth of knowledge and experience in each culture. These tensions play out in various ways in Māori, Pākehā and Pacific Islands ethnic groups.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the mixed methods approach used in this study and the philosophical assumptions that underpin the research. It details each of the research methods: survey, participant observation fieldwork, interviews, and photo elicitation, and tells the story of how I went about conducting the research.

Research approach

The research for this thesis employed a mixed methods approach to examining young people's reasons for and experiences of identifying with multiple ethnic groups. Mixed methods research uses methods from both quantitative and qualitative research designs. It has been called a 'third methodology' (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011), which alludes to its ability to cross boundaries and build bridges between quantitative and qualitative designs.

While this study is an anthropological one, mixed methods research is not common in anthropology. However, a few studies have combined ethnographic fieldwork with quantitative approaches. Roy et al. (2012) combined fieldwork among drug users in Montréal, Canada with a structured interview survey. Christensen, Mikkelsen, Nielsen, and Harder (2011) used a mobile phone-based questionnaire and global positioning technology to supplement fieldwork with children in Denmark in a study that investigated children's mobility. Collins and Dressler (2008) employed theoretical understandings from cognitive anthropology to conduct a quantitative and qualitative study of different cultural models of domestic violence. Kington, Sammons, Day, and Regan (2011) used classroom observations, interviews and questionnaires to research effective teacher practice in primary and secondary classrooms.

Mixed methods research is a relatively new methodological approach that has become increasingly popular since the 1990s (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), and, as such, understandings and definitions of the approach are still being debated. Johnson et al. (2007) synthesised 19 definitions of mixed methods research found in the literature to arrive at the following:

> Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. (p. 123)

There were several reasons for choosing a mixed methods research design. My initial reasons included a desire to collect data that would give a broad understanding of the research area, and data that would give a deep and multifaceted explanation for one group of participants. This was achieved through the survey and fieldwork phases of the research, respectively. I also have experience in collecting and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data, so felt confident that I had the requisite skills for both methods.

Other reasons for my choice of a mixed methods approach for this research can be found in the literature. Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, and McDermott (2006) encourage a mixed methods approach to the study of identity, arguing that by combining methods, a comprehensive picture of identity can be created. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) refer to this as increasing the 'completeness' of the data. The use of multiple methods, sometimes called the triangulation of methods, ensures that multiple aspects of an issue can be examined and that the weaknesses inherent in one method can be counterbalanced by the strengths of another (Glesne, 2006). Triangulation enhances the credibility of research findings, because interpretations and conclusions that are confirmed by data drawn from more than one method can be considered more persuasive or believable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In my research, the survey allowed me to collect data from a wide range of people from across the country, but the ability to delve into each respondent's feelings about their ethnic identities was limited. Because the individual respondents were anonymous, there was no opportunity to go back and ask further questions to clarify and expand upon their responses. The fieldwork allowed the flexibility to explore the participants' feelings and opinions, and to go back for a second interview, but the number of participants was limited

by time and funding. Together, the survey and the fieldwork allowed me to collect both broad and in-depth data.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) describe in detail four basic mixed methods research designs. A convergent parallel design is one where qualitative and quantitative data are collected independently of one another during the same time period and then merged into an overall interpretation of the research problem. An explanatory sequential design is one where quantitative data collection is followed by qualitative data collection, for the purposes of explaining the quantitative findings in more depth. An exploratory sequential design is one where qualitative data collection is used to explore a research topic and inform a later quantitative phase of data collection. An embedded design is one where a smaller qualitative or quantitative phase is embedded within a larger quantitative or qualitative research project.

In my research, I employed a quantitative method (survey) followed by a qualitative method (fieldwork, including participant observation, interviews and photo elicitation). While this might look like an explanatory sequential design, the purpose of the qualitative phase was not to unpack and explain the findings of the quantitative phase. Instead, both phases were designed to provide findings to address different research questions. The survey was used to inform Question 1 (How do adolescents in New Zealand identify themselves in terms of ethnicity?), Question 2 (What decisions form the bases of their identity choices?), and Question 3 (How are ethnic identifications influenced at the macro, state level?). The fieldwork was used to inform Question 2, Question 4 (How are ethnic identifications influenced at the meso, institutional level?), and Question 5 (How are ethnic identifications influenced at the micro, individual or family level?). My research design was also situated in a qualitative paradigm. The analysis of both the survey data and the fieldwork data was driven by qualitative questions and descriptive techniques. More 'quantitative' analyses, such as inferential statistics, were not used.

For these reasons, the embedded design is the mixed methods approach that best fits this research project. It is characterised as:

> […] a mixed methods approach where the researcher combines the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data within a traditional quantitative research design or qualitative research design. […] The collection and analysis of the second data set may occur before, during, and/or after the implementation of the data collection and analysis procedures traditionally associated with the larger design. (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, pp. 90-91)

Most often, an embedded design involves a larger quantitative study with a secondary qualitative component (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In my research, an initial survey phase was embedded within an overall qualitative, ethnographic design. The first phase of the data collection, the survey, was used to gain a broad understanding of ethnic group identifications amongst secondary school students, to examine their reasons for their identifications, and to look at their feelings about those identifications. In addition, the survey was used to identify a likely school as a site for the fieldwork phase, and to generate potential questions and themes to guide the larger phase. In the research design, priority was given to the fieldwork phase, which looked in-depth at the experiences of five students who identified with more than one ethnic group, and looked at the impact of the school setting and the impact of their families on their ethnic identities.

Philosophical assumptions

Typically, mixed methods research is framed within a pragmatic paradigm. Pragmatism represents a 'middle ground' between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research, where research methods are chosen based on what works best to answer the research questions, and where both subjectivity and objectivity are equally valued (Creswell, 2011; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). However, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) point out that an embedded mixed methods design, such as the one employed in this study, is more likely to be conducted from the paradigmatic perspective of the primary research method. As stated above, my research was primarily qualitative in nature.

My research is therefore located within the interpretivist paradigm. This worldview is interested in participants' perceptions and how meaning is negotiated in the everyday world (Bochner, 2005). Meaning making is a social process, where meaning is constructed and shared through interactions with other people (Willis, 2007). Ontologically, interpretivists see reality as being socially constructed (Willis, 2007). Epistemologically, interpretivists believe that people create their own understandings of reality (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011), that research involves understanding a particular situation or context (Willis, 2007), and that research is best conducted by getting 'close' to the participants and their worlds (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), through research techniques such as ethnographic fieldwork. In providing their interpretations and explanations of social phenomena, researchers are encouraged to situate themselves in the work and to reflect upon the assumptions and beliefs that they bring with them. Research conducted from the interpretivist paradigm is inductive—research starts with participants' views and

these are used to develop patterns, models and theories about what is occurring (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In this thesis, ethnic identity is conceptualised as fluid, plural, contextual and socially constructed. Ethnic identity is relational: members of an ethnic group develop a sense of group identity through their sense of similarity with one another and sense of difference from other people (Barth, 1969, 1994). In conducting the research for this thesis, I spent time at a school with the participants, their peers and teachers, and used methods such as participant observation, interviews and photo elicitation to gain an insight into the participants' feelings about their ethnic groups and cultures. I complemented these deep understandings about ethnic identity for one group of participants with a survey that probed how other participants of the same age described themselves in terms of ethnicity, the reasons for those descriptions, and their feelings of connection to their ethnic groups. The perceptions of the research participants sit at the heart of this thesis, are shaped and framed through my interpretation as the researcher, and are contextualised by the literature.

Choice of participants

This research focused on the experiences of senior secondary students and their meaning making around ethnicity. The group of students I chose to focus on were in Year 12 in 2011 and in Year 13—their final year of secondary school—in 2012.

There were two reasons for this choice of participants. First, there are arguments for focusing on adolescence that come from the psychological, the educational, and the anthropological literatures. Studies situated in psychology view adolescence as a time of developing and consolidating ethnic identity. Identity formation in general, and ethnic identity formation in particular, is theorised as an essential task of adolescence (Phinney, 1992). Young people are assumed to have flexible ethnic identities that are still being examined (Burton et al., 2010). Attitudes to ethnicity "shift from learning ethnic labels (seen in childhood) to understanding the importance and relativity of group membership" (Brown & Smirles, 2003, pp. 4-5). Likewise, Reynolds (2010) argues that adolescence is a crucial phase of identity development, yet the voices of adolescents are not often heard in the literature on ethnic identity.

In education, Webber (2012) argues that the increasing ethnic diversity in society is reflected in increasing diversity in school populations. Adolescents are therefore likely to

encounter people from many ethnic groups in their school contexts, and are more likely than older generations to be from multiple ethnic backgrounds.

Anthropological studies situate adolescents within their cultural context and examine how they contribute to or challenge their communities. Some studies question the idea that adolescence is a time of change and instability, while others highlight the uncertainties faced by young people, especially those who cross different cultural or ethnic boundaries through processes such as immigration or ancestry (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011).

The second reason for choosing this group of participants was a practical one. The survey targeted those students who were in Year 12 in 2011. These students were still at school in 2012 as Year 13 students, where it was possible to spend time with those who identified with multiple ethnic groups in a school setting. The research project could therefore investigate one cohort of students through both a survey and fieldwork.

Choice of research methods

This study makes use of four different research methods: survey, participant observation, interview, and photo elicitation. As the research was situated within the interpretivist paradigm, each method was employed as part of a search for local meanings (Borko, Liston, & Whitcomb, 2007) about ethnic identity and multiplicity.

Quantitative data, such as data collected through a survey, are useful for describing the magnitude of a social phenomenon, how often it might occur, and what factors might explain it (Brannen & O'Connell, 2015). These kinds of data can be used to make claims about the relationships between two variables: whether change in one variable has an impact on the other (correlation), or whether one variable causes another (causation). Inferential statistics can also be used to build predictive models (Field, 2005; Huck, 2012). This study made use of descriptive statistics rather than inferential statistics. I was interested in size and frequency: how many survey respondents identified with a particular ethnic group and how many identified with more than one group; and interested in comparison: what differences in responses could be seen between those who identified with a single group and those who identified with multiple groups, and what differences in responses might be generated by asking different types of questions about the same phenomenon.

Qualitative data, such as data collected through fieldwork, are useful for describing and understanding a social phenomenon (Brannen & O'Connell, 2015). Analyses of qualitative

data look for patterns and relationships between key ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and explore the multiple realities or perspectives of participants (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection (Bernard, 2006; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Through the fieldwork in the school, I became familiar with the participants and the context in which they were spending the majority of their days. Participant observation allows a researcher to get close to a community and experience the realities of everyday life (De Munck, 2009). Through participant observation, a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the daily lives and beliefs of a group of people can be developed, and researchers can observe unexpected events or behaviours (De Munck, 2009).

The interviews enabled me to ask the participants specific questions about their ethnic and cultural identities in a private, uninterrupted setting. Interviews allow participants to describe events, and their feelings about those events, in detail (De Munck, 2009). The interviews I conducted were semi-structured, which allowed us the opportunity to pursue new ideas that were raised in the course of the conversation (Bernard, 2006).

Photo elicitation is less well-known than the other methods I employed (Vila, 2013). It is a research technique where photographs are used in an interview setting to provide a focus for the discussion. The interviews, in conjunction with the photos, allow participants to explain, qualify and justify their photos and offer their own interpretations of what the photos mean (Croghan, Griffin, Hunter, & Phoenix, 2008). Vila (2013) argues that photo elicitation is particularly useful for research into the narrative construction of identity, as people's stories are needed to make sense of the photos. It is a method that is "very well suited to understanding processes of identity construction" (p. 51). Likewise, Croghan et al. (2008) state that photo elicitation is a suitable technique for research on ethnicity: "Because of its ability to *show* aspects of identity that might have been difficult to introduce verbally, the photo interview proved particularly useful for introducing issues of race and culture" (p. 354, original emphasis).

Making use of photographs in an interview setting has a positive impact on the relationship between the researcher and the participant (Epstein, Stevens, McKeever, & Baruchel, 2006). Rapport and trust is increased (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Collier, 1957; Hurworth, 2003), and a relaxed atmosphere in the interview is facilitated (Epstein et al., 2006). The photos can function as a 'language bridge' between researcher and participant, as they help participants to explain complex ideas and help interviewers to understand things with which they are not familiar (Collier, 1957). Misunderstandings between the participant and

researcher can therefore be reduced (Collier, 1957; Hurworth, 2003). The photographs help to create the interview structure (Vila, 2013) and keep the interview focused and on track (Collier, 1957). In contrast to a 'normal' interview, the use of photographs elicits more specific information (Collier, 1957; Croghan et al., 2008), longer explanations (Epstein et al., 2006; Hurworth, 2003; Vila, 2013), and unexpected information (Collier, 1957; Hurworth, 2003).

The photo elicitation exercise enabled the participants to show me aspects of their lives outside of school and to highlight things about their ethnic identities that they felt were important. It was a way of engaging and empowering the participants, of giving them control over what they would show me and how they would talk about it (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Epstein et al., 2006).

The survey

The survey was designed as part of a larger project by a research team that included my three supervisors (based in Social Anthropology, Education, and Sociology), and a lecturer based in Māori Studies[18]. The survey was called the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey*, and we each contributed sections to elaborate on these ideas and to support our own particular research interests. Sections were included for migrant identity, ethnic identity, connection making through technology, Māori identity, Pākehā identity, and national identity. The survey began with background and demographic questions, and ended by asking respondents whether they would be interested in taking part in further interview-based research about identity[19]. The ethnic identity questions from the survey that have been analysed in this thesis are available in Appendix A.

Through my research role at Massey University, I was the team member who had the most experience of conducting large surveys. I took a lead role in the survey design and administration, and in the collation and analysis of the resulting data.

[18] This project was about identity and culture in New Zealand and was designed for an application to the Marsden Fund. We were successful in getting through the first round of applicants, but were not successful at the second round. Massey University offered to fund the survey part of the research.

[19] The permission to approach survey respondents for later interviews was conceived as part of the proposed Marsden research project. I used a different method to select the school and the participants who became part of my fieldwork phase, detailed in a later section of this chapter.

The survey predominantly used multiple choice and Likert-scale questions, with a small number of open-ended questions to allow respondents[20] to explain their answers. The ethnic identity section—the section focused on my research interests—included questions that accessed the respondents' ethnic groups, their reasons for identifying with those groups, and their parents' ethnic groups.

The ethnic group question was asked in two different ways. The first was an open-ended question where respondents could identify in any way they chose. The second, later in the section, was a closed question that asked respondents to tick boxes for pre-determined ethnic categories. Both questions emphasised that respondents could select more than one ethnic group if they wanted. The rationale for including two different questions was that, while people are familiar with being presented with a list of ethnic group categories in surveys and censuses, these categories might not be a true reflection of how people choose to identify themselves (Aspinall, 2012; Bonnett & Carrington, 2000). An open question allows respondents to express their identities in their own terms. The open question was presented first, so the respondents could answer freely without their responses being shaped by the pre-determined categories. By collecting responses to both types of questions, a comparison between the responses could be made.

The survey respondents were also asked to indicate the ethnic groups of their parents. This question was included because I wanted to tease out any differences in identifications between generations. Research has shown that children do not necessarily identify with the same ethnic groups as their parents, particularly if the parents are from two different ethnic groups (Harris & Sim, 2002; Kukutai, 2007).

Early on in the design process, a decision was made to translate the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* into te reo Māori (Māori language) and give respondents the option to complete the survey in English or te reo Māori. The survey team wanted to ensure equity of access for all respondents, some of whom would be students at kura kaupapa Māori,

[20] As a general convention throughout this thesis, I have referred to the survey participants as 'respondents', the fieldwork participants as 'participants', and the general student population at Kia Aroha College as 'students'.

wharekura[21] or other schools where the majority of learning took place in te reo Māori. The survey was translated by a professor of Māori language at Massey University[22].

SurveyMonkey, an online survey design and administration tool, was used to host the survey. The 'skip logic' ability of the software was used to direct respondents into either the English or te reo Māori versions of the survey, and to allow respondents to skip sections of the survey that were not relevant to them, in particular the migrant identity section and the Māori identity section.

The survey was piloted with friends and family members of the research team, then with a class of Year 13 students at two secondary schools, one in the Auckland and one in the Manawatū regions of New Zealand, and a Year 12 class at one Southland school (as the school did not have many Year 13 students). Sixty pilot responses were received and the survey was adjusted according to the comments and suggestions provided by the pilot participants.

Information letters describing the scope and intentions of the survey were sent to stakeholder organisations such as the Ministry of Education, the Secondary Principals' Association of New Zealand, the New Zealand School Trustees Association, the Post-Primary Teachers' Association National Office, Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development), the Māori Women's Welfare League, the Human Rights Commission, and 94 iwi authorities. Shortly afterwards, letters of invitation were sent to the principals of the 486 schools in New Zealand who were teaching Year 12 students in 2011. Included with the letter were a 'Win an iPod' poster and a team profile detailing who was in the research team. Schools that were identified in the Ministry of Education Directory of Schools (June 2011) as having a Māori immersion or bilingual unit, or as being a kura kaupapa Māori, were also sent the letter and poster in te reo Māori. Each school received a follow-up email or phone call in the week before the survey opened, to remind principals that the letter had been sent and to ask principals to pass the information about the survey on to a staff member who would be willing to make the survey available to Year 12 students in their school. Copies of the information letters, poster and team profile can be found in Appendix B.

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[21] A kura kaupapa Māori is a Māori language immersion school (kura) based on Māori principles and philosophy (kaupapa Māori). Kura kaupapa Māori can be primary schools or composite schools (teaching both primary and secondary students). A wharekura is a Māori immersion secondary school.

[22] In total, 14 students made valid responses in te reo Māori. These responses were translated into English by a fluent te reo-speaking colleague at the Institute of Education, Massey University.

We were conscious that we were asking students to complete a survey during a busy time of year, in the lead-up to their Level 2 NCEA external assessments[23]. We were also asking schools to act as a bridge between the research team and the students, to pass along information about the survey and how to access it, and to make computers available to students so that they could complete the survey during school time. It would not have been possible to adequately recompense all the schools and students for their time and participation. We did, however, offer five iPod Touches to students and two amounts of $1,000 professional development money to schools as prizes. To enter in the draw, students were asked to provide their names and contact details. Students were also asked to identify their school. The student and school prize winners were randomly selected in front of an independent witness after the survey was closed for responses.

Survey responses

The survey was open for responses between the 1st and 30th of September, 2011. Responses were gathered from 877 students at 54 schools across New Zealand. The responses were examined and invalid responses were removed, to give a final dataset of 732 responses. The data cleaning process involved looking for survey responses that contained a lot of incomplete, or missing, data. These invalid responses were removed so that there could be a more accurate representation of the numbers and percentages of people responding to each question. For the purposes of the analysis in this thesis, I removed the responses that did not move beyond the initial demographics section (n=90), those that did not identify an ethnic group (n=11), duplicate responses (n=13, based on the respondents who gave their names for the prize draw), and those that did not respond to the ethnic identity section (n=31). As a final step, all the respondent names and contact information were separated from the survey data before any analysis began.

Fifty-four schools took part in the survey, from 13 regions around New Zealand. The majority of the schools were in Auckland (n=11, 20.4%), Wellington (n=8, 14.8%), and Waikato (n=7, 13.0%). Twenty-six (48.1%) of the schools were Year 9-13 secondary schools, 16 (29.6%) were Year 7-13 secondary schools, and 12 (22.2%) were Year 0-13 composite schools[24]. The majority of the schools were state-funded (n=37, 68.5%), and

[23] NCEA, or the National Certificate of Educational Achievement, is the secondary school qualification that New Zealand students study towards. Students generally study Level 1 during Year 11, Level 2 during Year 12, and Level 3 during Year 13 (see www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/).

[24] Students typically begin school in New Zealand at age 5, when they enrol in a 'new entrants' or Year 0 class. At the beginning of the next school year, in February, they move into Year 1. The final year of formal schooling is Year 13, when students are 17 or 18 years of age. The most common school structure is primary school for Years 0 to 6, intermediate school for Years 7 and 8, and secondary

were co-educational (n=39, 72.2%). Ten (18.5%) of the schools were Māori immersion or had some bilingual classes. The schools were evenly spread across deciles[25] (typically five or six schools from each decile ranking), with slightly more Decile 10 schools (n=9, 16.7%), and slightly fewer Decile 1, 8 and 9 schools (all n=3, 5.6%). The schools ranged in size from very small (between 1 and 50 students) to large (between 1800 and 2000 students).

From the 54 schools described above, 732 Year 12 students made valid responses to the survey. Of these respondents, 477 (65.2%) were female and 249 (34.0%) were male. Six respondents did not give their gender. The respondents ranged in age from 16 years (n=459, 62.7%) to 19 years (n=4, 0.5%). The mean age was 16.4 years, with a standard deviation of 0.554 years. The majority of the respondents were born in New Zealand (n=571, 78.0%).

The respondents were predominantly attending schools in the Waikato (n=183, 25.0%), Auckland (n=168, 22.9%), Wellington (n=111, 15.2%), and Nelson-Marlborough (n=77, 10.5%) regions. Eighty-five (11.6%) of the respondents went to a Year 1-13 composite school, 266 (36.3%) went to a Year 7-13 secondary school, and 379 (51.8%) went to a Year 9-13 secondary school. The majority of respondents were attending a co-educational school (n=470, 64.2%), with the remainder attending a girls' school (n=212, 29.0%) or a boys' school (n=48, 6.6%). Ninety-eight (13.4%) of the respondents were attending a school with a Māori immersion or bilingual dimension. More respondents were attending Decile 10 (n=199, 27.2%), Decile 4 (n=108, 14.8%), Decile 7 (n=105, 14.3%), or Decile 1 (n=102, 13.9%) schools, and fewer respondents attended Decile 5 (n=11, 1.5%) or Decile 9 (n=12, 1.6%) schools.

school for Years 9 to 13, although some primary schools extend to Year 8, some secondary schools begin at Year 7, and composite schools that teach Years 0 to 13 can be found in rural areas with small population bases.

[25] In New Zealand, a school's decile ranking refers to a rough estimate of the socio-economic status of the area in which the school is located. Funding from the government is pro-rated based on the school's decile. A Decile 1 school is located in the lowest socio-economic area and receives the most funding; a Decile 10 school is located in the highest socio-economic area and receives the least funding.

Representativeness

The demographic information about the participating schools and students were compared to known Ministry of Education figures for 2011[26]. In 2011, 486 schools were teaching Year 12 students. The 54 participating schools represent a response rate of 11.1%. The participating schools were compared to all other schools teaching Year 12 students in terms of region, school type, state or private funding, school gender, decile and school size. Chi-square goodness of fit tests were used to look for significant differences between the participating schools and all other schools. No significant differences were found, meaning that in every respect, the participating schools were a representative sample of all the New Zealand schools teaching Year 12 students in 2011.

In 2011, 56,107 students were enrolled in Year 12. The 732 survey participants represent a response rate of 1.3%. The participating students were compared to the Ministry of Education roll return figures for 2011[27], again using chi-square tests to look for significant differences. The survey had more female and fewer male responses than would be expected of the total number of Year 12 students in 2011; fewer 16 year olds and more 17 year olds than would be expected; and more Māori and Pacific Islands respondents than would be expected[28].

The fieldwork

Once the survey responses were gathered, I undertook a preliminary scan of the results, looking for groups of responses that came from the same school. Within those groups, I looked for respondents who identified with more than one ethnic group. Three schools were identified as potential sites for the next phase of research. Of these, one school in particular stood out: Kia Aroha College. Six of the 15 respondents from the school identified with more than one ethnic group. In their replies to the question about why they identified with their ethnic group or groups, six respondents (or 40.0%) specifically mentioned the role of the school in helping to support or foster their cultural identities. The respondents made comments such as: "*the support of my family and friends around me and also the school that*

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[26] See www.educationcounts.govt.nz/data-services/directories for the Ministry of Education directory of schools.

[27] See www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028 for the Ministry of Education roll return data.

[28] Chi-square goodness of fit test results comparing the student respondents to the 2011 roll return figures: for gender, χ^2 (1, n=726) = 67.053, p<.001; for age, χ^2 (3, n=725) = 110.692, p<.001; and for ethnicity, χ^2 (5, n=732) = 89.836, p<.001.

I am attending and how they support our culture and who we are as Maori or Pacific islanders" and "*the school I attend also helps and allows me to embrace and be PROUD of my culture, we participate in cultural performances (ASB Poly Fest), speech competitions etc.*" In comparison, of the 717 other students who responded to the survey, only five (or 0.7%) mentioned schools or kura in their response to the question.

I contacted Ann Milne, the principal of Kia Aroha College, and she was interested in the research and keen for her school to be involved. I visited her and the school, and she asked me a number of questions about my research and my planned approach. We agreed that Kia Aroha College would be the site for the second phase of my research. I wrote a formal letter to Ann and the Board of Trustees, describing the project and requesting permission to conduct the research (see Appendix C). I heard informally via Ann that the Board was happy for the research to go ahead.

Kia Aroha College is a Decile 1, co-educational secondary school situated in Clover Park, South Auckland. The school caters for students from Year 7 (approximately 11 years of age) to Year 13 (approximately 18 years of age; the final year of formal schooling in New Zealand). At the time of the research, the school had a roll of approximately 350 students, of whom 50% identified with a Pacific Islands ethnic group and 47% identified as Māori. There were 17 students enrolled in Year 13 at Kia Aroha College in 2012.

Six Year 13 students, who described themselves as belonging to multiple ethnic groups, and who were interested in being part of the research, became my research participants. One of the six students decided to leave school part-way through the year, so withdrew as a participant. The remaining five students took part in the interviews and the photo elicitation exercise. All the students were 17 or 18 years of age, and they all graduated from secondary school at the end of the year.

Field visits to Kia Aroha College

In 2012, I made four visits to Kia Aroha College, in addition to the initial meeting with the principal. The first field visit took place in July 2012, for one week. During that week, I spent time with the Year 13 students in their class space within Te Whānau o Tupuranga, the Māori whānau unit[29], and gained a sense of the school's organisation, the students' interactions with each other and their teachers, and the resources available to the students. During lesson time, I sat at the communal table in the Year 13 area with the students as they

[29] The structure of the school into Māori, Tongan, Samoan and Cook Islands Maori whānau (family) units is described in more detail in Chapter Six.

worked. I talked with teachers in the staffroom at break times, and sat in on staff meetings. I attended and observed kapa haka (Māori performance) practice, where the Year 13 students were amongst those taking a leadership role. I visited the Tongan, Samoan and Cook Islands Maori whānau units with one of the staff members as she took photos of the students at work for the new school prospectus. I was fortunate that one visit coincided with some pre-arranged presentations at one of the local universities. I accompanied the principal, one of the senior staff members, and five Year 12 and Year 13 students (including two of the research participants) as they gave two talks on their school, how it supports learning for Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands Maori students, and how the school seeks to resist mainstream understandings of education through the school structure (the ethnic group-based whānau units) and the learning philosophy (teaching students about social justice and about the inequities hidden in the education system).

The students and staff members at the school were very welcoming and accommodating of my research. The students were interested in what I was doing there and asked me lots of questions. They were particularly interested in where I was from and by the fact that I have children. I recorded in my field notes that the students "seemed to latch on to my topic—it obviously makes sense to them". The teaching staff were likewise interested in my topic and quizzed me about it in the staffroom at break times. They were also a valuable source of information about how the school worked and why the school was structured as it was.

Spending time in the school context gave me the opportunity to reflect on the appropriateness of my planned research process. As a result, I decided to redesign the information sheets and consent forms for the interviews I wished to undertake, and decided not to use the information sheets and consent forms I had developed for the participant observation component of the field visits. I felt that my explanations of what I was doing and the teachers' and students' welcoming of me into their space was consent enough. It felt awkward and artificial to attempt to formalise it with a piece of paper, when consent had already been freely given. I reflected on this process:

> I'm not sure about the participant observation consent forms. And therefore the info sheets. Maybe reword info sheet slightly to take out refs to part-ob—i.e. concentrate on interviews and the formal consent forms for that. The part-ob consents seem a little redundant at the moment—the staff and students have given me their implicit and informal consent—they are cool with my presence. The principal cleared it with the teachers before I got here, and the teachers have told the kids that I'm here—and therefore that it's okay. (Field notes)

Spending time with the students also allowed me the chance to get to know them a little and to make some decisions about who might be appropriate to interview. I based these observations on who had shown an interest in my research, who was friendly and chatty with me, and who said that they identified with more than one ethnic group. I took these observations to Ann Milne, as she was acting as my guide as I got to know the students and the school. We discussed who should be the participants for the interviews. In the main, our impressions lined up: four of the five students who became my participants for the rest of the year were students that both Ann and I identified. She identified one student whom I had not considered, as she felt that he would have interesting reflections on his two ethnic groups. Following this conversation, I asked the individual students whether they would be interested in being part of the research and explained what would be involved. Each of the students I talked to was interested in being part of the research.

My final conversation with Ann Milne during this first field visit was to plan the timing and duration of my next visit to the school. It was important that the visits fitted around school events and did not cause any disruption. Ann also offered to distribute the information sheet and consent form to the participating students, once I had emailed the amended versions to her, and ensure that they were signed before I arrived for the next visit.

Because of the support of the principal, I was able to get the information sheet and consent form to the participants well in advance of the interviews. They had time to take the information home and discuss their participation with their families. The information sheet and consent form can be found in Appendix D.

The second field visit took place over three days at the beginning of September 2012. This visit was devoted to conducting the first interview with each participant. The participants had their consent forms signed and ready for me to collect. I conducted the interviews, and gave each participant a disposable camera and instructions in preparation for my next visit. Between the interviews, I again spent time in the Year 13 class space during school time, and in the staffroom with the teachers during break time. More detail about the interviews and the photo elicitation exercise can be found in the next two sections.

The third field visit took place over three days in early November 2012. During this visit I collected the disposable cameras and took them to a local shopping centre to be developed. Once I had the photos, I conducted the second interview with each participant. One participant was not at school on the day when I had his photos ready and could have conducted the interview, so I delayed that interview until my next visit. One of the senior

teachers was very embarrassed by this, and promised to remind him about the coming interview and make sure he was at school the next time I visited.

My final field visit to the school took place in early December 2012, to coincide with the school's end-of-year Celebration Day[30]. On the day before this event, I conducted the final interview. I also met with Ann Milne and gave her a book for the school library as koha—a gift for the school community to thank them for their time and hospitality.

During each field visit, I kept a field journal. In it, I not only recorded what I was seeing and hearing, but my reflections on the experience of conducting fieldwork as well. I also recorded how I was feeling, what I thought was going well, and what I thought was not working. I debated with myself about whether my presence was disruptive—was it suppressing the students and making them more quiet than usual, or was it encouraging them to tell exaggerated stories and show off to their peers in front of me? By the end of the first day at the school, these fears were somewhat assuaged. As I reflected,

> I think that went pretty well. The teachers and the students have been very welcoming and very accommodating. The kids thawed pretty quickly […] and were happy to sit and chat with each other or do their own thing while I was in their classroom space. Some of the students are interested in who I am and what I'm doing—they seem very impressed that I'm doing a PhD!—and were happy to ask me questions. (Field notes)

I also battled self-doubt as I sat in the class space feeling awkward and not able to actually participate, as I was not a school student:

> A student asked me if it is boring—and he's right, it can be a bit boring sitting here unoccupied. Maybe I need to bring some of my own stuff to work on so that I don't look/feel so out of place. But also, I don't want to set up any barriers between me and the students. Definitely need to think some more on what I'm doing. I'm more comfortable when there's something going on and I can tag along (i.e. this morning), or sit in the background (i.e. end of day hui [meeting] and karakia [prayer] time). I'm not sure I have the right temperament for intense fieldwork. (Field notes)

[30] This was a combined prize giving and day of performances. This event is described in detail in Chapter Six.

My feelings about conducting fieldwork resonated with Annette Lareau's (1996) account of the realities of her fieldwork in a school setting. She wrote about her feelings that she didn't know what she was doing, her timidity in approaching schools to request permission to conduct research, and her awkwardness during unstructured time. As she confessed, "I learned that I had difficulty 'hanging out' and that I was happier in more structured situations, such as when class was in session or when I was interviewing someone" (p. 206). This was certainly my experience. I spent a lot of time feeling out of place. Lareau's recommendation, however, is to be open about the ups and downs of the fieldwork experience and to give as full and honest an account as possible. I hope I have done this.

Interviews

During the fieldwork visits to Kia Aroha College, I conducted two individual interviews with each of the five Year 13 students who were the participants in my research. Both interviews were semi-structured. As Bernard (2006) explains, a semi-structured interview involves the use of an interview guide that lists questions to be asked or topics to pursue, but also allows the researcher or the participant the opportunity to pursue new ideas that are raised in the course of the conversation.

The first interview was used in part as a way to introduce the participants to my research topic and build rapport and trust with them. As such, the interview focused on 'simple' questions about the participants' backgrounds—questions that I hoped they would find easy to answer. I asked questions about their immediate and extended families, about how they celebrated special occasions, about language, about how they identified themselves in terms of ethnicity, and whether or how that identification had changed over time. For participants who identified as Māori, I asked about their knowledge of their iwi and their marae, and for participants who identified with a Pacific Islands group, I asked about their families' stories of migration to New Zealand. The more detailed list of interview questions can be found in Appendix E.

The second interview, held in conjunction with the photo elicitation interview described below, expanded on the first interview. I asked the participants questions about being a member of two ethnic groups: what they liked about their groups, how they found out information about them, whether they were proud of their groups, what benefits they felt they gained, who they spent time with, whether it was ever difficult to be a member of two groups, and whether their interest in one group outweighed their interest in the other. I asked about the values they saw as being important to each culture, and whether there were ever any clashes between the two sets of values. I asked questions about Kia Aroha College:

practical questions about its structure, as well as questions about how the participants felt about the school and what they gained by being there. I also asked about the previous schools they had been to and their experiences at those schools. The interview questions are available in Appendix F.

Both the first and the second interviews were conducted at the school, in one of two break-out spaces within Te Whānau o Tupuranga. One space was a small room with a door, to the side of the open-plan learning area. The other was a large space upstairs from the learning area, where the kapa haka practice usually took place. The disadvantage of this larger space was that it was used as a thoroughfare between the Year 7-9 learning area and the Year 10-13 learning area. This meant that our interviews were sometimes paused while someone crossed the space. On a couple of occasions, this led to us losing the thread of the conversation or not getting a chance to pursue an interesting comment that had been raised.

I used a digital voice recorder in both of the interviews with the participants, after having first gained their permission. I relied on this recorder, rather than taking notes by hand, as I wanted to devote my full attention to the conversation. I also took a container of chocolate biscuits to have on the table between us. One of the participants assured me that showing hospitality was a very good idea, and reminded me (with plenty of good-natured teasing) when I forgot to get the biscuits out at the beginning of his second interview.

At the beginning of both interviews, I explained the purpose of the interview and asked each participant's permission to talk to them. I told them that the information would be used in my doctoral thesis. This was in addition to the signed consent form they had provided before the first interview. At the end of the second interview I again asked them if it was alright to use our conversations as information for my thesis. I also asked whether they would like to be known in the thesis by a pseudonym or by their real names. Four of the five participants chose to use their real names, and one preferred a pseudonym (but asked that I choose the pseudonym).

Photo elicitation exercise

At the end of the first interview I gave each participant a disposable camera. I asked them to take photographs of things that were important to them and that showed their ethnic identities, and gave them specific instructions printed on a sheet of paper. The participants all immediately understood what I intended by the task, and quickly came up with ideas and suggestions of the kinds of photos they could take. They had time between the second and third fieldwork visits to take their photos.

For this part of the research, the biggest potential challenge was around ethics. I didn't want the participants to get into any awkward situations, where they were taking photos that other people around them might think were inappropriate. For that reason, I asked them to focus on things not people, and to respect the people around them. The instructions that the participants were given can be seen in Figure 1.

Instructions
I would like you to take photos of things at home, in your community, at school, around town—anywhere—that are important to you and show your culture or ethnic identities. Examples could be: clothes, food, places, buildings, events, signs, music posters or CDs, sports, etc.

You've only got 27 photos on the camera, so think carefully about how you want to use them.

The next time I come back to Kia Aroha, I'll take the camera and get the photos developed. I'll give you a copy of the photos to keep.

Purpose
The next time I interview you, we will look at the photos together and use them as a way of talking about ethnicity, culture and identity.

If I want to use copies of any of the photos in my work, I will ask you for your permission first. I will not use photos that show people's faces.

Remember…
Be sensitive! Don't take photos of inappropriate things or of people who don't want to be photographed. If in doubt, ask your Mum or another adult what would be appropriate.

Figure 1: Instructions given to the participants before they began the photo elicitation exercise

I had a specific, equity-related reason for giving each participant a disposable camera. There are more 'modern' ways of capturing photos (for example, with smart phones), but the school was Decile 1 and I could not assume that all the participants would have access to a camera of their own. It was also a way that I could symbolise to the participants that the exercise would not cost them anything.

Once the participants had taken their photos, I collected the cameras from each participant, developed the photos, and conducted the interviews. I printed a set of the participants' photos, and had a digital copy put onto CD.

In each interview, we spread out the photos and the participants talked about why they had taken each photo and what it meant to them. They chose the order in which they discussed

the photos and also which photos they did not want to talk about. I then asked them if there was anything they would do differently, now they had seen the photos, and what other photos they wished they had taken. At the end of the interview, they got to keep the printed photos. The participants were pleased to keep the photos, which they saw as one of the benefits of being involved in the research. Julius, in particular, had already planned what to do with them:

> *I made me a photo frame at home. Carved me one. And I was looking for some photos and I reckon these are good. I can like look at it and go "oh yeah I remember when I took that like that photo". Yeah. […] I'll get this put up where I wake up in the morning*. (Julius, Interview 2)

Some of the participants discovered extra photos that their siblings had taken without their knowledge. These were the photos that they chose not to discuss in the interviews. There were also photos that didn't come out properly, usually because of the limitations of the disposable cameras. The cameras didn't have a zoom function and had limited flash capabilities. The participants weren't able to manipulate the images as they took them, but instead could only 'point and shoot' and hope the photos came out as they imagined them. The photographs were captured on film, rather than digitally, so the participants couldn't review and edit the photos as they went.

(Photo S13)

Figure 2: An example of an unsuccessful photo

The photograph in Figure 2 shows the limitations of the flash on the disposable camera. Stacey took this photo, and was disappointed that it wasn't successful:

> *I don't know why this one didn't come out. This would have been a cool photo. It was supposed to be, umm, coz we were in the marae [meeting house] and there were heaps of us, coz we were staying over for a sleepover for kapa haka. […] And then I took it, and everybody was, like, sitting down. […] And there was heaps of people in a line, lying on the beds. Some of them were waving to the camera. […] It would have been a cool photo to have*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

There were also photos that the participants didn't take, but they wished they had. Julius regretted that he had not taken a photo of his guitar, and Uele wished he had taken photos of his church. Stacey chose not to take any photos of strangers' teams at a netball tournament because she wasn't sure if that would be appropriate.

The photo elicitation exercise enabled me to see aspects of the participants' lives, at home and in the community, that I otherwise would not have seen, as my fieldwork time was based solely at the school. The photos served as a starting point to talk about the cultural 'stuff' (Barth, 1969) of their lives—the way special occasions were celebrated, the food they ate, what they drank, the traditional clothes they wore on formal occasions, and the importance of music and performances. These descriptions often led to deeper discussions about the values that were important in their cultures, or the protocols that surrounded different events or practices. The outcomes of these conversations can be found in Chapters Five and Six.

The photographs also allowed the participants to tell me about things that I had never thought to ask about. Deazel and Julius both took photos of a grove of trees in the school grounds (see Figure 3).

Deazel described the trees in the following way:

> *There has been past students who have passed away at this school and we pray to these trees every morning, just to keep them kind of […] we remember that they're part of the whānau [family] and they've been here and [we] kind of celebrate their life I guess. […] Every time we have karakia [prayer] and stuff, we face that way and have our karakia. So it's good, you know. It's kind of warming. […] I didn't know them before I came here, but sometimes they [teachers] will tell stories, about like "oh this person, this person", and they have [a] little […] plaque at the*

bottom saying who they are. Before they died and stuff. The year I think. (Deazel, Interview 2)

(Photo J4)

Figure 3: The grove of trees in the school grounds

In his interview Julius reflected on the meaning and symbolism of the trees and the school prayer time:

> *I think this is like pretty much respect for the dead. Growing a tree […] is remembrance of the student that passed away. Sort of like a spiritual thing. Coz our teacher reckons, if you had an angry feeling then those trees would die out. Like if you had an ang[ry] feeling towards the trees. […] All of the areas do their own prayer in their own language. When we get up to do our one in front of the whole school, they all know that, the reason for the trees. And we all respect their prayers so that's [how] we learn to respect all the other cultures, not just ours*. (Julius, Interview 2)

This was a completely unexpected piece of information. As I had observed in my field notes,

> I had noticed that the students all stood and faced a particular way when they said their karakia, but I'd just thought they were facing that way because that was where the teacher was standing. I would never have thought to ask if there was a reason that they all faced that way. (Field notes)

Data analysis

Once the data had been collected, the survey responses were downloaded from SurveyMonkey, the handwritten field notes were typed up, and the digitally recorded interviews were transcribed. I did all the transcription myself, rather than pay a professional transcriber to do it, because I wanted to use the process to become familiar with what the participants had said and how they had said it.

The quantitative data from the survey were analysed using the statistical analysis software package, SPSS (see www.ibm.com/analytics/spss-statistics-software). SPSS was used to generate descriptive frequency data (Field, 2005; Huck, 2012).

The qualitative findings from the fieldwork observations, the interviews, the photo elicitation exercise, and the open-ended responses to the survey questions were analysed using NVivo, a qualitative analysis computer program (see www.qsrinternational.com). NVivo allowed me to organise the vast amounts of qualitative data into themes for analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe thematic analysis as a flexible technique for identifying patterns, key ideas, and relationships within qualitative data. Researchers look for themes that reflect important or meaningful ideas related to the overall focus of the research. Pieces of information within a theme should be clearly and meaningfully related to one another, and should be distinct from the information contained within a different theme.

Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to thematic analysis as flexible because it is a technique that can be applied to data from a wide range of ontological and epistemological positions. As they argue,

> Thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society. It can also be a 'contextualist' method, sitting between the two poles of essentialism and constructionism, […] acknowledg[ing] the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of 'reality'. (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81)

In this thesis, the analysis was 'contextualist' in nature. The ways that the participants described their ethnic identities, and the meanings and importance they ascribed to them,

were situated within wider societal narratives of ethnic identity and multiplicity at macro (state), meso (institutional) and micro (individual and family) levels.

There are a number of practical steps towards producing a thematic analysis of qualitative data. I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendation of first becoming familiar with the data through transcribing it, reading and re-reading it, and taking notes. Meaningful pieces of information were coded into themes using NVivo. These themes were then reviewed and refined, and relationships or conflicts between the themes were identified. The themes both emerged from the data (an inductive approach), and were derived from theoretical understandings of ethnic identity gained from the literature (a deductive approach). Coding the data into themes was an iterative process: I was constantly coding, analysing, reviewing and recoding. The process of writing about the themes as I drafted each chapter was essential. It was through writing that I came to an understanding of what the data were saying and how they could be integrated into a coherent story.

Ethical considerations

Conducting research in the social sciences involves considering the impact of that research on its participants. Ethical issues can arise at any stage of a project, during design, data gathering and analysis. Glesne (2006) argues that gaining ethical approval from an ethics committee should not be the only time ethics should be considered. Rather, researchers should act in an ethical manner and consider the implications of their actions for their research participants at all times. As Glesne (2006) says, "ethical considerations are inseparable from your everyday interactions with research participants and with your data" (p. 129).

In conducting the research for this thesis, I considered the impact of the survey, the field visits, the interviews, the photo elicitation exercise, the data storage, the analysis and the interpretation of the findings on my participants. I also considered the impact of my position as the researcher. I outlined these issues and their resolution in my research design in the two ethics applications I made to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. A low risk notification was lodged in June 2011 for the survey phase. A full ethics application was made in April 2012 for the fieldwork phase. The two letters of permission to conduct the research can be found in Appendix G.

The Massey University *Code of Ethical Conduct* (2010) describes eight principles that inform ethical research practice: respect, minimisation of harm, informed and voluntary consent,

privacy and confidentiality, avoidance of unnecessary deception, avoidance of conflict of interest, social and cultural sensitivity, and justice. I addressed each of these in my research in the following ways.

The principle of respect involves recognising the beliefs, dignity and autonomy of the people involved in the research. The survey was offered in two languages, English and te reo Māori. The cultural beliefs and practices of the fieldwork participants were respected at all times: it was the focus of the research, so all questions were asked in an open and genuine manner. All of the participants were informed about the purpose of the research, and were told that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time for no reason. One of the six original fieldwork participants did decide to withdraw.

The principle of minimisation of risk of harm includes risk to participants, to the researcher, and to the community where the research is taking place. Potential harm might be physical, psychological, social, cultural, spiritual, or economic. To avoid any perceived harm in administering or completing the survey, schools and participating students were offered compensation for their time in the form of the opportunity to win money towards professional development (for schools), or an iPod Touch (for students). This was not framed as an inducement to participation, but as an acknowledgement of the time and effort undertaken.

In the fieldwork phase of the research, harm was minimised in a number of ways. The school's kaumātua (elder) and senior Māori, Cook Islands Maori, or Tongan staff members were available if the participants had any questions or needed support because of issues raised by the research activities. No such support was needed. There was no cost to participants for the photo elicitation exercise. The participants were encouraged to think carefully about the photos they took for the photo elicitation exercise, and to ask for advice if they thought there might be something inappropriate about a possible photo. There was no risk to me as the researcher: all of the research activities took place in the school setting where everyone was very respectful of my presence.

To ensure that the interview data were a true and fair reflection of what the participants had intended to convey, the interview transcripts were sent to the participants for their feedback. The letter to participants, giving them the opportunity to provide feedback or correct mistakes, can be found in Appendix H. None of the participants responded to the letter. I also sent a draft copy of Chapter Six to Ann Milne, the principal of Kia Aroha College, for her feedback and to ensure that the chapter was an accurate reflection of what I had observed at the school and learned from the participants. Specifically, I asked her whether

my description of the school 'rang true' or if I had made any factual mistakes. I also let her know that the chapter she was reading was a draft, and would probably be reshaped as time went on. She wrote back to say that she thought the chapter was good, and made a few minor amendments to the way I had phrased some passages.

The principle of informed and voluntary consent asserts that research participants must be adequately and appropriately informed about what their participation will involve, and must be capable of consenting freely to becoming part of the research. The survey respondents were 16 years of age or over in 2011, and the fieldwork participants were 17 years of age or over in 2012. The Massey University code of ethics (Massey University, 2010) defines 'children' as being 15 years of age or under. Participants who are 16 years or more are considered to be capable of understanding the informed consent process in their own right and of choosing for themselves whether or not they wish to be involved in a research project.

For the survey phase, information letters in both English and te reo Māori were sent to the principals of every school teaching Year 12 students in 2011. Information posters for students were also included, so the schools could advertise the survey to interested Year 12 students (see Appendix B). When students went to the online survey link, they were given specific information about what their participation would involve and how to go about responding to the survey. The students were assured that they did not have to respond to any or all of the questions, and that their responses would be kept confidential.

For the fieldwork phase, permission was requested of the principal and Board of Trustees of Kia Aroha College to conduct the research (see Appendix C). Formal information sheets and consent forms were given to the fieldwork participants (see Appendix D), and they were given time to discuss their participation with their whānau. In addition to this written consent, the participants were asked for their verbal consent at the beginning of each interview, and for their consent that the interviews be digitally recorded.

The principle of privacy and confidentiality protects the rights of participants to remain anonymous, unless they consent to being named in the research. In the survey, respondents were asked to provide a name and contact details if they wanted to be included in the prize draw, and if they wanted to be involved in later interviews conducted by members of the survey research team. They were also asked to name their school, so that demographic information about the school could be added to the survey data at a later date. The respondents and their schools were assured that any identifying information would be removed from the survey before analysis began, and no individual or school would be

named when the survey data were reported. Research information from both the survey phase and the fieldwork phase was kept private and confidential in my locked office at Massey University and on my password-protected computer.

At the end of the second interview, I asked each fieldwork participant whether they would prefer to be known by their first name in my research, or if they would like to use a pseudonym. Four of the five participants wanted to use their names and one preferred a pseudonym. Uele was emphatic about his reasons for choosing to use his real name, even when given the opportunity to change his name at a later date:

> *Nah, I'll never change my mind. You know, why be shy to, you know, when they say "you talk the talk, gotta walk it". You know, you wanna put my information down, you gotta put it down with my name. So if you put it down anon you know, that's trying to hide who I am. Put my name out there*. (Uele, Interview 2)

I also asked Ann Milne, the principal of Kia Aroha College, and through her the Board of Trustees, how they felt about the school's name being used in this thesis. Ann emailed me with the Board's response: "the Board was unanimous in their wish that the school definitely should be named" (A. Milne, personal communication, 8 March 2014).

The principle of social and cultural sensitivity involves respect for the cultures of research participants and the communities in which they live. The survey was offered in English and te reo Māori, both official languages of New Zealand. Survey responses in te reo Māori were translated by a Māori colleague at Massey University. For the fieldwork phase of the research, I was conscious that I do not speak te reo Māori or any Pacific Islands languages, and I am not competent in Māori or Pacific Islands cultures. I drew on the advice and expertise of a Māori and a Tongan colleague in planning the research, developing the interview questions, and interpreting some of the fieldwork findings. I also asked questions of the principal and teachers at Kia Aroha College where necessary. I was respectful of the cultures of the participants, and of the protocols at the school. I provided koha to the participants in the form of food, and to the school at the end of the fieldwork period in the form of a gift.

The remaining ethical principles were not relevant to this research. There were no conflicts of interest as there was no existing relationship with any of the survey respondents, the fieldwork participants, or the principal or teachers at Kia Aroha College. Deception was not used as a technique in the research—all of the participants were fully informed about the purpose of the research and how it would be conducted. Finally, the principle of justice was

respected. There was no discrimination in the selection of participants, no participants were vulnerable or open to exploitation, and any participant could withdraw from the study at any time if the burden of participation became too much.

Chapter summary

This chapter has described the mixed methods research methodology and philosophical positioning adopted by the study. Each of the methods, survey, participant observation, interviews, and photo elicitation, have been explained. The ways that the research data were analysed have been considered. The steps taken to address the ethical issues raised by the survey phase and fieldwork phase of the research have been discussed.

The next three chapters present the results of the research, and discuss them in relation to the literature on ethnic identity. Chapter Four presents and discusses the survey findings. Chapters Five and Six present and discuss the fieldwork findings regarding family influences on identity and school influences on identity.

Chapter Four: Categorising Ethnic Identities

Introduction

At the macro level of ethnic identity construction, individuals' ethnic group identifications are shaped and re-categorised by state-defined ethnic categories. In New Zealand, official understandings of ethnicity at the macro level treat ethnic identity as something that is self-identified, as something that can be multiple, and as something that can change over time (Callister et al., 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). However, the way that state institutions such as Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Education collate ethnic group data contradicts these official understandings. The types of questions used to gather ethnicity data—whether they be open-ended or closed, tick-box questions—also impacts on ethnic group counts (Aspinall, 2012; Bonnett & Carrington, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 2000a). The analyses in this chapter highlight the contradictions inherent between the understandings promoted by the state and the state's actions in grouping people into categories, as well as the difficulties in finding an ethnicity question type that can provide useful data.

Survey and census data provide an opportunity to track the numbers of people who report various ethnic categories, but these tools do not explain very much about how people practice their ethnic group identities or what these identities mean for them. This role is better played by qualitatively-focused research methods. Surveys and censuses help to reinforce the idea that ethnic identity is an objective reality in the world, that it is something 'out there' that people 'have' rather than something people choose to identify with, and that people who fit into each category are somehow the same (Callister et al., 2009; Kertzer & Arel, 2002; Nagel, 1994; Verdery, 1994).

This chapter examines the survey respondents' ethnic group identifications, and compares those respondents who identified with a single ethnic group with those who identified with multiple ethnic groups. It explores the impact of different categorisation schemes on ethnic

group counts. It investigates differences between how the participants responded to open and closed ethnic group questions, and differences between the respondents' self-identifications and the ethnic groups ascribed to their parents. Respondents' feelings about their ethnic identities are examined: their sense of belonging, participation in cultural activities, knowledge, sense of pride, and interactions with people from other ethnic groups. Finally, the reasons the respondents gave for their identifications are explored.

Ethnic group responses in the survey

In the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey*, Year 12 students were asked to identify their ethnicity in two separate questions. The first was open-ended, where respondents could identify in any way they chose (the 'open' version). In the second question, later in the survey, they were asked to tick boxes for pre-determined ethnic categories (the 'closed' version). Both questions were worded identically—'Which ethnic group/s do you consider that you belong to?'—and emphasised that respondents could select more than one ethnicity if they wanted. The wording and the categories for the closed question were taken from the 2006 New Zealand Census ethnicity question (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). An option for 'Pākehā', as distinct from 'New Zealand European', was added so that any differences between respondents who identified as New Zealand European and those who identified as Pākehā could be examined[31].

The survey data were analysed using SPSS (www.ibm.com/analytics/spss-statistics-software). The participants' responses to the open and closed ethnicity questions were examined, and new variables for each identified ethnic group were created. The ethnic group responses were transposed into the new variables, using a binary code where '1' meant the respondent identified with a group, and '0' meant they did not identify with the group. The respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups were coded into two or more of the new variables. Where a participant's responses to the open and closed questions differed, all of their responses were coded into the new variables. Once this process was completed, the total number of respondents who identified with each group was calculated, to arrive at an absolute number for each ethnic group.

When categorising the open and closed ethnicity responses into the ethnic group variables, I kept in mind the Statistics New Zealand (2005) definition of ethnicity, which emphasises

[31] This particular analysis, comparing New Zealand European with Pākehā identifications, is outside the scope of this thesis, which looks at multiple ethnic identifications. These comparisons will be the subject of a later research paper.

that people self-identify with an ethnic group and that they might identify with multiple groups. This definition focuses on the cultural, social and relational aspects of ethnicity. I therefore tried to be as specific as possible when creating the new variables, using groups such as Fijian, Taiwanese, Serbian or Gambian, rather than pan-ethnic groups such as Pasifika, Asian, European or African.

A respondent was classified as identifying with multiple ethnic groups if they recorded more than one ethnicity, for example, New Zealand European and Māori, Pākehā and Samoan, or Māori and Cook Islands Maori[32]. If a respondent identified as New Zealand European and Pākehā, but did not identify with any other ethnicity, they were not included in the count for multiple ethnic groups. Pearson and Sissons (1997) found very few practical differences between people who identified as Pākehā and people who identified as New Zealand European. In their review of the official ethnicity statistical standard, Statistics New Zealand (2009) argued that New Zealand European and Pākehā were two different terms for the same group of people (and decided that New Zealand European would be the preferred term in official statistics for the foreseeable future).

In cases where a respondent identified with a pan-ethnic group (such as Pacific Islander or Asian) in the open ethnicity question and then a more specific ethnic group (such as Samoan or Korean) in the closed ethnicity question, they were coded into the variable for the more specific group. Pan-ethnic groups were only used as ethnic group categories when no other qualifying information was available in the survey response.

Because of the uncertainty around 'New Zealander' and whether people intend it to mean a national identity, an ethnic identity, or a rejection of ethnic labels (Callister, 2004b; Callister et al., 2009; Kukutai & Didham, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2004), I decided to exclude New Zealander-type responses from the ethnic group counts. If a respondent identified with a single ethnic group and also expressed an identity as a 'Kiwi' or 'New Zealander', for example "*Maori/Kiwi*" (Respondent #797) or "*New Zealander, Korean*" (Respondent #292), they were recorded as having a single ethnic group. If a respondent identified with two or more groups, in addition to describing themselves as a New Zealander, they were recorded as having multiple ethnic groups. Of the 87 respondents who included a New Zealander-type identification in their descriptions of themselves, 6 (6.9%) respondents solely identified as a New Zealander, rather than stating a specific ethnic group. Fifty-nine (67.8%)

[32] Statistics New Zealand suggests that no macron be used for Cook Islands Maori, as the 'a' in 'Maori' is a short vowel, unlike the longer vowel in New Zealand Māori (archive.stats.govt.nz/about_us/what-we-do/our-publications/style-guides/style-manual/maori-language.aspx).

did so as part of an identification with a single ethnic group, and 22 (25.3%) did so in addition to two or more ethnic groups.

Of the 732 Year 12 students who participated in the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey*, 533 (72.8%) identified with a single ethnic group and 199 (27.2%) identified with multiple groups[33]. The absolute number of respondents who identified with each ethnic group can be found in Table 2 on page 91. Because the respondents could identify with more than one ethnic group, these figures total to more than 100 percent.

Of the 533 respondents who identified with one group, 332 (62.3%) identified as New Zealand European and/or Pākehā only, and 49 (9.2%) identified as Māori only. Forty-one (7.7%) identified as Samoan only, 17 (3.2%) as Cook Islands Maori only, 13 (2.4%) as Tongan only, 4 (0.8%) as Fijian only, 3 (0.6%) as Kiribati only, and 2 (0.4%) as Fijian Indian[34] only. Fourteen (2.6%) of the respondents identified as Chinese only, 10 (1.9%) as Indian only, 9 (1.7%) as Filipino only, 4 (0.8%) as Sri Lankan only, 3 (0.6%) as Korean only, 2 (0.4%) as Vietnamese only, and one respondent (0.2%) identified solely as Burmese, Malaysian, Taiwanese and Thai. Six (1.1%) identified as South African only, 5 (0.9%) as British only, 2 (0.4%) as German only, 2 (0.4%) as Serbian only, and one respondent (0.2%) identified solely as Australian, Dutch, Swiss, Gambian and Persian/Iranian. Figure 4 on page 92 shows these respondents' ethnic groups as a bar graph.

Of the 199 respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups, 163 (81.9%) identified as New Zealand European and/or Pākehā in addition to another group or groups, and 101 (50.8%) identified as Māori in addition to another group or groups. The full list of ethnic groups specified by the respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups can be seen in Figure 5 on page 93. Most of these respondents identified with two groups (n=157, 78.9%), though some identified with three (n=30), four (n=6), five (n=4) or six (n=2) groups.

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[33] If I had included New Zealander in the ethnic group counts, a further 59 respondents would have been classified as identifying with multiple ethnic groups, bringing the total to 258, or 35.2% of the survey participants.

[34] The *Statistical Standard for Ethnicity* (Statistics New Zealand, 2005) states that 'Fijian Indian', whilst incorporating two ethnic group terms, is a single ethnic group. I have followed this recommendation. In Bell's (2004b) terminology, it is a doubled identity.

Table 2: Absolute frequency counts of ethnic groups identified in the National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey

	Frequency	Percent of 732
NZ European and/or Pākehā	495	67.6%
Māori	150	20.5%
New Zealander	6	0.8%
Samoan	70	9.6%
Cook Islands Maori	36	4.9%
Tongan	29	4.0%
Niuean	7	1.0%
Fijian	6	0.8%
Fijian Indian	4	0.5%
Kiribati	3	0.4%
Tokelauan	2	0.3%
Papua New Guinean	1	0.1%
Unspecified Pacific Islands	1	0.1%
Chinese	32	4.4%
Indian	16	2.2%
Filipino	11	1.5%
Sri Lankan	4	0.5%
Japanese	3	0.4%
Korean	3	0.4%
Singaporean	2	0.3%
Thai	2	0.3%
Vietnamese	2	0.3%
Burmese	1	0.1%
Malaysian	1	0.1%
Taiwanese	1	0.1%
Unspecified Asian	1	0.1%
British	31	4.2%
Dutch	17	2.3%
South African	13	1.8%
Irish	11	1.5%
German	8	1.1%
Canadian	4	0.5%
Australian	3	0.4%
American	2	0.3%
Serbian	2	0.3%
French	1	0.1%
Italian	1	0.1%
Norwegian	1	0.1%
Portuguese	1	0.1%
Russian	1	0.1%
Swedish	1	0.1%
Swiss	1	0.1%
Unspecified Middle Eastern	2	0.3%
Chilean	1	0.1%
Gambian	1	0.1%
Persian/Iranian	1	0.1%
Unspecified African	1	0.1%
Total	**987**	**134.8%**

Note: The New Zealander category only includes those respondents who stated no other ethnic group.

Figure 4: Ethnic groups of the 533 respondents who identified with a single ethnic group

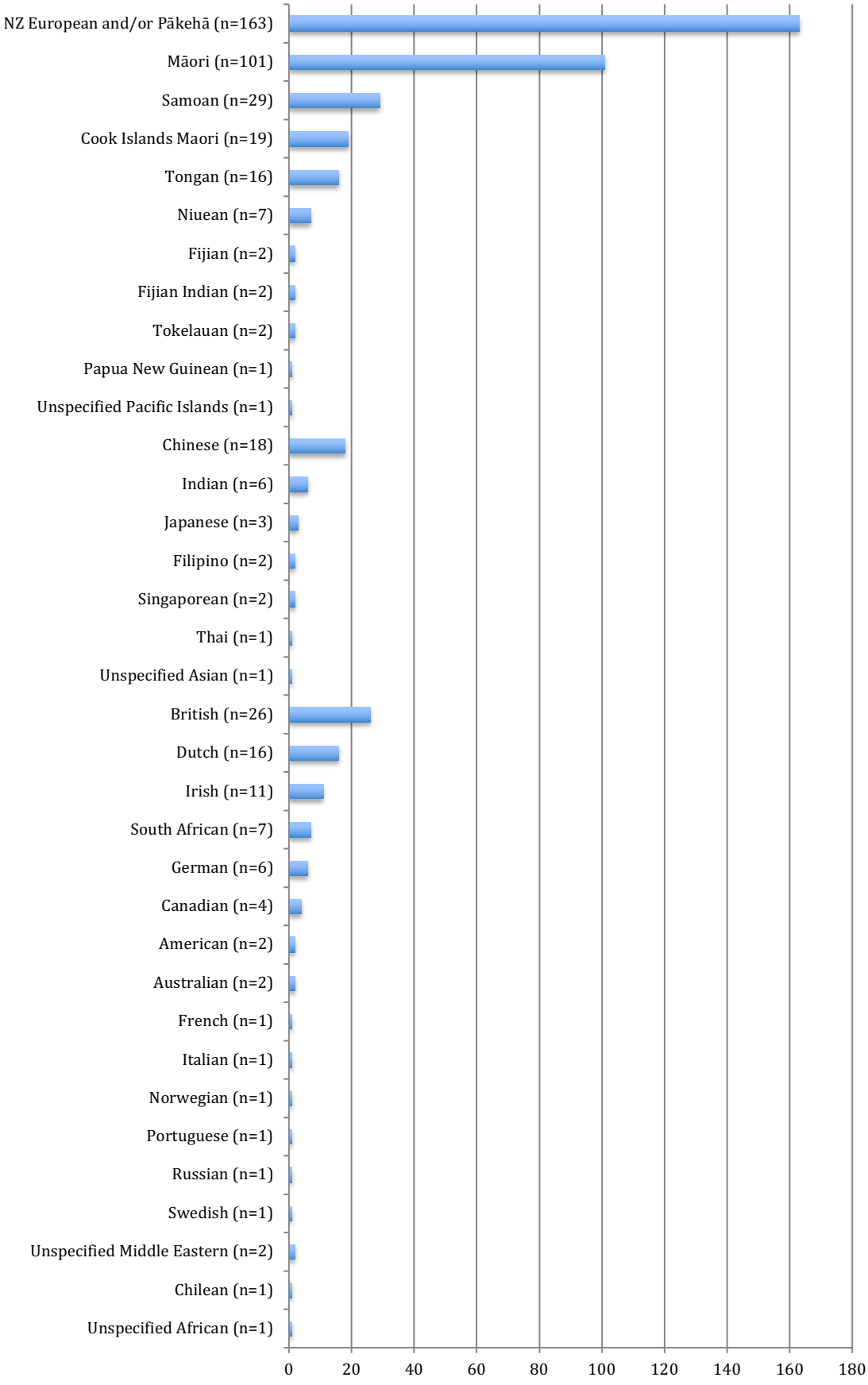

Figure 5: Ethnic groups of the 199 respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups

Figures 6 to 10 show a comparison of the number of respondents who identified solely with an ethnic group and those who identified with that group in combination with another group or groups. As some ethnic groups had very few respondents, these comparisons are not intended to show any significant differences between single and multiple identifications.

Figure 6 compares single and multiple identifications for New Zealand ethnic groups. Respondents who identified as New Zealand European and/or Pākehā did so more frequently as a single ethnic group. Māori respondents identified more frequently with multiple ethnic groups.

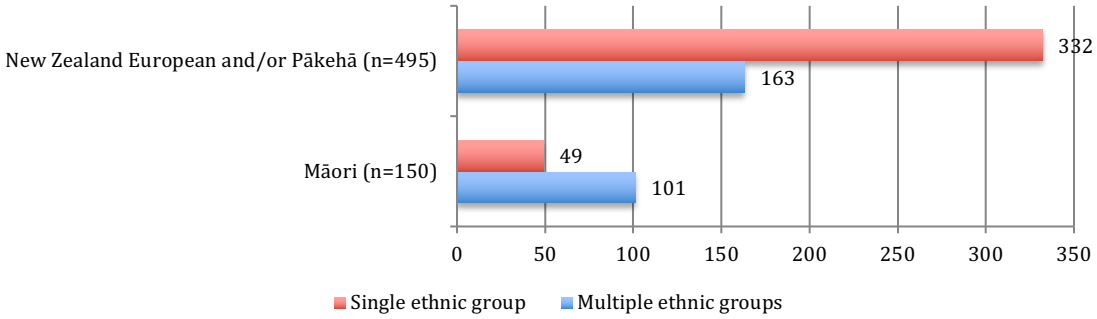

Figure 6: Comparison of number of respondents identifying with New Zealand ethnic groups solely or in addition to another ethnic group or groups

Figure 7 shows the number of respondents who identified with Pacific Islands groups. Respondents who identified as Samoan, Fijian and Kiribati did so more frequently as a single ethnic group. Respondents who identified as Cook Islands Maori, Tongan, Niuean, Tokelauan and Papua New Guinean did so more frequently in combination with other ethnic groups.

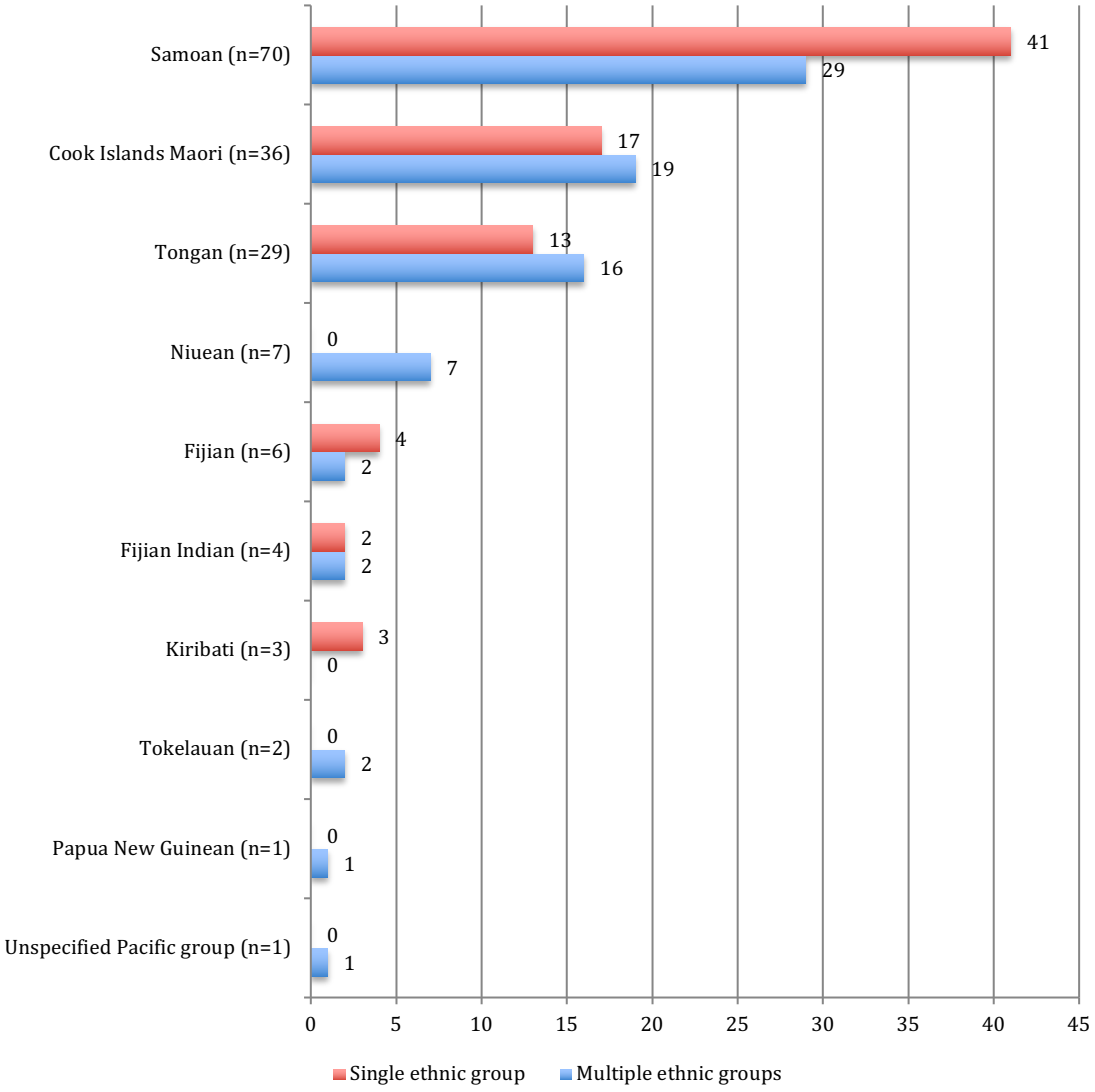

Figure 7: Comparison of number of respondents identifying with Pacific Islands ethnic groups solely or in addition to another ethnic group or groups

Figure 8 shows the number of respondents who identified with Asian ethnic groups. Respondents who identified as Indian, Filipino, Sri Lankan, Korean, Vietnamese, Burmese, Malaysian and Taiwanese did so more frequently as a single ethnic group. Respondents who identified as Chinese, Japanese and Singaporean did so more frequently as one of multiple ethnic groups.

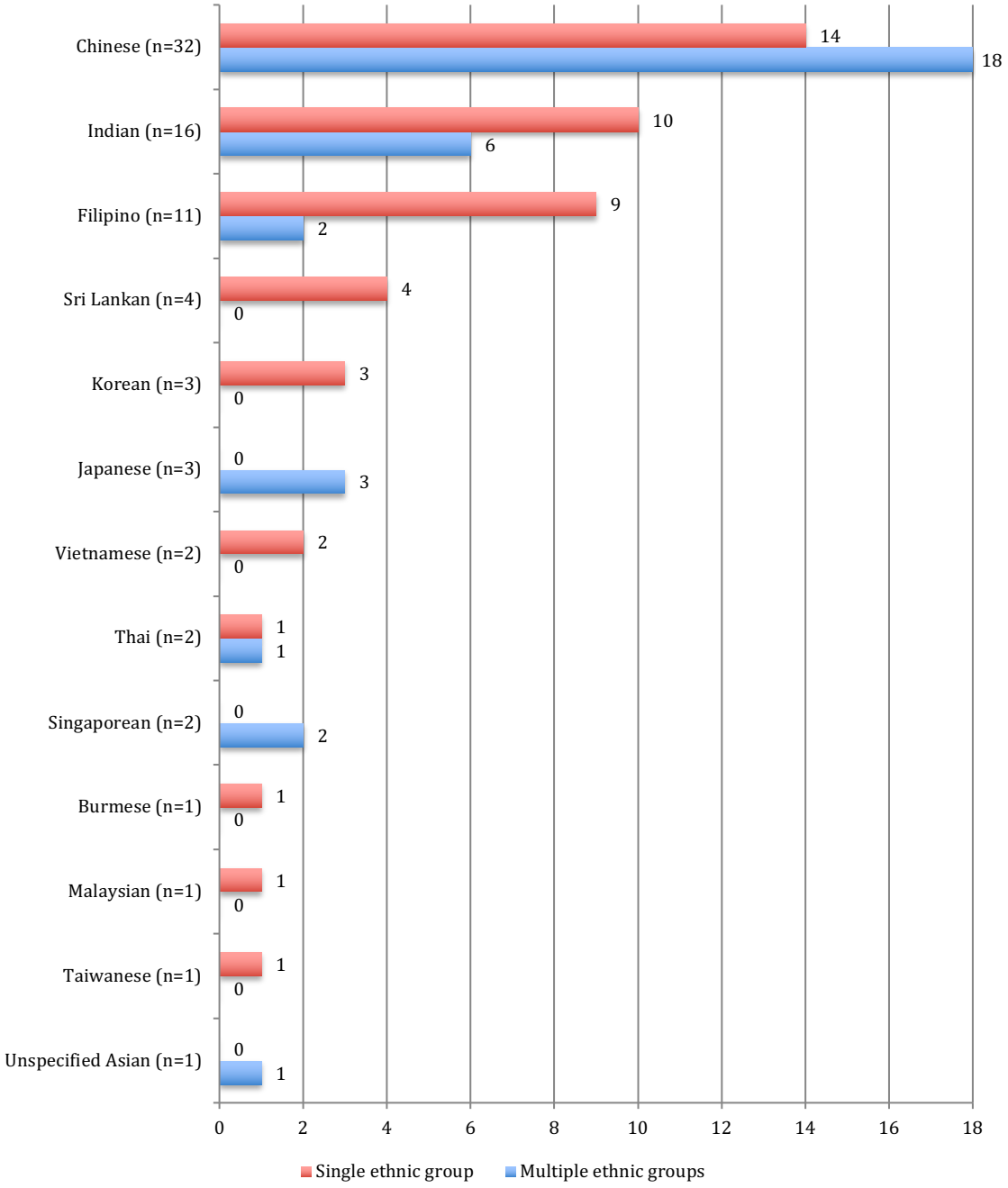

Figure 8: Comparison of number of respondents identifying with Asian ethnic groups solely or in addition to another ethnic group or groups

Figure 9 shows the number of respondents who identified with European ethnic groups. Respondents who identified as Serbian and Swiss did so more frequently as a single ethnic group. Respondents who identified with all of the other ethnic groups originating in Europe were more likely to do so as one of multiple ethnic groups. This was particularly so for the respondents who identified as British[35], Irish or Dutch.

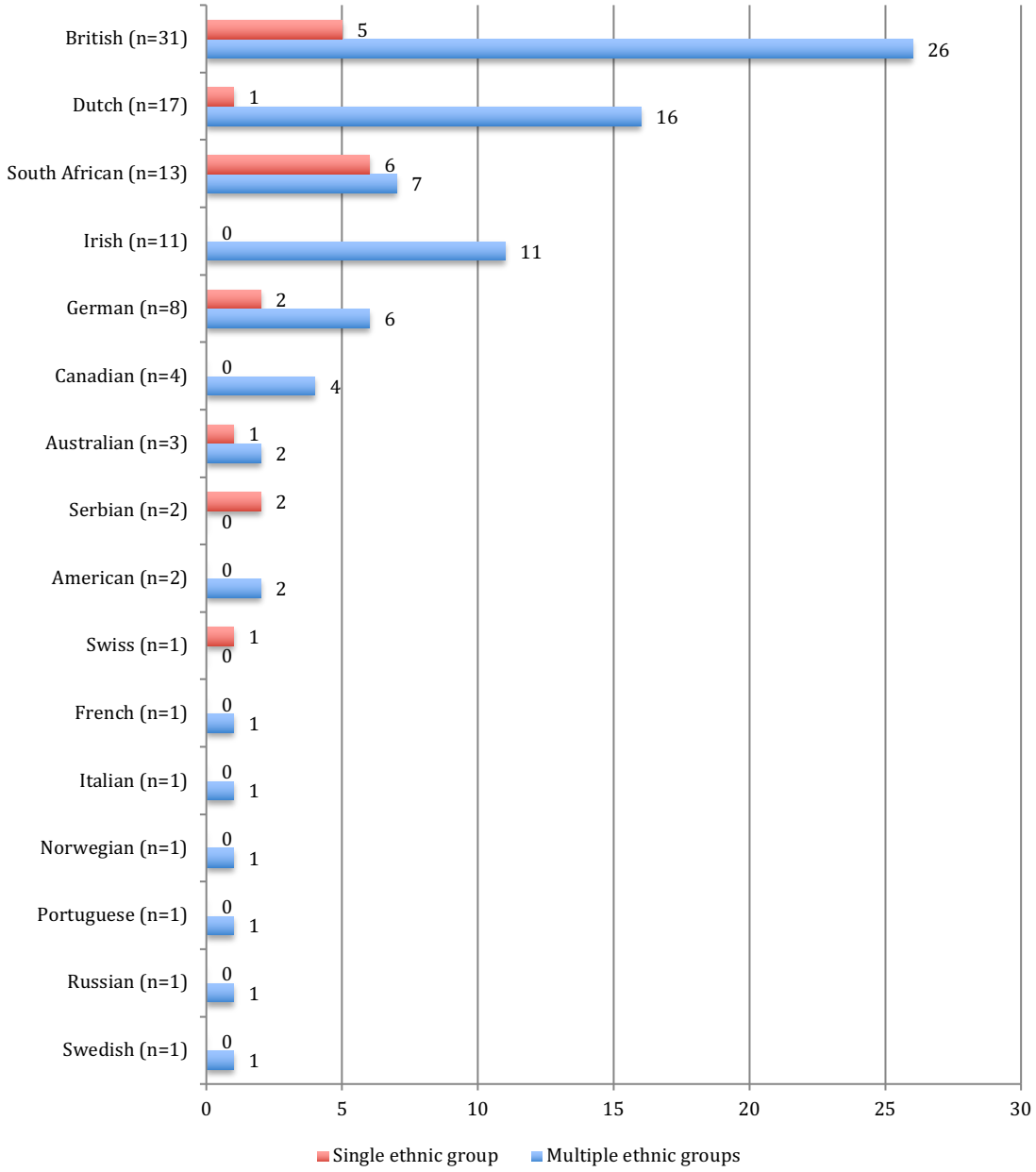

Figure 9: Comparison of number of respondents identifying with European ethnic groups solely or in addition to another ethnic group or groups

[35] The 31 respondents who identified as British can be further broken down in the following manner: 14 English, 11 Scottish, 1 Cornish, 3 unspecified British, 1 English and Scottish, and 1 Scottish and Welsh.

Finally, Figure 10 shows the number of respondents who identified with other ethnic groups, either as a single ethnic group (Gambian and Persian/Iranian), or as one of multiple ethnic groups (Middle Eastern, Chilean and African).

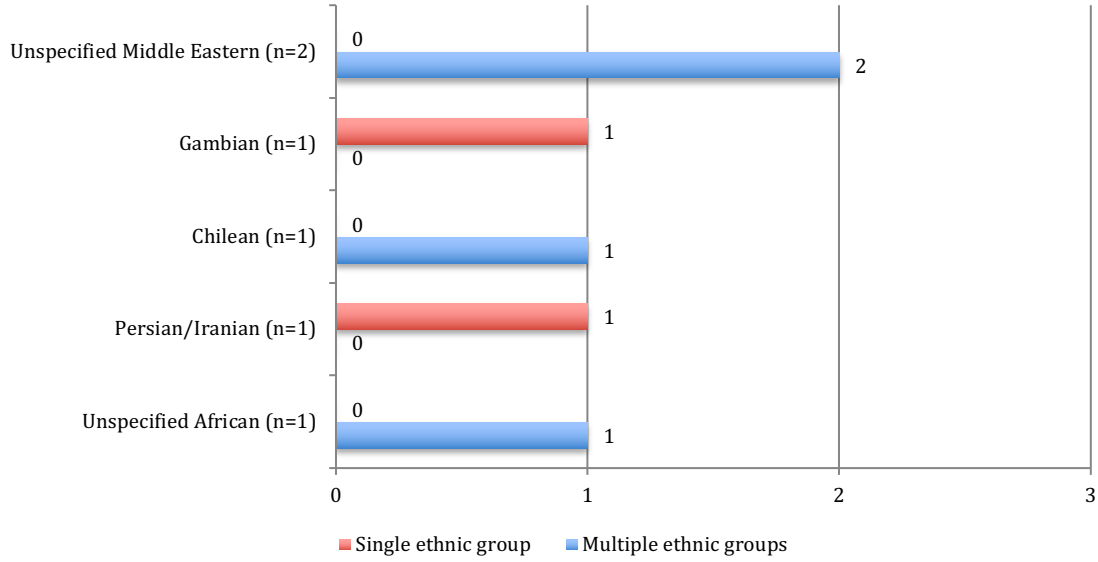

Figure 10: Comparison of number of respondents identifying with other ethnic groups solely or in addition to another ethnic group or groups

In New Zealand and internationally it has been observed that the number of people identifying with multiple ethnic groups has increased in recent years (Lopez, 2003; Parker & Song, 2001; Spickard & Fong, 1995; Statistics New Zealand, 2007b, 2014; Thompson, 2012). This trend is particularly so for children and young people (Kukutai & Callister, 2009). The data from the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* support these contentions, especially when compared with descriptions of the New Zealand population that are available through the national census.

The two most recent New Zealand censuses, in 2006 and 2013, capture the New Zealand population before and after the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* data were collected. In the 2006 Census, 10.4% of the total population identified with more than one ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b), which increased to 11.2% of the total population in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). In the survey, 199 people (27.2%) identified with multiple ethnic groups. This is higher than the New Zealand Census trends might imply, but the survey only collected responses from a sample of 732 secondary school students who were in Year 12 in 2011.

The majority of the survey respondents were 16 or 17 years of age in 2011. During the 2006 Census they would have been 11 or 12 years old, and during the 2013 Census they would have been 18 or 19 years old. In the 2006 Census, 19.7% of children aged between 0 and 14 years identified with more than one ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b). In the 2013 Census, 15.9% of those aged between 15 and 24 years identified with more than one ethnic group[36]. These figures are still lower than the 27.2% of survey respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups. The discrepancy may be due to the emphasis placed in the survey that respondents could identify with more than one ethnic group, or that the survey respondents chose to participate because they were particularly interested in ethnic or cultural identity. It may also be due to the way I tallied the ethnic group responses by combining the open and closed ethnicity questions. If just the open question is considered, then 16.6% of the respondents identified with more than one ethnic group; if just the closed question is considered, then 22.7% of the respondents identified with more than one ethnic group[37]. Whatever the reason, the survey data confirm that adolescents are more likely than the general population to identify with multiple ethnic groups, and that the number of people who identify with multiple groups may be even higher than the numbers captured in the national census.

Overall, the 732 participants who responded to the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* identified with 46 different ethnic groups, 47 if the New Zealander identity is included, and 51 if the different British identities are also included. For 199 of the respondents, these ethnic groups were in combination with one or more other groups. This presents an incredibly rich and diverse picture of ethnicity for one small group of Year 12 students in 2011.

[36] This figure is not available in the summary report on culture and identity data in the 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), but may be found in the accompanying data tables available at archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity.aspx.

[37] Further differences between the open and closed questions are explored later in this chapter.

Categorisation and prioritisation

This complexity and diversity in ethnic group identification is rarely captured in official statistics. Government bodies such as Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Education are not able to sensibly report the many hundreds of ethnic groups that people in New Zealand identify when asked about their ethnicity. For the 2013 Census, Statistics New Zealand categorised ethnicity responses into 180 specific ethnic groups[38], but then reduced these to six overarching ethnic categories according to the protocols outlined in the Statistical Standard for Ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2005, 2009). Statistics New Zealand encourages people to report multiple ethnic groups, and reports multiplicity within the six pan-ethnic categories, using either a total response output or a single/combination output (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). The Ministry of Education provides schools with a list of 221 specific ethnic groups into which they can categorise their students[39]. As noted earlier, while schools collect multiple group identifications, the Ministry of Education does not provide the means for them to report multiple ethnic groups in school roll return data. Instead, schools are asked to prioritise students' groups according to a ranking schedule (Leather, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2012, 2016a).

The following tables demonstrate the differences in ethnic group counts that these categorisation protocols produce. In Tables 3 and 4, the results of the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* are treated in the same way as the New Zealand Census data. In Table 5 on page 102, the results are treated in the same way as the Ministry of Education roll return data.

[38] See the Statistics New Zealand Level 4 Ethnicity Classification, available at archive.stats.govt.nz/methods/classifications-and-standards/classification-related-stats-standards/ethnicity.aspx.

[39] See the Ministry of Education Priority Report Level 4, found at www.educationcounts.govt.nz/data-services/collecting-information/code-sets-and-classifications/ethnic_group_codes.

Table 3: NICD Survey data re-categorised according to the Statistics New Zealand 'total response output' protocol

	Frequency		Percent of 732	
European	524		71.6%	
Māori	150		20.5%	
Pacific Peoples	132		18.0%	
Asian	79		10.8%	
MELAA	6		0.8%	
Other Ethnicity	87	(6)	11.9%	(0.8%)
Total	**978**	**(897)**	**133.6%**	**(122.5%)**

Note: Responses total to more than 100% as respondents could identify with more than one ethnic group.

The figures in parentheses exclude the New Zealander responses, for the purposes of analysis.

'MELAA' refers to ethnic groups from the Middle East, Latin America and Africa.

Table 4: NICD Survey data re-categorised according to the Statistics New Zealand 'single/combination output' protocol

	Frequency		Percent	
European only	332	(392)	45.4%	(53.6%)
Māori only	48	(49)	6.6%	(6.7%)
Pacific Peoples only	83	(88)	11.3%	(12.0%)
Asian only	44	(48)	6.0%	(6.6%)
MELAA only	2		0.3%	
Other Ethnicity only	6		0.8%	
Māori/European	71	(75)	9.7%	(10.2%)
Māori/Pacific Peoples	12		1.6%	
Pacific Peoples/European	14	(16)	1.9%	(2.2%)
Asian/European	16	(20)	2.2%	(2.7%)
Two groups not elsewhere included	76	(6)	10.4%	(0.8%)
Māori/Pacific Peoples/European	8	(9)	1.1%	(1.2%)
Three groups not elsewhere included	19	(9)	2.6%	(1.2%)
Four to six groups	1	(0)	0.1%	(0.0%)
Total	**732**		**100.0%**	

Note: The figures in parentheses exclude the New Zealander responses, for the purposes of analysis.

'MELAA' refers to ethnic groups from the Middle East, Latin America and Africa.

Table 5: NICD Survey data re-categorised according to the Ministry of Education protocol

Ministry classification			Detailed classification		
	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Māori	150	20.5%	Māori	150	20.5%
Pacific Peoples	114	15.6%	Tokelauan	2	0.3%
			Fijian	9	1.2%
			Niuean	4	0.5%
			Tongan	21	2.9%
			Cook Islands Maori	23	3.1%
			Samoan	51	7.0%
			Other Pacific Peoples	4	0.5%
Asian	65	8.9%	Southeast Asian	17	2.3%
			Indian	12	1.6%
			Chinese	26	3.6%
			Other Asian	10	1.4%
Other	5	0.7%	Middle Eastern	3	0.4%
			African	2	0.3%
European/ Pākehā	398	54.4%	Other European	63	8.6%
			NZ European/Pākehā	335	45.8%
Total	**732**	**100.0%**	**Total**	**732**	**100.0%**

Note: The ethnic groups are presented in order of prioritisation, from Māori as first priority, to New Zealand European/Pākehā as last priority.

The Ministry of Education situates people who identify solely as New Zealander in the New Zealand European/Pākehā category.

Both the Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Education protocols reduce the 46 ethnic groups reported in Table 2 dramatically. Statistics New Zealand's 'total response output' results in six categories (Table 3), and their 'single/combined output' results in 14 categories (Table 4). The Ministry of Education's classification scheme results in five categories, or 16 categories under their detailed classification output (Table 5). In the Statistics New Zealand output, multiplicity is acknowledged. Table 3 shows that the 732 respondents were identifying with an average of 1.34 ethnic groups per person. Table 4 shows that 515 (70.4%) of the respondents identified with a single group, and 217 (29.6%) identified with more than one group. The Ministry of Education output does not acknowledge multiplicity.

The biggest difference between how I have categorised the respondents' ethnic group responses and how Statistics New Zealand treats the ethnic groups is the inclusion of New

Zealander responses in Statistics New Zealand's 'Other' category[40]. This increases the incidence of multiple ethnic identities from 199 (27.2%) to 217 (29.6%). Tables 3 and 4 also include some figures in parentheses, excluding these New Zealander responses so that a more direct comparison with the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* results is possible. The average number of ethnic groups reported by each individual becomes 1.23 under the Statistics New Zealand protocol, in contrast to the 1.36 groups per person identified in Table 2. The number of respondents identifying with multiple ethnic groups becomes 147 (20.1%). By excluding the New Zealander responses, it becomes clear that Statistics New Zealand's classification scheme reduces the incidence of multiple ethnic group identifications. Fifty-two fewer people identified with multiple ethnic groups under the Statistics New Zealand protocol, than did when I tallied the data. These findings also highlight that statistics themselves are not a neutral, objective reflection of 'reality' (Best, 2002). The number of people who identify with multiple groups depends on who is doing the counting, what pieces of information they include in their count, and the assumptions about ethnicity they bring to the task of collation.

In order to delve deeper into the differences between the categorisation schemes, and to see what was happening to the people who identified with more than one group, I selected the 135 respondents who identified with one or more Pacific Islands ethnic groups. Figure 11 shows what happened to each of these individuals under the Ministry of Education and Statistics New Zealand protocols. The identifications of four individuals have been highlighted in bold font, and their stories of their ethnic group identifications have been used to illustrate the differences in categorisation. These four individuals were chosen because their stories emphasise the different ways in which the Ministry of Education and Statistics New Zealand shape and transform ethnic group identifications into ethnic categories.

[40] The Ministry of Education treats 'New Zealander' as equivalent to New Zealand European/Pākehā.

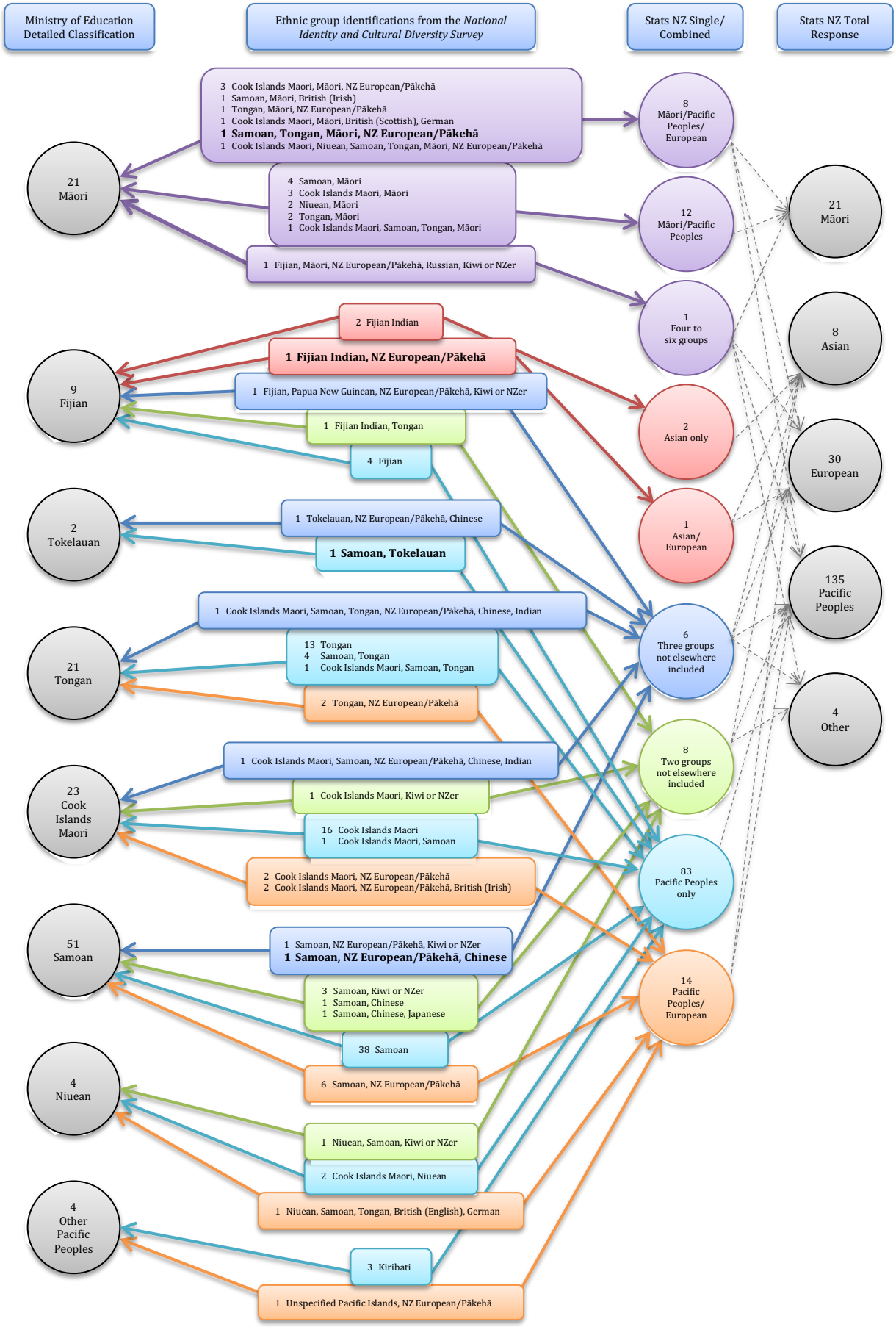

Figure 11: Respondents who identified with Pacific Islands ethnic groups, mapped onto Ministry of Education and Statistics New Zealand categories

Individual stories

Respondent #46 identified as Samoan, Tongan, Māori, and New Zealand European/Pākehā. She was born in New Zealand, as was her mother. Her father was born in Samoa. In the open ethnic group question she described her ethnicity as "*Caucasian, Māori, Samoan, Tongan*". When asked why she identified in this way, she said, "*my family, especially coming from an island background family from a young age has always been important to me. My grandparents especially as they've told me where my ancestors have come from, and what they've experienced in life*".[41] In the closed ethnic group question, she ticked New Zealand European, Pākehā, Samoan and Tongan. She gave her mother's ethnic groups as New Zealand European, Pākehā, Māori and Tongan, and her father's groups as Samoan and Other, but did not specify what this 'other' might be. Despite identifying as Māori in the open ethnic group question and indicating that her mother identified as Māori, she did not select Māori in the closed ethnic group question. This may have been a mistake made as she was entering her responses in the online survey, or it may have been because she did not value her Māori identity as strongly as her other identities. Under the Ministry of Education classification she became solely Māori, despite her reasons for her ethnic group identifications focusing on her "*island background*". Under the Statistics New Zealand single/combined protocol she was categorised as Māori/Pacific Peoples/European, which acknowledged her Māori and New Zealand European/Pākehā identities, but collapsed her Samoan and Tongan identities into one Pacific Peoples identity.

Respondent #187 identified as Fijian Indian and New Zealand European/Pākehā. He was born in New Zealand, as was his father. His mother was born in Fiji. In the open ethnic group question he described his ethnicity as "*NZ European, Other*", and gave as the reason for this identification, "*my family*". In the closed ethnic group question he selected New Zealand European and Other, specifying "*Fijian Indian*". He gave his mother's ethnic groups as New Zealand European and Other (Fijian Indian), and his father's group as New Zealand European. Under the Ministry of Education classification he became solely Fijian, and under the Statistics New Zealand single/combined protocol he was categorised as Asian/European. Statistics New Zealand treats 'Fijian Indian' as an Asian identity, while the Ministry of Education treats it as a Pacific Islands identity.

Respondent #349 identified as Samoan and Tokelauan. She was born in New Zealand. Her mother was born in Tokelau and her father was born in Samoa. In the open ethnic group question she identified as "*Pacific*". When asked why she identified in this way, she wrote,

[41] The spelling, punctuation and grammar of the original comments have been retained.

"*my parents identity and seeing other pacific groups makes us all strong as a pacific nation we stand strong and people especially younger generations we are all family as one*". In the closed ethnic group question she selected Samoan and Other, specifying "*Tokelauan*". She gave her mother's ethnic group as Other, but did not specify a group. She gave her father's ethnic group as Samoan. Under the Ministry of Education classification she became Tokelauan, and under the Statistics New Zealand single/combined protocol she was categorised as Pacific Peoples only. Neither of the categorisation schemes preserved her multiple ethnic identities.

Respondent #115 identified as Samoan, New Zealand European/Pākehā, and Chinese. He was born in New Zealand, and both his mother and father were born in Samoa. In the open ethnic group question he described his ethnicity as "*any*". As reasons for this identification, he stated "*food, tradition, sense of humour*". In the closed ethnic group question he selected New Zealand European, Samoan and Chinese. He gave his mother's ethnic group as Samoan, and his father's groups as Pākehā and Samoan. Nowhere else in his survey responses did he indicate Chinese heritage or affiliation. It is impossible to tell whether he had a reason for including an identification as Chinese, whether the response was a mistake, or whether he was not taking the question seriously. Under the Ministry of Education classification he became Samoan, and under the Statistics New Zealand protocol he was categorised as 'Three groups not elsewhere included'.

Figure 11 as a whole, and these four examples in particular, illustrate how the diversity of ethnic group identifications becomes contained and narrowed to a few specific, overarching categories. Under the Ministry of Education classification scheme, the 21 respondents who identified as Māori in addition to other ethnic groups had their identifications reduced to Māori alone. The remaining 114 respondents were allocated into Pacific Islands groups in order of priority from Tokelauan, to Fijian, to Niuean, to Tongan, to Cook Islands Maori, to Samoan, to other Pacific Peoples, without reference to how they would prefer to identify themselves, or whether the Ministry of Education allocation reflected the group with which they identified most strongly. Under the Statistics New Zealand categorisation protocol, the respondents' multiple ethnic group identifications were preserved, as long as these multiple groups crossed Statistics New Zealand's pan-ethnic category boundaries. Those respondents who identified with multiple Pacific Islands groups had this multiplicity stripped away.

Until and including the 2001 Census, Statistics New Zealand prioritised ethnic group data. Māori were accorded first priority, followed by Pacific Peoples, Asian, other ethnic groups,

other European, and, finally, New Zealand European. However, with the increasing incidence of people identifying with multiple ethnic groups, Statistics New Zealand decided to abandon prioritisation in favour of two reporting methods: total response output and single/combined output (Callister, 2004a; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Other government departments, such as the Ministry of Education (2012, 2016a), have not followed suit and still prioritise ethnicity data.

One key advantage of prioritisation is that the number of people identifying with each ethnic group adds to the total number of respondents. This is of benefit to people who work with statistical data, who need participants to be grouped into mutually exclusive categories in order to run certain statistical comparisons, and it is of benefit to policy makers who want clear boundaries between groups so that policies, resources and political representation can be allocated based on the proportions of group membership (Kukutai & Callister, 2009). However, as Leather (2009) and Callister (2004a) have pointed out, prioritisation schemes undermine people's right to self-identify their ethnic group or groups, do not respect people's preferences to identify with multiple ethnic groups, and serve to reduce the numbers of people in each ethnic group, except the group at the top of the priority list.

Even a 'softer' protocol such as that now used by Statistics New Zealand (2005), which allows multiple ethnic group reporting, reduces the diversity within each over-arching ethnic category. Representatives of diverse Pacific Islands ethnic groups have expressed their frustration at being grouped together for statistical purposes, as there are important differences between Pacific Islands cultures, languages, values and histories that are meaningful to the members of those groups (Anae, 2001; Macpherson, 1996; Siteine, 2010). People from Pacific Islands groups are not homogeneous, yet as Anae (2001) argues, "the generic Pacific population remains the basis for statistical depiction and analyses of socio-economic 'problems' and 'solutions'" (p. 103).

Both Kukutai and Callister (2009) and Stephan and Stephan (2000a) argue that data collection tools should include more than one question that addresses ethnic group identifications. An initial question that asks people to self-identify with as many ethnic groups as they choose could be followed by a question asking those who identified with multiple groups to nominate the group with which they most strongly identify. This would more fairly represent the self-identifications of people who respond to ethnic group questions in censuses and surveys, and if ethnicity data were to be reduced or prioritised, it could be carried out on the basis of the respondents' preferences. Such a question was not

included in the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey*, but would be a valuable addition if the survey were to be repeated in the future.

Open versus closed ethnic group questions

As noted previously, the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* asked respondents to identify their ethnic groups in two different ways: through an open question where respondents could write anything they liked, and through a closed question where respondents were asked to tick one or more boxes. I was interested to see whether the participants were consistent in their responses, or if the two questions drew out different responses.

A comparison of the open and closed ethnic group questions showed that the responses matched for 62.8% of the participants (n=460). In 28.6% of the cases, the responses to the open and closed questions were different (n=209). Sixty-three participants (8.6%) did not respond to one of the ethnic group questions, so a comparison for them was not possible. The responses were organised into one of six groups (see Table 6): (a) those who identified with a single ethnic group in the open question and the same single group in the closed question (54.4%), (b) those who identified with multiple ethnic groups in the open question and the same multiple groups in the closed question (8.5%), (c) those who identified with a single ethnic group in the open question and a different single group in the closed question (13.4%), (d) those who identified with a single ethnic group in the open question and multiple groups in the closed question (10.4%), (e) those who identified with multiple ethnic groups in the open question and a single group in the closed question (3.0%), and (f) those who identified with multiple ethnic groups in the open question and a somewhat different set of multiple groups in the closed question (1.8%).

Table 6: Comparison of responses to open and closed ethnic group questions

	Open question response	Closed question response	Frequency	Percent
Responses were the same	Single	Single	398	54.4%
	Multiple	Multiple	62	8.5%
Responses were different	Single	Single	98	13.4%
	Single	Multiple	76	10.4%
	Multiple	Single	22	3.0%
	Multiple	Multiple	13	1.8%
Missing			63	8.6%
Total			**732**	**100.0%**

The first group gave very straightforward responses to the ethnic group questions, identifying with the same single ethnic group in both the open and closed versions. Likewise, respondents in the second group maintained the same multiple ethnic groups across the open and closed questions, thereby demonstrating a level of comfort and consistency with their multiple groups.

The third group, who gave different single ethnic groups in the open and closed questions, changed their ethnic groups between the two question types. The respondents appeared to have a variety of reasons for these differences. For example, Respondent #143 identified as "*Thai*" in the open question and selected New Zealand European in the closed question. When asked why he identified in this way, he said "*I don't know*". Both he and his parents were born in Thailand, and he had been living in New Zealand for two years. Respondent #143 appeared to be using the open ethnic group question to identify with his heritage and the closed question to identify with where he was now living.

Respondent #511 identified as "*NZ Maori*" in the open question. The reason she gave for this was "*the people and what we can learn from them*". In the closed question she identified as Pākehā. She identified her mother and her father as both Māori and Pākehā. She appeared to be using the open question to identify with one of her ethnic groups, and the closed question to identify with the other group.

Respondent #423 identified as "*Pacific*" in the open question, and said that this was because of his "*cultural heritage*". In the closed question he selected Other and specified "*Kiribati*". Respondent #579 identified as "*Asian*" in the open question, "*because I was born in Vietnam, a South East Asia country*". In the closed question she selected Other and specified

"*Vietnamese*". Both Respondent #423 and Respondent #579 used the open question to identify with a broad, pan-ethnic group, and used the closed question to identify with a more specific ethnic group.

The fourth group of respondents displayed a tendency to identify with one ethnic group more strongly in the open question, but used the closed question to acknowledge connections to multiple ethnic groups. For example, Respondent #96 identified as "*Maori*" in the open question and said this was "*because i am maori*". She selected New Zealand European, Pākehā, and Māori in the closed question. She identified both her mother and her father as New Zealand European, Pākehā, and Māori. Respondent #99 identified as "*European*" in the open question, because of her "*skin colour and the way i have been brought up*". In the closed question she selected New Zealand European and Māori. She identified her mother as New Zealand European and Māori, and her father as Māori.

Some respondents in this fourth group used the open question to identify with a broad, pan-ethnic group, and used the closed question to explain the nuances and specifics of their identifications. For example, Respondent #673 identified as "*Pacific Island*" in the open question, and gave as the reason "*well, I'm Tongan/Fiji Indian and I feel like I'm more of a Islander. The reason why is because I know more of my island culture than my Indian culture*". She selected Tongan and Indian in the closed question. She was born in New Zealand, while her mother was born in Tonga and her father was born in Fiji. She identified her mother as Tongan and her father as Indian.

In the fifth group, respondents stated multiple ethnic group identifications in the open question. They then used the closed question to narrow their identifications to one ethnic group. For example, Respondent #148 identified as "*New Zealand European, English, Moari*" in the open question. In explaining this identification, she stated "*my background, influence through family. The fact that my dad was born in England makes me feel a connection to England. I also have Scottish, Irish and Bahamian heritage. On my mother's side, I have connections to the Ngati Awa iwi and am related to chief Warrior Wiremu Kingi. I have travelled to England many times and know a lot about my Maori heritage*". In the closed question, she only selected New Zealand European.

In the final group, respondents identified with multiple ethnic groups in the open and closed questions, but these groups were not exactly the same across the two question types. For example, Respondent #409 identified as "*Niuean, Tongan, German, American Samaon, English*" in the open question, and reduced these to Samoan, Tongan, and Niuean in the closed question. He stated his reason for his identification as "*everything*". He was born in

New Zealand, while his mother was born in Niue, and his father was born in Tonga. He stated his mother's ethnic groups as Samoan and Niuean, and his father's groups as Tongan, English and German. He used the open question to identify with each of his parents' groups, and used the closed question to focus on the Pacific Islands groups while excluding the European groups. Respondent #784 identified as "*NZ European/Maori*" in the open question, because of "*my Heritage*". In the closed question, he selected New Zealand European, Māori, and Other, specifying "*Scottish Irish Welsh French*". He identified his mother as New Zealand European and Māori, and his father as New Zealand European. He also indicated that one of his parents had Scottish, Irish, Welsh and French heritage, but did not specify which parent. Respondent #784 used the open question to focus on two identities, and increased these in the closed ethnic group question. It seems likely that an interplay of ancestry (where the respondents are identifying with their parents' ethnic groups) and experience and belonging (where the respondents are basing their ethnic groups on what they do and who they do it with) is at work in the participants' responses in this sixth group.

Closed ethnicity questions that use pre-determined ethnic group categories are common in surveys and official data collection tools such as censuses, and therefore are familiar to many respondents. However, this type of question can also be problematic. The categories used in closed questions may use unfamiliar terminology or pan-ethnic groups that people would prefer not to use to describe their ethnic identities. As such, closed questions can be open to misinterpretation. Closed questions that do not allow people to tick more than one box, or that provide a limited list of pan-ethnic categories, also serve to hide multiplicity (Aspinall, 2012; Bonnett & Carrington, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 2000a). Instead, several authors have advocated for the use of open ethnic group questions (for example, Aspinall, 2012; Bonnett & Carrington, 2000; Pringle & Rothera, 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 2000a). They argue that this type of question leads to more reliable responses that are more reflective of how participants actually feel about their ethnic identities.

The responses to the open and closed ethnic group questions in the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* demonstrate that the way an ethnic group question is asked makes a difference to the way people identify themselves. However, it cannot be assumed that an open question is going to gather the most accurate or complete picture of a person's ethnic identity, as Aspinall (2012), Bonnett and Carrington (2000), Pringle and Rothera (1996), and Stephan and Stephan (2000a) argue. The findings from the present survey are more in keeping with Lopez's (2003) research, who found that her respondents made different, but not necessarily discrepant responses to different ethnic group question types. Some

respondents to the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* used the open question to explain the nuances of their ethnic identities, while others used the closed question for the same purpose.

Nor is an open ethnic group question equivalent to a question about a person's main or preferred ethnic group (Kukutai & Callister, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2000a). In the present survey, some respondents were using the open question to indicate a stronger identity, while others were using the closed question to indicate a stronger identity. Overall, the comparison of the open and closed questions shows that adolescents' ethnic group responses can be quite fluid and changeable, even within one survey instrument.

Parental ethnicity

People draw on a number of factors when constructing their ethnic identities. Ancestry[42] is an important part of this process (Harris & Sim, 2002; Song, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). Another common way of conceptualising ethnic identity is self-ascription (Barth, 1969; Nagel, 1994). Indeed, the definition of ethnicity commonly used in New Zealand emphasises that it is something that people identify for themselves (Callister et al., 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). For the analyses in this chapter, I have used the respondents' identifications to categorise them into ethnic groups. This section examines how these self-identifications compare with the ethnicities that the respondents attributed to their parents.

As a way of accessing their ancestry, the respondents were asked to categorise their parents' ethnic group or groups. Respondents could select as many ethnicities as necessary for their mother and their father, using the same ethnic group options as the closed question on their own ethnicity. Most of the parents were ascribed to the New Zealand European and/or Pākehā ethnic group (431 or 61.6% of the mothers and 420 or 61.5% of the fathers). The next most common ethnic group ascribed to their parents was Māori, for 115 (16.4%) of the mothers and 103 (15.1%) of the fathers. Table 7 provides a summary of the ethnic groups that the respondents attributed to their parents.

[42] This is not to imply that the influence of parents on ethnicity is reduced to genetic or biological inheritance. The role of families in socialising their children into cultural and ethnic identity is addressed in Chapter Five.

Table 7: Parents' ethnic groups

	Mother		Father	
	Frequency	Percent of 700	Frequency	Percent of 683
NZ European and/or Pākehā	431	61.6%	420	61.5%
Māori	115	16.4%	103	15.1%
Samoan	59	8.4%	56	8.2%
Cook Islands Maori	29	4.1%	25	3.7%
Tongan	17	2.4%	21	3.1%
Niuean	2	0.3%	8	1.2%
Chinese	35	5.0%	24	3.5%
Indian	13	1.9%	16	2.3%
Not sure	9	1.3%	13	1.9%
Other	113	16.1%	126	18.4%
Total	**823**	**117.6%**	**812**	**118.9%**

Note: Data were missing for 32 (4.4%) of the mothers and 49 (6.7%) of the fathers.
The respondents could specify what they meant by 'other', and used this option to provide more detail about their parents' ethnic group/s.

The respondents' ethnic groups were then compared to those of their parents. A tally was kept of whether a respondent's ethnic group/s were the same as their mother's and father's group/s, or different from one or both of their parents. For the respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups, their specific ethnic groups had to exactly match those stated for their parents to be considered the same. I was interested to know whether the identification with single or multiple ethnic groups remained stable across generations. Table 8 illustrates this analysis.

Table 8: Comparison of single and multiple respondent and parent ethnic groups

	Single parent ethnic group	Multiple parent ethnic groups	Parent ethnic group missing	**Total**
Single respondent ethnic group	415	97	21	**533**
Multiple respondent ethnic groups	35	160	4	**199**
Total	**450**	**257**	**25**	**732**

Four hundred and fifteen respondents who identified with a single group also ascribed a single group to their parents. For 410 of these respondents, the group they identified for

their parents was the same as their own group. However, for five respondents, the group they ascribed to their parents was different. Respondent #228 provides an example: she identified as New Zealand European, but described her parents as Scottish. Respondent #228 appears to have decided to identify more closely with a New Zealand-based ethnic group, rather than the Scottish heritage of her parents.

Of the 160 respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups and also ascribed multiple groups to their parents, in 120 cases these groups were the same. For 40 respondents, however, the multiple ethnic groups they identified with were different from the multiple groups they attributed to their parents. For example, Respondent #255 identified as New Zealand European, Pākehā and German, yet described her father as New Zealand European and Pākehā and her mother as German, Austrian and Danish. Respondent #562 identified as Māori, New Zealand European, Pākehā and Dutch, but described her mother as Māori and father as Dutch. Respondent #255 exemplifies those respondents who had reduced the number of ethnic groups with which they identified, from the options available to them, whereas Respondent #562 provides an example of those who had expanded the number of groups with which they identified. Both respondents also appeared to be identifying more closely than their parents with New Zealand-based groups.

Ninety-seven respondents who identified with a single ethnic group ascribed multiple groups to their parents. For example, Respondent #12 identified as Māori, yet described his mother as Māori and father as Pākehā. Respondent #181 identified as New Zealand European, but described his mother as Māori and father as Pākehā. Respondent #292 identified as Korean, but described her father as Korean and mother as Chinese and Korean. These respondents appear to have made a decision to identify with one group at the expense of the other ethnic groups open to them.

Finally, 35 respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups ascribed a single group to their parents. Two examples are Respondent #414, who identified as Māori and Cook Islands Maori, yet described her parents as Cook Islands Maori only, and Respondent #667, who identified as New Zealand European and Samoan, but described his parents as Samoan only. Both of these respondents went into detail about their decision-making when asked to give a reason for their ethnic group identifications:

> *My parents both being from the cook islands and being born in new zealand and growing up around maori i consider myself as part maori. espicially with my sister inlaws family which maori they have been apart of my life since iwas born , and also the fact that im active in my cultural groups*. (Respondent #414)

> *Because I was born in Samoa, speak Samoan at home, church and sometimes at scool. I am proud of where I come from and have great memories as I used to live there. But when being in a different country you must respect and apply the rules of that country but it doesnt change me as being a proud Samoan*. (Respondent #667)

For both of these respondents, the experiences they have had and the country in which they live have led them to identify with additional ethnic groups that they did not ascribe to their parents.

Overall, for 530 respondents (72.4%) the ethnic group or groups with which they identified, and the ethnic group or groups that they attributed to their parents, matched exactly. For 177 respondents (24.2%), their self-identified ethnic group or groups were different to those they ascribed to their parents. Twenty-five respondents (3.4%) did not state an ethnic group for their parents.

That a quarter of the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* respondents identified in a different way to their parents is consistent with research conducted by Stephan and Stephan (1989, 2000a, 2000b). They have shown that ancestry is not necessarily a core reason for people's ethnic identifications. Individuals may choose not to identify with an ethnic group even when they have ancestral ties to that group, or may choose to identify with a group because of shared cultural experiences, despite having no ancestral links.

Callister (2004a) argues that ultimately, affiliation is a more powerful reason than ancestry to identify with an ethnic group. A sense of belonging or shared experiences with a group can lead people to either reduce or expand the ethnic groups with which they identify, whether or not they might be 'entitled' to identify with those groups through biological heritage.

Looking at the way the respondents in the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* have identified themselves and their parents, it seems very likely that the respondents' ancestry is being tempered by their experiences or sense of affiliation with a group or groups, and with their sense of belonging to New Zealand. In some cases, the respondents have dropped out some of their parents' ethnic groups, where they might not identify as strongly as their parents with those groups. In other cases, respondents have added ethnic groups, which could be a result of their experiences or where they (now) live.

Reasons for identifications

Following the open ethnic group question, the participants who responded to the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* were asked the question, 'What is it that makes you feel that you belong to this ethnic group?' The respondents had a variety of reasons for their ethnic group identifications. Responses ranged from one- or two-word answers to several sentences that described their feelings about their ethnic identities.

The literature (for example, Burton et al., 2010; Callister, 2004a; Daha, 2011; Lopez, 2003; Phinney, 1990; Smith, 1986; Stephan & Stephan, 1989, 2000b) suggests that there are many different reasons why someone will identify with an ethnic group. Lopez (2003) listed six reasons, based on comments made by the high school student participants in her research. In my analysis, I drew on these six categories:

> **biological**: blood, genes.
> **phenotypical**: appearance, outsiders' perceptions; includes references to skin tone, hair type, etc.
> **cultural**: cultural or religious beliefs and practices, customs, traditions; includes references to language, holidays, dress, food, history, etc.
> **geographical**: place of nativity or ancestry, country of origin; where born, raised or live.
> **ancestral**: ancestors, lineage, descent, roots; includes statements about relatives' racial/ethnic identifications (e.g., my mom is _____, my dad is _____).
> **associative**: associations with others (friends, extended family, neighbours); includes references to group membership/ affiliation. (Lopez, 2003, p. 960, original emphasis)

When examining the responses made by the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* participants, it became apparent that there was little distinction between two of Lopez's (2003) categories: biological and phenotypical. As a consequence, I combined these two categories and grouped the survey responses into five areas: ancestral, cultural, geographical, biological, and associative. For my purposes, ancestral reasons included parentage, ancestry, heritage, and descent. Cultural reasons included language, religion, participation in cultural activities, cultural beliefs and values, knowledge of culture and history, and cultural practices such as food, clothing, holidays and celebrations, traditions,

music, and dance. Geographical reasons included country of birth or origin, country of residence, nationality, citizenship, and continued interest in or visits to a homeland. Biological reasons included physical appearance, skin colour, blood, or genetic history. Associative reasons included a sense of belonging, a sense of solidarity, a sense of pride, feelings of commonality, friendship groups, ties to the community, acceptance by others in the ethnic group, commitment to the group, and shared attitudes towards others. More negative associative reasons included the stereotypes others hold about people in the ethnic group, and feelings of dissatisfaction or discontentment as a member of the group.

I was interested in examining whether the relative importance of these reasons was different for people who identified with multiple ethnic groups and for those who identified with a single ethnic group. I was also mindful that the people who identified with a single ethnicity were not a homogeneous group, and there would be people within the 'single' group who identified with the majority population (New Zealand European and/or Pākehā) and others who identified with a minority group. The bases of their identifications might be very different, especially as authors have argued that members of a majority group are less aware of the impact of ethnicity in their lives. Spoonley (1988) and Bell (1996, 2004a) have both argued that Pākehā[43] are the dominant majority in New Zealand, both numerically and in terms of political power, and that New Zealand society is largely shaped by Pākehā values. As the dominant group, Pākehā culture pervades New Zealand society and is rendered unseen, invisible. Because of this, Pākehā find it difficult to recognise themselves as having a 'culture' (Bell, 1996).

The frequencies in Table 9 show that 332 respondents identified solely as New Zealand European and/or Pākehā, while 195 respondents identified solely with a minority ethnic group (including 12 respondents who identified with a 'European' group that was not New Zealand European or Pākehā). One hundred and ninety-nine respondents identified with multiple ethnic groups. The six respondents who identified solely as New Zealander have been removed from this analysis. As indicated earlier in this chapter, it is impossible to know what the respondents who described themselves as New Zealander meant by that identification.

[43] In this sense, 'Pākehā' refers to those who identify themselves as New Zealand European as well as those who identify themselves as Pākehā.

Table 9: Number of respondents who identify with a single majority group, a single minority group, and multiple ethnic groups

	Frequency	Percent
New Zealand European and/or Pākehā	332	45.7%
Single minority ethnic group	195	26.9%
Multiple ethnic groups	199	27.4%
Total	**726**	**100.0%**

In Table 10, the total number of respondents who gave each reason is listed in order of frequency, alongside the number of respondents identifying with multiple ethnic groups, with a single minority group, and with a single majority group. Many respondents gave more than one reason, so the frequencies in Table 10 add to more than the number of respondents. For the respondents who identified with multiple groups and for those who identified with a single minority ethnic group, ancestral reasons were stated most frequently, followed by cultural reasons, associative reasons, geographical reasons, and biological reasons. As predicted, a different pattern of responses emerged for those who identified with a single majority group. For these respondents, geographical reasons were stated most frequently, followed by ancestral reasons, associative reasons, biological reasons, and cultural reasons.

Table 10: Reasons for ethnic identifications given by respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups, a single minority group, or a single majority group

	All respondents (n=612)			Multiple ethnic groups (n=175)			Single minority group (n=169)			Single majority group (n=268)		
Reason	**Rank**	n	% of 612	**Rank**	n	% of 175	**Rank**	n	% of 169	**Rank**	n	% of 268
Ancestral	**1**	286	46.7%	**1**	96	54.9%	**1**	79	46.7%	**2**	111	41.4%
Geographical	**2**	202	33.0%	**4**	39	22.3%	**4**	51	30.2%	**1**	112	41.8%
Associative	**3**	181	29.6%	**2=**	56	32.0%	**3**	63	37.3%	**3**	62	23.1%
Cultural	**4**	162	26.5%	**2=**	56	32.0%	**2**	65	38.5%	**5**	41	15.3%
Biological	**5**	89	14.5%	**5**	22	12.6%	**5**	8	4.7%	**4**	59	22.0%

Note: This analysis excludes those respondents who did not respond to the question, "What is it that makes you feel that you belong to this ethnic group?", and excludes those who gave 'New Zealander' as their only ethnic group.

In the following sections, each reason will be explained and illustrated by a selection of quotes from the survey responses. While these comments are being used to illustrate the separate reasons the respondents gave for their ethnic identifications, the individual

responses may have been coded into more than one category. Following each quote and its survey response code, the respondents' ethnic group or groups are provided to help contextualise their comments. I have retained the spelling and punctuation of the original comments.

Ancestral reasons

Ancestry was the most common reason given by the survey respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups (54.9%) and those who identified with a single minority group (46.7%). It was the second most common reason for those who identified with a single majority group (41.4%). Respondents referred to their parents, their grandparents, or more distant ancestors in their responses. Some Māori respondents referenced their whakapapa (genealogy). For example:

> *Tōku whakapapa*. [My genealogy]. (Respondent #11, Māori)
>
> *My father is maori, and my mother is NZ European*. (Respondent #108, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori)
>
> *Just because I'm 100% Kayan girl, for both sides of my grandparents were Kayan (Padaung)*. (Respondent #338, Burmese)
>
> *Because my mum and dad is tongan, making me tongan so i consider myself belonging to Tongan ethnic group*. (Respondent #401, Tongan)
>
> *My mother is english and moari and my dad in maori*. (Respondent #639, Māori and British [English])
>
> *Because my parents are cook islanders, so i am cook islander*. (Respondent #657, Cook Islands Maori)
>
> *Ancestors from europe many years ago*. (Respondent #847, New Zealand European/Pākehā)

Cultural reasons

Cultural reasons were the second most frequently mentioned reason by the respondents who identified with a single minority group (38.5%) and by those who identified with multiple ethnic groups (32.0%). They were the least frequent reason for the respondents who identified with a single majority group (15.3%). Respondents referred to cultural practices such as funeral rituals, food, celebrations and festivals, as well as to 'culture' more generally.

That my whole family are maori and we have tangis instead of funerals. (Respondent #20, Māori)

Food, Tradition. (Respondent #114, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Filipino)

Practising cultural Chinese traditions and celebrations. Having two different ethnic backgrounds with different cultural beliefs etc. (Respondent #295, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Singaporean)

Live tradition tongan way, eat and atend tongan things. (Respondent #656, Tongan)

As illustrated in the comment by Respondent #296, cultural practices were also a way for people to share their experiences with people similar to them:

I like the festivals and traditions, they give me a sense of purpose and it is good to be able to communicate with people with similar ideas and culture. (Respondent #296, Sri Lankan)

Speaking the language of their ethnic group was another important cultural reason for respondents' identifications. The respondents who gave language as a reason talked about their use of language in the home and saw it as a way of maintaining their cultures.

Because, I was brought up in a traditional Samoan family, taught to speak the language from a very young age and also taught the customs so that I know them thoroughly. Also my parents are both Samoan so I feel that this is the only ethnic group I belong to. (Respondent #85, Samoan)

My cultural background,i speak Korean more fluently than english and i want to be korean. (Respondent #324, Korean)

I am surrounded with family and friends in my every day life that talk to each other in samoan and act in the respectful samoan way therefore when i see this and hear this particular samoan language spoken i feel related to that person and I feel at home and confident this is why i feel like i belong to ethnic group. (Respondent #416, Samoan)

Because i speak maori all the time. (Respondent #510, New Zealand European/ Pākehā and Māori)

The language that I speak and the my traditional culture background. (Respondent #651, Cook Islands Maori and Niuean)

When I am at home I always speak Samoan and I always don't want to lose our culture and I am proud to be a Samoan. (Respondent #655, Samoan)

Some respondents also mentioned their knowledge of history and cultural traditions, or their cultural beliefs and values, as helping them to feel connected to their ethnic groups.

I takitaki mai ōku mātua tupuna i tōku whakapapa. Kia mōhio ai au ki te hītori o tōku whānau. [My ancestors/elders recited my genealogy. I know the history of my family]. (Respondent #16, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori)

Mother is a full maori and i was brought up in a maori background. Father encourages me to do Cook island activities and find out more about my history or background. (Respondent #311, Māori and Cook Islands Maori)

It's who I am. I was raised up north, and I hold true to the "whanau" ideal. Share with everyone, so to speak. (Respondent #542, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori)

This is because i know more about these two and have affeliated more with these two ethnic groups. (Respondent #660, Māori and Samoan)

Because both my parent are full tongan, and i grew up in family that have very strong Tongan customs and beliefs. (Respondent #671, Tongan)

Associative reasons

Associative reasons were the second most frequent reason for respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups (32.0%), on an equal footing with cultural reasons. They were the third most frequent reason for respondents who identified with a single minority group (37.3%) and for those who identified with a single majority group (23.1%). The respondents spoke about their feelings of belonging and their sense of pride in their group or groups. Some respondents made reference to their feelings of connection with people from the same ethnic group/s, at home, in the community or at school.

It makes me feel closer to my homeland by socializing with my fellow filipinos. Also, I am proud to be called a Filipino. (Respondent #47, Filipino)

I was brought up in Fiji which is a pacific country, i feel that i belong to the pacific ethnic because i am an islander and im not afraid to embrace it. (Respondent #87, Fijian)

Cause of my family background their all samoans, im proud to be one. (Respondent #299, Samoan)

I was born there and feel strongly about england and my family there. i feel a belong there. (Respondent #327, New Zealand European/Pākehā and British [English])

The support of my family and friends around me and also the school that i am attending and how they support out culture and who we are as Maori or Pacific islanders. (Respondent #445, Māori)

The reasons for this is because i have grown up at home speaking Tongan because that was my first language. The school i attend also helps and allows me to embrace and be PROUD of my culture, we participate in cultural performances (ASB Poly Fest), speech competitions etc. The Church i go to during the week, also encourages me to speak my native language and to embrace my culture and be proud of it. (Respondent #449, Tongan)

My mother is half Tokelaun/half pakeha. I associate more with our NZ European ancestry than our Tokelaun because we are nto in contact with Tokelaun relatives. I associate strongly with the Chinese community because my dad is Chinese, although we don't have many blood relatives as he was adopted. (Respondent #500, New Zealand European/Pākehā, Tokelauan and Chinese)

Respondent #489 talked about his desire to associate with people who did not discriminate against him.

Pakeha – ever since I moved into New Zealand, the pakehas have been the ones that I always trusted, the ones that encourage me to improve my english and academic skills. My pakeha friends never racially discriminate me in any means of bullying. I feel welcomed by them. (Respondent #489, New Zealand European/ Pakeha, Māori and Chinese)

On some occasions, respondents gave reasons for their identification with an ethnic group or groups that displayed a sense of relational identity. For example, Respondents #218 and #699 felt they belonged to one group because they were not part of another group.

I am not maori. (Respondent #218, New Zealand European/Pākehā)

Because i was born in New Zealand so im a new zealander but im not Maori. (Respondent #699, New Zealand European/Pākehā)

Respondents #58 and #640 explained their feelings of not associating with certain groups, even though they did record those groups in their responses to the open or closed ethnicity questions.

I don't like being a part of this group [New Zealand European] as I feel it is too general. It would be the term for my ethnicity, however both my grandparents on my mothers side are from Holland and I feel a much stronger connection to my Dutch ethnicity, even though I was born in NZ and cannot speak the language. I feel I belong to the Dutch ethnic group as I am Dutch, I have Dutch attributes, my family is Dutch and I love the food and culture. I would love to learn the language to feel furthermore a part of this group. (Respondent #58, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Dutch)

My parents are both of Samoan descent making me full samoan. However i don't feel that i belong to this group as i don't agree with their traditions and cultural values, neither am i fluent in the language. (Respondent #640, Samoan)

Geographical reasons

Geographical reasons were the most frequently stated reason for the respondents who identified with a single majority group (41.8%). They were the fourth reason for the respondents who identified with a single minority group (30.2%) and those who identified with multiple ethnic groups (22.3%). Responses included references to participants' place of birth, where they were brought up, and where they were from. Some respondents also included their parents' countries of origin, or countries where they still had strong family ties or feelings of belonging. A few respondents also mentioned the official designations on their passports.

Its my birthplace and I lived 9years of my life there. Its where the majority of my family reside today so I still have strong ties to South Africa. (Respondent #61, South African)

I have lived in New Zealand all my life and my parents are from an European background (their parents are family origonate in Europe). (Respondent #74, New Zealand European/Pākehā)

New Zealand, because I am half Kiwi, and have lived here most of my life. Japan, because I am half Japanese, it was my place of birth and I still feel quite strongly connected to it. (Respondent #182, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Japanese)

Its on my passport. (Respondent #222, British [unspecified])

Because that's where I come from. (Respondent #490, Chinese)

The fact that I was born in New Zealand and I have lived here my whole life. (Respondent #628, New Zealand European/Pākehā)

Because my parents are Filipino and I was raised and born in the Philippines. (Respondent #737, Filipino)

Biological reasons

Finally, biological reasons were the fourth most frequent reason for the respondents who identified with a single majority group (22.0%) and the least frequent reason for the respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups (12.6%) and the respondents who identified with a single minority group (4.7%). Some respondents mentioned their physical characteristics, in particular their skin colour, while others referred to their blood or genetics.

No toku toto me ki toku whakapapa. [From my blood and from my genealogy]. (Respondent #17, Māori)

Im white skinned but born in NewZealand. (Respondent #116, New Zealand European/Pākehā)

My mother is maori and we attend maori services etc. Im white like my dad. (Respondent #195, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori)

because i have brown skin and i was born in india :). (Respondent #302, Indian)

Genetics. (Respondent #388, New Zealand European/Pākehā, British [Scottish] and Irish)

I am a pakeha but also have maori in my blood. (Respondent #774, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori)

Complexity

Several of the respondents had very complex reasons for identifying with their ethnic group or groups, and drew on multiple explanations. For example, Respondent #661 gave ancestral, geographical, associative and cultural reasons for her identification:

> *I feel that i belong to this ethnic group because my parents were both originally from Samoa and very true Samoans . therefore i feel that i belong to the Samoan ethnic group , and also because i was born there and was raised in the Faasamoa (Samoan customs and traditions, heritage)*. (Respondent #661, Samoan)

Respondent #10 gave ancestral, cultural and associative reasons:

> *No te mea he uri au no Te Arawa, maori katoa oku matua tipuna. Ano nei mai te wa i whanau mai au kua rumaki katoa au i roto i te reo, nga tikanga maori hoki. I kuraina au i tetahi kohanga reo maori i te wa wha oku pakeke , ana inaianei kei tetahi kura kaupapa maori ahau e kuraina, noreira me kii ko tenei toku oranga, kua waea au ki toku taha maori, he wahanga nui toku taha maori i toku oranga!* [Because of the lineage I have from Te Arawa, my ancestors/elders are Māori. Also, from the time I was born I was raised in te reo Māori, and traditional cultural practices (tikanga). I was educated at Kōhanga Reo (early childhood Māori immersion) and educated in a Kura Kaupapa (primary Māori immersion), as such this (being Māori) is my life and I am (wired?) to my Māori side. My Māori side is huge part of me and my life]. (Respondent #10, Māori, Cook Islands Maori, British [Scottish] and German)

Respondent #21 gave ancestral, associative, cultural and geographical reasons:

> *I am of maori descent and i still affiliate with my family from the marae and iwi but i also belonbg to european heritage because i was brought up in an english speaking home and lived the english ways for the first 10 years of my life. except a few things like wearing pounamu and little maori things*. (Respondent #21, New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori)

Respondent #286 gave geographical, cultural, ancestral and associative reasons:

> *Well I was born in Greece, and I guess if you're born somewhere it means you come from that particular place. Also my first language was Serbian and it is my main way of communicating with my family. It is also where all my heritage lies, my ancestors all lived and grew up there and I feel as though I am a part of that. Just*

because someone lives in a country for a period of time doesn't mean their ethnic group will change. (Respondent #286, Serbian)

Overall, the responses from the 732 participants in the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* showed diverse and complex reasons for their ethnic group identifications. Many participants gave articulate and multi-faceted responses. The relative order of the reasons differed depending on the number and dominance of the groups with which the respondents identified. For those who identified with multiple ethnic groups or with a single minority group, ancestry was the most commonly cited reason, followed by culture, association, geography and biology. For those who identified with a single majority group, geography was the most common reason, followed by ancestry, association, biology and culture.

Stephan and Stephan (2000b) have argued that ethnic identifications depend on either ancestry or cultural exposure: an individual may identify because of both, or because of ancestry or culture alone. It appears that for the respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups or a single minority group, both ancestry and cultural exposure (including associating with others from the ethnic group) were important. For respondents who identified with a single majority group, ancestry was a frequent reason; cultural exposure was less common. Geographical reasons were the most commonly cited. It seems that people who identified with the Pākehā majority were more interested in making a geographical claim to belong in New Zealand, and to have belonged in New Zealand for more than one generation. The low frequency of cultural or associative reasons for the single majority group is consistent with Bell's (1996) assertion that Pākehā New Zealanders are often not cognisant of having an ethnicity or a culture. As she argues, "their culture, as the culture that dominates the public life of society—the political and legal institutions, the schools, the media, etc.—is so common as to lie beneath the level of consciousness" (Bell, 1996, p. 148).

Categorising identity

The findings from the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* have demonstrated that ethnic group identifications are not straightforward, particularly for people who identify with multiple ethnic groups. How a survey or census ethnicity question is framed makes a difference to the kinds of responses received. An open question where respondents are free to describe their ethnic identities in any way they choose can lead to explanations of the multiple influences on ethnic identity, or it can lead to people focusing on the one

identity with which they identify most strongly. Similarly, a closed question where respondents are directed to select their ethnic group or groups from a limited range of choices can lead to multiple expressions of identity, or an identification with one primary group. Nor are ethnic group identifications a simple reflection of parent ethnicity. Some survey respondents identified closely with their parents' ethnic groups, while others expanded or reduced their identity choices from the options open to them through ancestry.

How data collators treat ethnic group responses in a survey or census has an impact on the enumeration of ethnic groups. Even when they are put in place for benign reasons, to ensure the allocation of resources to groups in need, categorisation and prioritisation protocols serve to hide multiplicity and override people's rights to self-identify with the ethnic group or groups of their choosing (Callister, 2004a). Categorisation schemes often place people in pan-ethnic groups such as Pacific Peoples, Asian or European, even though they are not the labels that people necessarily choose for themselves. The way ethnicity questions are asked, and what happens to data after they are collected, both constrain and restrict individuals' identity preferences.

In New Zealand, ethnicity is constructed as being based on affiliation with an ethnic group, shared cultural practices with that group, and as something that people identify for themselves (Callister & Didham, 2009; Callister et al., 2009; Kukutai, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2009). The Statistics New Zealand definition of ethnicity explicitly states that it is "a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship" (Statistics New Zealand, 2005, p. 1). These understandings are reflected in the reasons behind the ethnic group identifications of those who identified with multiple groups or with a single minority group. Cultural and associative reasons were frequently cited by both groups, ranking as the second and third most common reasons. Biology was the least frequent reason, which reflects the discomfort felt in New Zealand with 'race' based definitions rather than 'ethnicity' based understandings (Callister, 2004a).

There were marked differences between the respondents who identified with multiple groups or with a single minority group, and those who identified with a single majority group. Once again, a difference in understandings of culture was apparent between these groups of respondents. Culture was the second most common reason for those who identified with multiple ethnic groups or a single minority group, but the least common reason for those who identified with a single majority group. This means that, when given the opportunity to respond to an open question about their reasons for their identifications,

members of a majority group tend not to refer to their culture. Culture is invisible to them (Bell, 1996). Geography was the most frequently given reason amongst this group.

Questions in the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* related to people's reasons for their ethnic group identifications, indicated that there were differences between those who identified with multiple ethnic groups, a single minority group, or a single majority group. People who identified with multiple ethnic groups focused on ancestral, cultural and associative reasons for their identifications. People who identified with a single minority ethnic group gave ancestral, cultural and associative reasons for their identifications. People who identified with a single majority group—variously described in New Zealand as New Zealand European or Pākehā—focused on geographical and ancestral reasons for their identifications. Very few of these respondents gave cultural reasons.

Chapter Five: Self-Identification and the Role of Family

Introduction

In New Zealand, ethnicity is understood as something that individuals identify for themselves, as something that is based on cultural exposure, as something that can be multiple, and as something that can change over time (Callister et al., 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). However, individuals do not make decisions about their ethnic identifications in a vacuum. Instead, they draw on information from their immediate surroundings, from their families and communities (Barth, 1994; Rocha, 2016). These decisions are taking place at the micro or individual level of identity construction (Keddell, 2006; Rocha, 2016).

This chapter focuses on individual-level experiences of ethnic identity, and the role that families play in the shaping of ethnicity. Each of the fieldwork participants is introduced, alongside their multiple ethnic identifications and some key background information. Their identity choices, over time and according to context, are discussed, as are the tensions they experience in trying to meet or resist the expectations of their ethnic communities. The role of the family as an ethnic or cultural socialisation institution is also examined, through the participants' descriptions of how their families provided information about cultural values and practices, opportunities to participate in cultural activities, and support for language learning. The chapter discusses how micro level influences shape the participants' identifications, and how their families operate to tell them what is important, how they should act, how they should celebrate or mark special events, what values are important, and what people like them are like.

How the participants self-identify

Findings from the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* showed that more than a quarter of the secondary school students in this study identified with multiple ethnic groups. These results are reported in Chapter Four. What the survey did not explain was what those identifications meant for individual students in their everyday lives. To answer that question, I spent time during Term 3 and Term 4 2012 conducting fieldwork in one school whose students had responded to the survey.

Deazel, Julius, Mohi, Stacey and Uele were Year 13 students at Kia Aroha College in 2012. They were 17 or 18 years of age, and were in their final year of formal schooling. I grew to know each of them on short visits to the school, where I spent time in their class space, joined in conversations, and sat alongside them as they did their study. I was impressed at their confidence and openness in talking to me. They were all willing to talk about themselves and issues of ethnic identity—or what they termed cultural identity[44]. They each agreed to become participants in this research because they were interested in the topic and had chosen some degree of multiplicity in their ethnic group identifications.

Each participant described his or her ethnic identifications to me in the first interview. Deazel identified himself as "*Māori and European*". Julius described himself as "*full Māori*", but with experience of Cook Islands culture. Mohi identified himself as "*Māori and Pākehā*". Stacey identified herself as "*Cook Island[s Maori] and Māori*". Uele identified himself as "*Tongan and Fijian*". In the following sections, more specific detail about each participant and his or her identity choices are presented.

Deazel

Deazel identified as "*Māori and European*" (Deazel, Interview 1), but also chose to use a variety of terminology for his European identity, identifying as 'European', as 'Pākehā', or as 'white' at different points in his interviews. He felt that his identities came from his parents, although he expressed a degree of uncertainty about how they would choose to identify themselves:

[44] Culture is commonly used in New Zealand as an equivalent term for ethnicity (Kukutai, 2004). This is in contrast with Barth's (1969) anthropological conceptualisation of culture as the outcome or product of ethnicity.

> *I think that both my parents are Māori, but I'm not sure which one's like European and which one's not. […] But like my mum, […] yeah she's Māori and Pākehā*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Deazel was the youngest of four siblings, with one older brother and two older sisters. He felt that his family, including members of this extended family, did not have a strong identity as Māori. By default, his family had a stronger identity as Pākehā.

> *I think that like in my family we don't have a strong cultural identity, like as I have at the moment. […] It's not really valued as much as it should be*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

> *I guess I was just brought up in, you know, Pākehā. […] I guess I've got a Pākehā family, who don't know much about being Māori*. (Deazel, Interview 2)

Deazel felt that there were differences between how he and his closest sister identified themselves, in contrast to their two older siblings. He believed that the secondary schools they had attended made a big difference to their identity choices and their interest in their ethnic groups. When asked whether his brother and sisters would identify in the same way as him, he said:

> *They would say something different. […] I think my older sister, she came to this school, but it was only for two years when it was just an intermediate. And then she left and she went off to another school, and that's kind of the same with my brother but he didn't come to this school. So they're more, I guess, 'whiter' than I am. With the whole cultural Māori thing. But me and my [younger] sister, we're quite strong within our cultural identities. […] Coz we both came to this school for our seven years. […] It's like that seven years just kind of shows you more about who you are, culturally*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Despite the tendency for his family to practise a more Pākehā lifestyle, Deazel felt that being Māori was his most important identity. "*For me, being Māori is the most important identity, that I kind of have to stay true to*". It was more important than being Pākehā: "*60/40, 70/30*" (Deazel, Interview 1). He also claimed that he felt equally comfortable being both Māori and Pākehā.

> *I don't think I've felt uncomfortable about being Māori and Pākehā before. I feel really comfortable, you know, like I guess in my own skin. Kind of being Māori and*

Pākehā. […] I don't feel like awkward about it. It's just comfortable. (Deazel, Interview 2)

Julius

Julius was the second youngest of three sisters and one stepbrother. He described himself as 'full' Māori, and his parents as 'full Māori' as well: "*my parents are both full Māori, but I've noticed that they don't, they're not really sure who they are themselves*" (Julius, Interview 1). Despite their sole identification as Māori, Julius felt that his family did not live in a Māori way and did not know very much about their Māori culture.

Julius attributed his family's lack of connection with Māori culture to the history of legal suppression of Māori culture in New Zealand during the nineteen and early twentieth centuries. Many laws, related to land use, health, education, and justice, were designed to encourage or enforce Māori assimilation into European culture (Durie, 2005). Julius explained that his grandparents had experienced the marginalisation of their culture. They were not allowed to speak Māori at school, and as a consequence had lost their identity as Māori. This loss of identity was passed down from his grandparents to his parents to his own generation. Julius knew more about his Māori identity than his parents, and he noticed the difference:

> *The marginalisation stuff, […] the grandparents weren't allowed to speak their language in school and stuff. It's passed down to the younger generation. They lost a bit of their identity. […] It's passed down through, from my grandparents to their, to my mum and dad, and now it's getting passed through us kids. That's what I've noticed, so far. […] I can see where they struggle a lot coz they're not sure of their identity and who they are and where they come from. Yeah. It's a big disadvantage for them*. (Julius, Interview 1)

For Julius, while Māori was his sole ethnic group identification, he also identified with Cook Islands culture through his experiences with his girlfriend's family. At the time of the research, Julius was living with his partner and her family, who were Cook Islands Maori. He also spent a lot of time performing with different Pacific Islands groups.

> *I've participated in Niuean culture and Cook Island culture. So I've done performances with them. […] The Niuean culture was [with] my extended family, my dad's sister's in-laws. […] They were Niuean so we've done a cultural performance for birthdays and stuff like that. And Cook Island coz my partner is full Cook Island*. (Julius, Interview 1)

Because of his participation and experiences, Julius considered himself a 'full Māori' who was knowledgeable about and experienced with different Pacific Islands cultures. Being Māori was the most important identity he had. He also valued his Cook Islands experiences, saying that they added to his sense of self: "*I find that's another way that I can express myself […] that's something completely out of the box, coz it's a different culture*" (Julius, Interview 2).

Mohi

Mohi identified as Māori and Pākehā. He said he preferred his identity as Māori, and knew more about his Māori culture. Mohi felt that his Māori identity was the most important thing about him and that it gave him a sense of purpose: "*if I didn't have that, I would be nowhere in my life at the moment*" (Mohi, Interview 1).

One reason for this preference was that he found literacy in te reo Māori (Māori language) much easier than literacy in English, as his first educational experiences had been in a Māori-medium setting[45]. The legacy of learning in a bilingual unit at primary school was some anxiety over his ability to function in an English-speaking society.

> *I prefer Māori first, coz it's, Māori's more easier for me to talk. Oh—it's just hard to speak, oh, speaking and writing and understanding English. […] I had to get phonics teachers to help me learn more. Yeah. Up to standard. Otherwise I will get nowhere. […] I was in a bilingual unit [at primary school]. […] I was lacking out on English—and haven't been good on it ever since*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

At the time of the research, Mohi lived with his mother and younger sister. He had an older brother living in Australia and had extended family spread across New Zealand, including some in Australia. He described his father as Pākehā and his mother as Māori and Pākehā. He felt that both his brother and sister would describe themselves as both Māori and Pākehā: "*my dad is full Pākehā, English, and my mum is half Māori and half Pākehā. […] They [my siblings] would be the same as me. Māori Pākehā. Nothing else*" (Mohi, Interview 1).

[45] In New Zealand, education is available in English-language mainstream schools and early childhood centres, or in Māori-language kōhanga reo (early childhood centres), kura (schools), or Māori-immersion units within mainstream schools.

Uele

Uele was the oldest of three children, with a younger sister and brother. At the time of the research he was living at home with his parents, his siblings, and his mother's parents. He described both his parents as Tongan, and also felt that his sister and brother would both describe themselves as Tongan.

When asked how he would identify himself in terms of ethnicity, Uele said "*Tongan and Fijian coz my grandpa is Fijian*", but also said that being Tongan was his most important identity: "*mostly being Tongan. It's more important. Yep*" (Uele, Interview 1). Uele's maternal grandfather was brought up in Tonga, but his father (Uele's great-grandfather) was Fijian: "*my grandpa, he was brought up in Tonga. His dad was Fijian but his dad went there with him when he was little, so he grew up around Tongan families and that*" (Uele, Interview 1). Even though his mother had Fijian heritage, Uele believed she would describe herself as Tongan alone.

Uele said he was very close to his cousins, aunties and uncles. His cousins were "*like real brothers and sisters*" (Uele, Interview 1). His family members all lived close, within Auckland. He had some family who lived in Tonga, but most were now in New Zealand.

He knew a lot about being Tongan, but nothing about his Fijian heritage. He wanted to know more about it, and felt bad that he couldn't speak the language and knew nothing about the culture. His solution was to go to Fiji and seek out members of his family there.

> *I want to speak Fijian, just so when people ask me more about, like, "oh, you're Tongan Fijian, do you speak the language, know anything?" I want to be able to answer those questions. Which as now I can't, I don't know anything. […] I would just fly over to Fiji to my grandpa's side, you know. Stay maybe a couple of months with them and learn about the culture, their backgrounds and everything, you know. Yeah. Love to go there*. (Uele, Interview 1)

Stacey

At the time of the research, Stacey was living at home with her family. She had an older brother and sister and a younger brother and sister. She described her mother as Māori and her father as Cook Islands Maori and Irish. She said her siblings would also describe themselves as Cook Islands Maori and Māori. Despite her father's Irish heritage, Stacey did not include being Irish as part of her identity, nor that of her siblings.

> *My dad will say he's from Irish coz he's part Pom*[46] *as well. […] Just my dad's Cook Island and Pom and my mum's just Māori. […] They [siblings] will say Cook Island, Māori too*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

Stacey was alone amongst the participants in identifying equally with both of her ethnic groups, Māori and Cook Islands Maori, and said that she felt equally proud of her groups. When asked how she would describe herself to others, she said: "*I tell them both my cultures, Cook Island and Māori, coz I'm proud of both of them*" (Stacey, Interview 1).

Stacey's interest in both of her ethnic groups, and the associated cultural practices, was high.

> *I like being Māori coz you'll be able to say more. Coz there's more of a wider range of Māori and people can understand mostly. And then I like doing Cook Island coz of the dancing they do. Coz it's really interesting. Yeah, and fun*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

This interest in her ethnic groups was supported within Stacey's family. Her parents encouraged her to know about both her cultures.

> *They want me to experience my full identity, which is Māori and Cook Island. So they want me to express my Māori side as well as my Cook Island side. Not like, just one*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Bases of identity

All of the participants drew on their family identifications and ancestry when describing their ethnic groups. For Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Stacey, their ethnic group identifications were a straightforward reflection of their parents' ethnic groups. Julius also accessed Cook Islands culture through his girlfriend's family. For Uele, his identification with his grandfather's Fijian heritage was also an expression of loyalty to his grandfather. Ancestry or parental ethnic group identifications are considered an important antecedent of ethnicity (Lopez, 2003; Song, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b). This was also reflected in the findings reported in Chapter Four, where the survey data showed that ancestry was the most frequently given reason for ethnic group identifications for the participants overall, and for those who identified with multiple ethnic groups and those who identified with a single minority group. It was the second most frequent reason for those who identified with a single majority group. Of course, the role of parents is broader than merely passing on

[46] 'Pom' is a slang term for British, in use in New Zealand, Australia and South Africa.

ethnic heritage in a genetic or biological sense. The role of the family in ethnic socialisation will be explored later in this chapter.

Deazel and Julius, in particular, also expressed a sense of being different from their families, of knowing more about their Māori identities than their parents or siblings. This could be considered part of a process of 're-identification' with their ethnic groups (Kelly & Nagel, 2002), as Deazel and Julius re-engage with cultural activities and values that other members of their families do not practise. For both of them, this added knowledge had been accessed through their school experiences. For students who do not have access to cultural knowledge at home, school is often a site of cultural learning (Borell, 2005). This aspect of learning about identity will be addressed in Chapter Six.

These two participants, Deazel and Julius, also drew on race-based narratives when describing their ethnic identities. At times, Deazel referred to himself or his family as 'white', while Julius described himself as 'full Māori'. This practice corresponds to Rocha's (2012) description of New Zealand understandings of ethnicity and race. She argues that, despite shifts in New Zealand conceptualisations towards self-identification, multiplicity and cultural expression, popular and common-sense notions about ethnicity still rely on the concepts of race, biology and phenotype. Terminology that draws on skin colour ('white') or ideas of full-bloodedness and racial purity ('full Māori') is still used in everyday discourse in New Zealand.

Julius and Stacey both referred to their participation with cultural groups. For Julius, this was particularly important, as it was through these experiences that he felt he belonged to the Cook Islands community despite his ancestry being Māori. Through his relationship with his partner and her family, he felt comfortable and familiar with Cook Islands culture. Both Spickard and Fong (1995) and Kukutai (2004) have argued that people can and do identify as members of ethnic groups where they do not have ancestral ties. Ethnic group membership can be extended to people who live as part of a community or are adopted or marry into a family that is part of an ethnic group.

Choosing ethnicity

People who identify with multiple ethnic groups are seen as having a range of choices about their ethnicities that are not necessarily open to people who identify with a single group (Song, 2003). However, these choices are always constrained by biological heritage and cultural exposure (Song, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b): people who claim multiple ethnic identities can make choices about how they construct their identities based on the range of options available to them from their parents' ethnic groups and from the cultures to which they are exposed (Bell, 2004b), but they cannot make choices outside these constraints. Choice is also influenced by a person's sense of affiliation or belonging to a group, recognition by other people both inside and outside the group, and the political and social acceptability of the group (Callister et al., 2009; Song, 2003).

Such individuals have several different options for expressing their identities in their everyday lives. They may choose to focus on one group over another, may choose to focus on both groups equally, or may choose to shift the emphasis of their ethnic groups, depending on where they are or who they are with at a given point in time (Kukutai, 2007; Nakashima, 1996; Song, 2003). They may choose to focus on being 'mixed' rather than the specifics of their particular ethnic groups, or choose not to find ethnic identity important in their lives (Mengel, 2001; Nakashima, 1996; Parker & Song, 2001; Weisman, 1996). For people who identify, or could identify, with more than one ethnic group, ethnicity can be very fluid and dynamic (Nagel, 1994), changing over time and across different situations (Stephan & Stephan, 2000a).

The five participants talked about whether their ethnic identifications had changed over time, and whether they changed the way they described themselves according to the context they were in. With regard to change over time, Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Stacey all felt that they now had a stronger sense of being a member of their ethnic groups than they had when they were younger. Their access to knowledge about their ethnic groups had increased, as had opportunities for them to participate in cultural events and display cultural expertise.

Deazel believed that he had learnt more about his cultures, especially his Māori culture, than he had known when he was young.

> *Yeah. I would say it's changed. When I was young, oh I kind of just went about fluffing around and not wanting to learn stuff, I guess. And then, when you learn about your culture it's like so many doors open up for you. [It] kind of pushes you to learn more about who you are*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Over time, Julius felt he had gained more knowledge about who he was. This was a source of strength for him.

> *Umm, from the way that I didn't really know who I was then, to now, to I know where I'm standing. Like, standing solid on the ground. Not, you know, how I was before. That does impact on a lot of things, when you don't know who you are. […] Like, you get taken into a lot of stuff, like the wrong stuff, like drugs and stuff. Get influenced easy. Yeah. But when you know who you are, you know if only your, like, grandparents were standing right next to you, you wouldn't be doing that. Yeah, just stuff like that.* (Julius, Interview 1)

Unlike the other four participants, Uele felt that his identity as a member of the Tongan ethnic group was strong, and always had been strong. When asked whether his sense of identity had changed over time, he said: "*no. Always Tongan*" (Uele, Interview 1).

With regard to context, neither Deazel, Julius, Mohi nor Uele said they would change the way they described themselves, even when tempted to be humorous. Deazel felt secure in his identity, and said he would not change how he described himself, depending on the group of people he was with.

> *No. I've thought of it though, just to be smart, and kind of tick people off. […] But no, I think that's one thing I wouldn't do, is compromise my own cultural beliefs, just to satisfy other people around me*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Julius also said that he would not change based on other people's perceptions of him. He felt it was important to be consistent and to value his own perceptions of himself.

> *It doesn't matter, if I'm blending with Pākehā, Māori, Cook Islands. It's like, I've learnt to always stay true. Just be yourself. Coz, just leave them if the way they're going to judge you is good or bad. At the end of the day you're just being yourself. So yeah, you won't have that much to worry about.* (Julius, Interview 2)

Similarly, Mohi stated that his description of himself was stable, no matter what the context was or who he was talking to.

> *Nope. I would just say the same thing every time. … I just say I'm Māori Pākehā*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

Uele did show a playful side to his identifications, but that did not change his underlying sense of who he was.

> *No, I've never said anything else. Oh, I do joke about saying "oh I'm Māori", but that's just a joke. But when people ask me, you know, I'm always Tongan. I never change it*. (Uele, Interview 1)

Implicit in the comments made by three of the young men, Deazel, Julius, and Uele, was an increasing stability over time and across contexts of one primary ethnic group identification. Deazel and Julius had learnt more about their Māori culture, especially through their school setting (Borell, 2005), which had increased their commitment to a Māori identity. Uele did not mention his Fijian heritage in the parts of the interviews that discussed the strength and stability of identity, instead focusing on his Tongan identity alone. Choosing to focus on one ethnic group over another is one of the many identity options available to people who identify, or could identify, with multiple ethnic groups (Kukutai, 2007; Nakashima, 1996; Song, 2003). At this point in time, these participants were finding one ethnic group was more salient in their everyday lives, but ethnic identity is fluid, situational and dynamic (Nagel, 1994) and open to change in the future.

In contrast to the other participants, Stacey demonstrated a complex understanding of how she shifted the emphasis of her identity between Māori and Cook Islands Maori, depending on context. She tended to emphasise the ethnic group that was in contrast to the group of people she was with. She saw this as an opportunity to educate other people about her two cultures. She also felt that other people would be interested in the differences between her and them.

> *Oh it depends how well I know them. If I don't know them well, then I'll probably just stick to what I am. But if I do know them and they're more one culture, yeah I'll probably be the opposite. […] Some people, they just reckon that other cultures are way better than theirs. So, I just pretty much just say that, like tell them about my other culture and stuff, so they get an idea of what I am. And coz they already know about my Māori side, if I was with Māori people, they would be more interested in Cook Island. And if I was with Cook Island people, they would be more interested with Māori*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

In these situations, Stacey was acting as a cultural broker, or what Meredith (1999a) terms a 'cultural lubricant'. According to Meredith (1999a), a cultural lubricant "has the advantage of intentionally straddling both cultures with the ability to lubricate, that is, to translate,

negotiate and mediate affinities and differences in a dynamic of exchange and inclusion" (p. 24). Such people can help to mediate the differences between two groups, playing an important political role in building relationships (Bell, 2004b). Stephan and Stephan (2000b) speculate that people who focus on a contrasting ethnic identity to the group they are with, do so to emphasise their own uniqueness. This did not appear to be Stacey's motivation, however. Stacey did not take on this role through any sense of being different or wanting to be special; rather she saw it as an opportunity to show other people parts of herself that they might not otherwise know much about and therefore educate them about her cultures.

Authenticity

Not only is ethnic group identification constrained by culture and heritage (Song, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000b), it is also shaped by what is considered 'authentic' and by the perceptions of others (Callister et al., 2009; Nagel, 1994; Song, 2003). An individual's ethnicity is dependent on how they self-identify, whether other group members see them as a member of the group, and whether people outside the group see them as a member. Group insiders shape ethnicity by defining appropriate cultural knowledge, values, practices and behaviours, while people outside the group shape ethnicity through their assumptions of traditional group behaviours and appearances (Brubaker et al., 2004; Nagel, 1994; Song, 2003).

These expectations, or markers of authenticity, are not static, but differ according to context or according to proximity to the ethnic group (Kukutai & Webber, 2011). What an individual member of the group considers to be authentic may be different from what other members of the group think are the 'real' markers of ethnicity, and this may be different again from what people outside the group believe makes someone a group member.

Markers of authenticity help to determine what it means to be a member of an ethnic group (Nagel, 1994), but they can also be used to exert strong social pressure on individuals to conform to what is expected of them or to exclude people from group membership (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2012). Nagel (1994) argues that people who identify with multiple ethnic groups can be more vulnerable to questions over the authenticity of their group membership. They can be suspected of not having authentic cultural knowledge or experiences, or of only claiming an identity because of its perceived benefits or because it is fashionable.

The participants were well aware of the traditional elements that constituted their ethnic identities, particularly their Māori, Cook Islands Maori and Tongan identities. Traditionally, Māori identity is understood to involve ancestry, knowledge of Māori culture and protocols, use of te reo Māori (language), links to iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe), marae (meeting place) participation, and connections with an ancestral homeland (McIntosh, 2005; Stevenson, 2004). Likewise, the various Pacific identities have commonalities in the importance placed on cultural practices and values, language competence, ancestry, connection with and obligation to extended family, Christian religion, and connection to a homeland (Anae, 2001; Macpherson, 1996; Spickard & Fong, 1995). In their interviews, the participants listed many cultural practices in which they took part or were knowledgeable about, such as kapa haka (Māori performance), Cook Islands and Tongan performance groups, language, festivals, food, funerals, visits to marae, birthday celebrations, Christmas, music and dance, weddings, family gatherings, carving, mau rākau (Māori martial arts), and clothing[47]. These were all important markers for the participants that demonstrated that they were active and authentic in their ethnic group membership.

The participants could discuss the expectations placed on them to know about and participate in their cultures, and how closely they met those expectations. For example, Stacy mentioned elements of Māori culture that she felt were an important part of being Māori. She said that she knew her iwi (the tribes from which she was descended), but didn't really know her whakapapa (genealogy), "*even though I'm supposed to*" (Stacey, Interview 1).

For other elements of cultural authenticity, the participants actively resisted perceived notions of who they ought to be. Both Stacey and Julius talked about the way they upset or defied other people's expectations when taking part in performance groups. Stacey felt that she was perceived as more 'Māori' when taking part in Cook Islands dancing, and as more 'Cook Islands' when taking part in kapa haka. She had reflected on this perception, and felt that it showed she could be both Māori and Cook Islands Maori at the same time.

> *Some people say that I look more Cook Island than Māori while I'm doing kapa haka. It's kind of true, coz I have no idea how to do kapa haka, but I'm still trying to learn. But when I do Cook Island dancing, they say I look more like Māori. Which is confusing me. But I'm used to it actually. […] Like, I take it in and then I change it and I just make something out of it. […] Everybody sees everybody differently.*

[47] Examples of the participants talking about these practices can be found later in this chapter.

Just depends how well they know them. Umm, I don't know. People just say I can be two people at once. (Stacey, Interview 1)

Julius had also noticed people's surprise at his talent at Cook Islands dancing. He didn't perceive this as negative, but as a compliment to his ability.

Some people are surprised when I tell them, like when I dance with them in the Cook Islands night. They're like, coz they're not really good in it and I, like, know more than them and then I tell them that I'm full Māori, and they're like, you know "shut up" and they're like "oh". […] They take [it] a[s] more of a compliment as me being there. (Julius, Interview 1)

Deazel and Mohi, the two participants who identified as Māori and Pākehā, both felt that their Māori identity was questioned by others. Deazel felt challenged in his Māori identity because of his skin colour, particularly by members of his extended family. He saw others as being surprised that he was involved in, and knowledgeable about, Māori culture. He talked about how his family's perceptions of him did not meet his perceptions of himself:

Polyfest[48] just gone this year, I was kaea [leader] and some of my family came to watch and one of my cousins was like "I didn't know you were like that", coz you know, I was doing kapa haka and stuff, and I was like "oh yeah, why not?" and then she goes "oh because you're so white". […] That was a huge shock and I think that most of my family just like, visualises me as this kind of white dude going along his way. […] I think that my family, oh like family that I don't see all the time, yeah, they kind of have this vision of me being white. […] Other people kind of projecting this whole "oh you're white", that kind of pisses me off. […] It's coz it's not who I am. Like I probably know more Māori stuff than they do and they're judging me about my colour of my skin. (Deazel, Interview 1)

He justified his family's attitude in terms of their lack of frequent contact: "*it's probably because I haven't seen them too, so it's not their fault*" (Deazel, Interview 1). Despite feeling challenged over his authenticity as Māori, Deazel also had his own expectations about what people who identify as Māori ought to know. He expressed surprise at his cousins' lack of knowledge about their cultural backgrounds:

[48] Polyfest is a annual festival of Māori and Pacific Islands cultures. Secondary schools from around the Auckland region perform at various stages dedicated to each cultural group.

> *I'm like "What?! Come on. You're meant to know these things". But, oh well*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Mohi also expressed some uncertainty over the perceived authenticity of his Māori identity. He felt that he needed to justify his identity as Māori despite not looking 'Māori' enough, and that other Pākehā people would make assumptions about him based on the colour of his skin. Mohi felt that the context in which he was operating was very important to him being recognised as Māori. At school and whilst participating in Māori cultural activities, he was confident that he would be treated as Māori, but away from those contexts he felt that he would be treated as Pākehā. It was important to him that he be recognised as Māori.

> *Being Māori would be in school time, coz everybody would know that you're Māori instead of Pākehā. Otherwise, once I step out the door with no school uniform whatsoever, just wearing plain clothes, walk out in the community, they would probably think I'm Pākehā not Māori. And if I do kapa haka stuff, they will know that I'm Māori and Pākehā at the same time. […] I think it is because of the colour of my skin. They would just say, "oh he's Pākehā, he's not Māori", and probably when they come up to me they would probably ask me what my name is and, umm, they'll say "ah, he's Māori". […] I prefer them to come up to me and ask me what [ethnicity I am] […] Instead of them saying, of coming to conclusions saying "oh, he's a white boy, he's not Māori whatsoever"*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

These kinds of misperceptions and assumptions based on appearance are common (Kukutai, 2004), especially for people of multiple ethnic heritages whose physical features may be more 'ambiguous' and open to interpretation (Keddell, 2009). McIntosh (2001, 2005) and Moeke-Maxwell (2005) have both written about similar experiences of having their identities questioned because their cultural knowledge and practices did not match people's expectations based on how they looked. For McIntosh (2001), "my fair complexion means that my persistence in identifying as Maori is seen by some non-Maori as a form of romantic stubbornness, whilst others see it as merely perverse" (p. 142). For Moeke-Maxwell (2005),

> Born to a Maori mother and Pakeha father, I grew up aware that I was different from those with a singular genealogy/ethnicity. On the one hand, I was influenced by my mother's tikanga (tribal values, beliefs, and practices), which informed my sense of Maori identity. However, this was continually called into question in my everyday experience because I appear more Pakeha than Maori. (p. 498)

Partly as a reaction to these assumptions and the anger they felt about them, both Deazel and Mohi identified more strongly with their Māori culture and were dismissive of their Pākehā identities. In their interviews and as part of the photo elicitation exercise, they talked about the Māori cultural practices in which they were involved, but did not mention Pākehā cultural practices. As the conversation extract below demonstrates, when specifically asked Mohi talked about console gaming, but dismissed it as being part of everyone's culture rather than part of Pākehā culture, and similarly dismissed Guy Fawkes as not really being a Pākehā tradition.

> *Interviewer: This is all Māori stuff. Do you think there might have been Pākehā things you could have taken photos of? Or is that not important to you?*
>
> *Mohi: Oh, I don't know if there was any Pākehā stuff to take photos of, coz, oh, I'm not quite sure of the stuff, like at home, I don't know if playing games is a Pākehā way. Coz that's everybody's way.*
>
> *Int: Yeah.*
>
> *M: Yeah. Coz if I take a photo of that, that's like everybody's way of doing it, but don't know who would of made the games up.*
>
> *Int: You know, I was thinking about it, it was Guy Fawkes last night. Do you think that's a Pākehā thing?*
>
> *M: Yeah. I reckon that is. But, I reckon that they got the fireworks from the, ah other, like the Asians. […] They invented fireworks. But they [Pākehā] made it more fashionable.*
>
> *Int: Did you do Guy Fawkes last night?*
>
> *M: Yeah I did. […] We let off all of them last night, except for my bit. I'm not letting them off. They're only cascades, that's what they are. […] [The ones] that spin around*. (Mohi, Interview 2)

Similarly, Deazel described being Pākehā as being 'normal', 'plain' and not very interesting. He was more interested in his Māori side than his Pākehā side, and didn't feel that he was complete without being Māori as well.

> *It's just there, you know, it's there and there's no kind of importance or relevance to it. Yeah. Well that's how I feel anyways. […] I guess it's just that I want to know more [about being Māori]. Like, me being Pākehā, what else is there to know? […] What else is there for me to know about myself, on that kind of side of my culture? […] It just feels pretty normal. Just doing things, whatever it is. It's pretty plain, I think. Being Pākehā. […] Like it's just a norm for people. Like, me being Māori, it's*

kind of, I don't know, like I'm not, I'm not complete [without it], kind of thing. (Deazel, Interview 2)

Pākehā cultural practices were too ubiquitous, too much a part of everyday life in New Zealand, for Deazel or Mohi to notice them or assign any value to them. Deazel and Mohi's dismissiveness resonates with arguments in the literature about majority ethnic group identifications. Both Bell (1996, 2004a) and Spoonley (1988) have argued that Pākehā values, acceptable behaviours and cultural practices pervade New Zealand society, as Pākehā are the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand. Pākehā people can find it difficult to recognise that they have a culture (Bell, 1996). For people who identify as Pākehā in addition to another ethnic group, recognising their Pākehā culture can be especially problematic. 'Culture' and 'ethnicity' are often assumed to belong to minority ethnic groups and not to dominant, Western, white groups (Keddell, 2009).

Language as a marker of authentic ethnic identity

One especially salient marker of ethnic identity is language. Authors such as Anae (2001), McIntosh (2005), and Spickard and Fong (1995) agree that for many people, language is an indicator of authentic ethnic group membership, particularly for people from Māori and Pacific Islands backgrounds. As Spickard and Fong (1995) argue, language is commonly understood as "the sine qua non of ethnicity, the essential variety of cultural practice, because so much that is powerful is shared through language" (p. 1377).

Often in their interviews, the participants equated identity with language ability. As an example, when I asked Deazel whether he liked identifying as both Māori and Pākehā, he immediately drew on his language abilities in te reo Māori and English:

Yeah, I think it's pretty cool. I think that the only downside would be that it's more focused on the Pākehā side. You know, I talk English and I can't talk very much Māori. So I guess that's like the only downside to it. (Deazel, Interview 2)

The participants could all speak English and had been raised in homes with other English speakers. In addition, they all had some degree of fluency in the languages of their ethnic groups. They had various reasons why they liked to speak these languages. English was viewed in purely pragmatic terms, as a universally understood language within New Zealand and a common language overseas. The other languages spoken by the participants were more closely linked to their identifications with their ethnic groups. They described these languages in terms of 'love', of 'identity' and 'connection', of 'comfort' and 'belonging'.

I think the reason why I like English is because everyone will understand it. If you go to different countries some people will speak English, it's just they'll have a different accent and you'll probably not understand them a little bit, after the meantime you'll understand them. And, te reo Māori, I just love it. I don't know why, but it's just, ah, I don't know how to say it. It's the language of New Zealand. Yeah. That's important to me. (Mohi, Interview 1)

I like speaking English because, umm I don't know. I can't say that I like it, but I see that I have to, kind of like to get my point and thoughts across. I like speaking Māori because it's like, brings me back home. Defines who I am. […] Kind of brings me back to my cultural identity. (Deazel, Interview 1)

[When spending time with Tongan people] I feel like I don't wanna leave them, I feel like just, you know, living with them. It's just the way we converse with each other is awesome. Like, it's pretty funny when you don't know them then when you go meet them, when they speak in your language you feel like, "oh!" You know, these are my brothers. Better jump in, you know. You already know you fit in once you hear them talking and then they invite you to come in. But I don't feel like I fit in when I go and see Tongans but they don't wanna speak their language. They just talk the Palagi[49] *language*. (Uele, Interview 2)

Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Uele all felt it was important for people to be able to speak the language of their ethnic group. The reasons they gave for this belief were related to issues of language preservation, ethnic identity and connection making with other members of their ethnic groups.

I think it's really important for Māori people to be able to speak Māori. What's the point in having a culture that can't speak their own language? It's not a sight that I would like to see. I don't know. I think that not many Māori can speak the language as there used to be. I think that needs to change. (Deazel, Interview 1)

If we can't speak our language, then our language will die out, and it's important to connect through your own language and not through someone else's language. (Julius, Interview 1)

[49] 'Palagi' is a term that derives from Samoan language, meaning white person or foreigner.

> *Because otherwise if they don't know how to speak Māori, they'll just lose their reo [language] and no one will be able to speak Māori. Coz I don't think we've got any more fluent speakers any more. That's why some people are just trying to speak Māori all the time. […] I don't know how big an impact it would have. It will have an impact*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

> *It's very important for them [Tongan people] to speak Tongan because, if they are Tongan, they should speak it. Coz nowadays, my little cousins growing up, like three years old, they don't know Tongan. They only know English. So it hurts me inside, you know, they're Tongan but they can't speak the language*. (Uele, Interview 1)

In contrast, Stacey took a more flexible view. She felt that the decision about whether someone should learn a language was up to the individual, and should reflect their particular interests and circumstances. Stacey believed that identification with an ethnic group was not dependent on knowing the language.

> *It depends on who they are, what they believe in and stuff. If they believe and they want to express their language then they can, if they don't then they don't. It's up [to] the person, I guess. […] Yeah. It doesn't stop them [belonging to that group]. Like, if you're born Māori you're born Māori and you'll die Māori, so, pretty much, yeah*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

Family socialisation

In addition to providing a line of descent, families play a very important role in introducing young children to their cultural heritage and what it means to be a member of an ethnic group. The family is recognised as the first site of ethnic (or racial or cultural) socialisation (Agee & Culbertson, 2013; Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Sabatier, 2008; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009). Family ethnic socialisation is a mechanism through which children learn about their cultural practices, beliefs, values and languages (Hughes et al., 2006) and see these things being modelled. As Spickard and Fong (1995) have argued,

> Much of what happens that is ethnic happens within the extended family. Almost all community ceremonies and obligations are organized on a family

> basis. The place, above all others, where Tongan or Fijian or Samoan culture is passed on is in the *family*. (p. 1376, original emphasis)

Parents, and other family members such as grandparents (Agee & Culbertson, 2013), help to shape children's ethnic identities through a number of processes. Family members are important role models, are sources of cultural knowledge, facilitate the acquisition of language, and provide opportunities for their children to participate in cultural activities (Agee & Culbertson, 2013; Hughes et al., 2006; Sabatier, 2008). Children are encouraged to feel pride in their ethnic groups and to learn about important historical people and events (Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney et al., 2001). In contexts such as the United States where racial discrimination is rife, families provide the opportunity to discuss negative experiences and how to cope with or respond to them (Hughes et al., 2006). These ethnic socialisation practices are especially important for children from multiple ethnic backgrounds, helping them to access information about and experiences of their various cultural heritages (Agee & Culbertson, 2013).

This, of course, assumes that children are interested in finding out about their ethnic groups. For ethnic socialisation to occur, children must be willing to accept and learn from the opportunities and examples presented by their families (Sabatier, 2008; Unterreiner, 2017). It also assumes that parents have knowledge of cultural practices and values to pass on to their children, and are interested in passing on this information. For families whose cultural knowledge is lacking, institutions such as schools can play an important role in providing access to cultural experiences and learning opportunities (Borell, 2005). In some cases, the socialising influences can operate in the opposite direction, with children bringing cultural knowledge home from school, thereby stimulating a desire in parents to learn cultural practices and languages (Borell, 2005).

The interviews with the five participants provided many examples of how their families had shaped and influenced their ethnic identities. Their families were important sources of information about cultural values and practices, modelled cultural behaviours, expected the participants to act as role models for younger members of their families, provided opportunities for the participants to hear their cultural languages being spoken and practice their language abilities, and provided opportunities to observe and participate in cultural activities. Examples of these actions can be found throughout this chapter.

The literature (for example, Hughes et al., 2006) points towards families also being important sites of conversations about ethnic identity. However, Uele was the only participant who mentioned explicit conversations at home that addressed how things ought

to be done or what it meant to be a member of his ethnic groups. His family was an important source of information about the protocols and correct behaviour expected in Tongan culture.

> *When we want to know something. Like we want to know what the right things to do when you are round your family. That's when we ask about our culture, and we always ask questions like why is it bad for us to watch TV [with] our sisters. We're not allowed to do anything bad in front of them. It's like they're gods, and we're just like their slaves, we just go out and do anything for them. Yeah. It's the only time we ask about our culture*. (Uele, Interview 1)

For the other four participants, family socialisation practices were much more implicit, and relied upon shared activities or special occasions. This finding supports Keddell's (2006) findings that, amongst her participants, none had been involved in direct conversations with their parents about what their ethnic identities meant to them, or what identity options they had available to them. As Deazel explained,

> *No, we don't really talk much about it. Like I come home and I talk about the stuff we do here [at school]. Then they're like "oh, cool", but like other than that we don't really talk about being Māori. […] Nah [we don't talk about being Pākehā either]. We just kind of go on by with our day I guess*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Rather than explicit conversations, the participants indicated that their families taught them about their cultures through shared experiences. Mohi and Uele mentioned festivals taking place in South Auckland: for Waitangi Day[50] and the annual Polyfest event[51], as well as Māori Language Week[52] and cultural performances through church groups. These were occasions that facilitated knowledge of their cultural practices.

> *When it comes to te reo week, we try, we talk te reo Māori to each other all the time. […] We go to things, but not all the time. Umm, Waitangi, the one up here [a*

[50] Waitangi Day commemorates the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between the British Crown and Māori iwi in New Zealand on 6 February 1840.

[51] As noted in an earlier footnote, Polyfest is an annual cultural festival for secondary schools. Its primary sponsor is the ASB Bank.

[52] Māori Language Week was established in 1975 as part of a movement to revitalise te reo Māori. For one week a year, the use of te reo Māori is emphasised in schools, in government institutions, and in the media.

> *festival in South Auckland]. […] That's where everyone just comes together*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

> *ASB Polyfest. My whole family joins. And, in church there's cultural performances. My mother always pushes us to join. We need to go and learn our culture and be happy*. (Uele, Interview 1)

In his interviews, Julius contrasted his own family experiences with those of his partner's family. His experiences in the Cook Islands household enabled him to learn about Cook Islands culture, facilitated his understanding of Māori culture, and helped him to identify similarities and differences between the two ethnic groups. Through his observations of life in his partner's family, he acknowledged what was important to him about Māori culture, and identified gaps in his knowledge that he was interested in filling.

> *There's a lot of cultural stuff in their [my partner's] house that I don't really get at my house. Just them talking their own language in their house, whereas you go to my house and they won't, they'll talk English. So they've been brought up all their life with their English, like European ways. They haven't been in a house where it's like, speak Māori and that. […] The old people that I stay with, they always talk Cook Islands to me and they know when I'll click on and when I won't. So they're trying to teach me, but when I think about it, that should have been the way that, how I was brought up. […] If only it was passed down to me, not, you know, always getting talked to in English*. (Julius, Interview 1)

Celebrating special occasions

Family gatherings provided a time and place for the participants to enact the cultural practices with which they were familiar. The participants all described how special occasions and events such as funerals were recognised in their families. Family gatherings revolved around shared food, and enabled the participants to connect with family members they might not have seen for a long time. These occasions provided the opportunity for older family members to pass on cultural knowledge to the younger generations and helped to establish cultural practices and values as the normal way things were done in the family.

For Deazel, family gatherings presented an opportunity to connect with family members and to participate in cultural practices. He talked about taking on a leadership role for his family, and talked about how his Pākehā and Māori cultures were combined in a funeral service.

> *We usually have massive as, I don't know, lunches or breakfasts or dinners, and then, maybe afterwards we'll celebrate and go have a drink. At funerals and stuff, we—I don't know, so like my great-nanna passed away sometime this year, and we were drinking and stuff and then I got up and I did the mihi [greeting]. I was quite proud of myself when I did that, and then yeah like so we just celebrate. […] It was actually both [a Pākehā and Māori funeral]. Our minister was Māori so we had to read our, the book or whatever it's called. So I had to read the Māori part and then my other cousin read the English parts, and yeah. Multicultural. […] All the family that I don't really know, on a big event I get to see them all. Like it kind of brings us all together. I like it*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Taking on the responsibility of reading the passage in te reo Māori was an important moment of recognition for Deazel. He was given the role by his older brother, because his language skills and cultural knowledge were recognised as greater than those of his brother.

> *My older brother was meant to do it, but he goes "I think you'll probably be better at it than me" that time, then I started laughing then I got up and did it. So I'm not sure if that's my role, but at the time that's like kind of what I did. […] They might expect me to do it again. I'm not sure. It would be quite cool*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Participating in family occasions was not always easy. Mohi talked about the logistics involved in travelling to see his extended family, and travelling to his family's marae for funerals.

> *The family, me and my mum and my sister, we'll be going up north for Christmas, to celebrate with my nanny and koro [grandfather]. And staying up there for the whole week or two. […] [We'll] have really, very good kai [food]. Go to the beach with my aunty while my nanny and koro are home sleeping, so they can get their work done and stuff. When it comes to birthdays, we meet up at somewhere like Valentines [a buffet restaurant franchise] for my nanny's birthday and celebrate it there. […] For funerals, my koro will go down first with the kids. Me and my mum, aunty will go down after coz my mum can't leave straight away coz she'll be working. She can't leave work until the weekends. We'll head down on the Friday night to the marae and have the funeral. And bury them where they're going to get buried. […] I think it's good. Catching up with whānau [family]. That's the most important one*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

Special occasions, and the accompanying family functions, were very important to Stacey. She spent more of her interviews talking about family occasions than the other participants. Family gatherings were occasions where Stacey could participate in her Māori and Cook Islands Maori cultures, and share these experiences with members of her family.

> *For birthdays, usually there's some people that want to have performances done. So like, Cook Island dancing, sometimes they have solos where only one person dances, where every other people sing. So your Cook Island song or something. […] For weddings, they have heaps of presents, they just keep on, they make the bride and them sit in the middle and then they just keep on putting presents and presents, it's like blankets after blankets, and it could be like so high [indicating with her hand], it's pretty cool. […] I like the food. I really love the food. Coz it's like, amazing. Coz they keep on cooking and cooking and by the time everything is finished, everybody is full, nobody is hungry, and it's pretty cool coz there's leftovers where they can take it home as well*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

These family functions were also an important opportunity for younger family members to learn about their heritage. By making cultural activities fun and accessible, older family members ensured that knowledge was passed on, and cultural activities would continue to take place.

> *When we have family functions and stuff, that's when we can express, ah, mostly our culture. Coz our family's pretty cool on culture and stuff. […] Whenever we have family functions, we always make it fun for us to actually do culture. So we'll have competitions, seeing who can do the best [Cook Islands] dancing, which is so cool coz they get the little kids involved as well, which makes them learn more about the culture*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

During the time of the research, Stacey's older brother celebrated his twenty-first birthday. Stacey took the opportunity to take photos of the occasion, and used them as prompts to discuss what happened and what it meant to her. Two of the photos can be found in Figure 12, alongside her description of the venue decorations and all the food that had been prepared.

> *These are my brother's birthday. This is like the food. This is my brother's birthday cake. It was really nice. […] The cloths, it's decoration for the garage. Just to make everything look cool. I don't know why we chose purple, but my brother liked [it] so it was alright. […] And this is the one of food. […] It's all the food that we were*

going to eat. There was chop suey, chops, steak, minus which is this one. And, there was donuts down here. […] Minus, it's Cook Island potato salad. It's with beetroot as well. Which makes it pink. […] Instead of real music they use the guitar and the uke to sing Cook Island songs. And share their thoughts. (Stacey, Interview 2)

(Photos S10 and S11)

Figure 12: Food laid out for a birthday celebration

As Stacey explained, her family experiences supported both of her cultures, Māori and Cook Islands Maori. Her family modelled ways of building bridges and making connections between the two ethnic groups, so that both were equally valued.

Where we are, in our surroundings, it looks Cook Island. But when we start talking and stuff, we'll sing mostly Māori songs. You'll hardly hear us sing Cook Island songs. And we'll mostly use some Māori words. So like, just to have fun. Yeah. Both. (Stacey, Interview 2)

We don't have a competition between cultures. If we start singing a Cook Island song then all of us will sing it coz we know it. And then if we change [to a Māori song], then we change. It's just up to who sings it. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Special occasions were also very important to Uele's family. Gatherings included members of the wider Tongan community in New Zealand, as well as family members from Tonga. His family worked hard to ensure that everyone could be included, no matter the barriers of time, money or distance. Funerals in particular were a big event, and provided the opportunity for family meetings where the future of the family could be discussed.

Our family, we make it big. […] Like birthdays, everybody, like the whole church, family members from overseas and here and you know, we just set up, oh we book a hall, and just tables of food, everything, and just come in and celebrate the

birthday and that. After parties, everything. Except funerals, we don't celebrate it but […] normally we don't start the funeral until family members come. Like, if there's a family member overseas and they can't make it, the whole family gets together and makes sure she makes it, or he makes it. Coz it's important for the whole family to be there, to show their respect to the person that died. And we normally have one week for the funeral. After the burial, there's like a ten-day, ten days after the funeral we wear black, have family meetings every day, you know, we stay there, we sleep there, we're not allowed to go to work, school, anywhere, just stay with the family, before everyone goes back to like their jobs and everything. It's time for us to all be together to have meetings, to talk about what we should do next time. Like if one of our grandparents die, do we have the money to pay for the funeral, you know, are we ready, do we have all the stuff, the Tongan stuff that we need for the funeral? You know, make sure we have money aside for family that can't make it, to bring them over. […] The last night before we all go back to normal, the process, that's where we start talking about the family member that died and memories and what good times we had with her or him. Yeah. Just like, pretty sad but you know, things that makes me smile every time I think about my family member that passed away. Memories I had of them. (Uele, Interview 1)

Families as sources of knowledge

Family members, especially parents and grandparents, are a key source of information about cultural practices, beliefs, values and behaviours (Agee & Culbertson, 2013). Stacey, for example, had identified different family members whom she would approach to find out information about her two ethnic groups.

I mostly talk to my nanna. Coz she's really old but she knows heaps of Cook Island things. And then I would go to my aunties and that. On my mum's side. And ask them about my Māori culture. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Family was a particularly important source of knowledge for Uele about how to act in a Tongan way, given that New Zealand society was not based on Tongan values or cultural practices. Uele gave an example of how his mother was passing on Tongan knowledge to his sister. Through this example, he also reflected on the division in gender roles in Tongan culture and the contrasts he had noticed in gender division in Samoan culture.

How we're brought up in New Zealand, we don't really learn the Tongan ways. So my mum's trying to teach her [my sister] to get her head around the traditional ways. Like, not allowed to watch TV when we're watching TV, like the brothers, not allowed to be around us when we're inside the house and that. The boys. I heard that, my friend, Samoan, in their culture the woman goes out [to] do all the gardening and that. But in our ways, the Tongan way, the man goes out, does all the gardening and that. The ladies stay inside, cook our food. […] My mum's trying to teach my sister how to knit these [the kafa], coz it was passed on from my mum's mum. Passed down. And now to my mum. My mum's passing it down to my sister. (Uele, Interview 2)

The kafa to which Uele refers in the above quote, is a belt or tie for a traditional Tongan skirt. Uele had taken a photo of his mother at work on the kafa (see Figure 13). He described how his mother made it, and how his parents used traditional clothing to encourage their children to be proud of their Tongan culture. Being able to wear the ta'ovala, secured with a kafa, was a source of great pride for Uele. It was also a symbol of his commitment to his Tongan identity.

Oh, can't see it properly but that's my mum. She's knitting this thing we call a ta'ovala or a kiekie. Traditional in our Tongan culture. Like, every time you attend church you have to wear that if you're a boy. Like if you're wearing those lava-lavas, you've got to wear one of those around. […] It makes you stand out. It comes around the waist and then you've got to wrap it in, umm, hair. Like ladies' long hair. Which, when they cut it, it just makes a, oh I've forgotten what it's called. They weave it. Oh, kafa. It's called a kafa. Like you weave and it's like hair and you just tie it around. [Miming the actions]. […] All my own kafa I have from my mum. Every time your hair comes long, cuts the hair and makes those things and just keep connecting it. And it goes long and long and then, just keeping going. Like, that's your belt. […] She starts off from this little thing here, like that. Then it will just start from that and then it will go from there, past that wall, or to that wall. That's how long she'll make it. Just sitting there every day, when she's not busy, just knitting. It's like, pretty buzzing patterns. Like, when you watch when it's laid out, you just look and like, "oh". Some has got like flowers in them and that. I don't know how they do it. […] You don't have to be a certain age [to wear it]. I reckon like, if parents can find time to make their little, younger ones one, then that will be good. Coz my littlest brother, he always wears it. Every Sunday. […] If you [are] going [to] dinner or something, you can chuck it on, and be part of your culture.

So I see some Tongans, when it's time for dinner and that, go out restaurants and then they always get shy, "oh nah, I don't want to wear that with the people". Meanwhile I just listen to my parents and I wear that, wear it with pride. Go out there with pride. (Uele, Interview 2)

(Photo U18)

Figure 13: Uele's mother weaving the kafa

Language learning

Family members also play an important role in supporting language learning (Agee & Culbertson, 2013; Hughes et al., 2006; Sabatier, 2008). Mohi, Stacey, Uele and Julius all had access at home to speakers of their cultural languages, who were helping them to learn or providing opportunities for them to practice their language skills.

Mohi was fluent in both te reo Māori and English. His language competence was supported at home by his family members.

I can speak te reo Māori and English. Those are the only two I can speak at the moment. A mixture of both [at home]. […] My mum and sister sometimes speak Māori to me, and I speak Māori back to them. It's not all the time we speak Māori but we try. […] My nan is learning how to speak Māori, she's getting good. And they [grandparents] speak Māori to me, but not all the time. I do understand when they tell me to do it, or go do what they tell me to do. (Mohi, Interview 1)

Stacey spoke English and had limited but emerging competence in Cook Islands Maori and te reo Māori. Her parents were supporting her to increase her vocabulary and fluency in both languages. She was motivated to learn because of her interest in singing.

Mainly English. I don't know how to actually like talk Cook Island or Māori, but I do understand some of it, both of the languages. […] The way how they're being spoken, I reckon it's pretty cool. Coz even though I don't know how to speak it, it still sounds pretty unique to me. […] I really like it when they sing and stuff, that's pretty cool how they use their language. (Stacey, Interview 1)

I can understand [Cook Islands Maori] but can't speak it. While my dad's trying to, like, teach me certain words so I can pick up. […] As well as my mum and them. She teach[es] me a word a day [of te reo Māori] and then I try fit it into a sentence. […] I try to get used to it and build up to getting used to speaking it fluently. So, hopefully it should help. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Uele spoke both English and Tongan, and said that he mostly spoke Tongan at home to his parents and grandparents. He had begun learning Tongan when he was twelve years old. A motivator for learning the language was the fact that his grandfather did not speak English.

I mainly speak—ah both. I speak Tongan to my grandparents […] My grandma is fluent in English. So I only speak Tongan to him [grandfather], my father, mother. But when I talk to my siblings, I talk to them in English. […] I learnt Tongan when I was twelve. That's when I started learning Tongan. (Uele, Interview 1)

Julius was also learning te reo Māori, and was able to compare his language knowledge with the Cook Islands Maori he was picking up whilst living in a Cook Islands household.

I speak English but I'm still learning Māori. Yeah. But the thing of Cook Island, like I can understand it and it like, enhances more of my language coz of how similar the two cultures are. (Julius, Interview 1)

Family expectations

Families act as role models to younger family members, modelling expected behaviours and cultural practices, and encouraging participation in cultural activities (Agee & Culbertson, 2013). The participants in this research were of an age where they were expected to contribute to this role modelling to support and encourage their younger siblings or cousins.

All of the participants talked about the importance of taking on a leadership role for younger members of their families. In Uele's family, he was expected to be a role model for his

younger siblings and cousins as he was the oldest grandchild. This role involved modelling appropriate behaviour and showing leadership at family gatherings.

> *In my dad's family I take a big role, coz I'm the oldest grandchild, so they depend on me to come [to] school and get a good education to show my younger ones, like be a role model for them. To show the younger grandkids, my dad's side, you know, that's how it's done. And my dad's family, they—just because I'm the oldest grandchild I do everything. When there's work outside I have to make sure it's done properly, you know, whenever there's funerals, I'm the one who's gonna be, you know, asked to do everything, because that's my role as the oldest, to show the younger kids, when you get to my age, or when you get the responsibility of me, of my role, you know what to do. I love it. Just the, just to go there and experience it. When I was little I was always watching my dad because he's the oldest, doing [that] stuff you know, funerals, cooking, making sure the house [was] clean, everything. I used to love it. I used to just ask him if I could help him, and he said "son, your day will come"*. (Uele, Interview 1)

Stacey accepted the expectations of her elders and did her best to teach the younger members of her family.

> *Our older people, they expect us to know, coz we're much older than the younger ones. But they also expect the little ones as well. But like, at least they know some of it. So, we're kind of teaching the little ones as well*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

Mohi found the expectation to be a role model for other family members much more difficult, especially when he had a personality clash with a younger cousin.

> *I do think they have expectations of me, what I'm supposed to do. I do agree with them. It's just quite hard just to stay on the right track. Yeah. Especially when there's lots of whānau around. Got to set the right example, otherwise I'll get in trouble. Yeah. Otherwise my little cousin will get into trouble. Likely. […] Me and him just don't get along. I get along with my other cousins, just except for that one. He gets on my nerves. When I tell him not to do something, he just keeps going, keeps going, and I'll do something then he'll go and tell his mum and I'll get in trouble, and I'll have to go tell my mum then my mum will correct him. I'll still end up getting in trouble*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

Other socialising influences

Apart from their families and their school (addressed in Chapter Six), the participants referred to very few other socialising influences in their lives. Mohi, Julius and Uele all talked about belonging to a church community. For many Pacific Islands people, attending a Christian church is seen as an important part of being a member of their ethnic group (Macpherson, 1996).

For Mohi, church provided another opportunity to participate in Māori cultural practices such as kapa haka.

> *There's this, I don't know if it's a Māori group, it's [a church group], and I do belong to it. […] They do kapa haka there, and every year all the churches come together and we have a big thing in one place*. (Mohi, Interview 1)

While Julius had no experiences of going to church with his own family, he did attend a Cook Islands church with his partner's family. He saw church as another place to learn about Cook Islands culture and the protocols and expectations of the group.

> *I'm the only one that, in my whole family that goes to church. [I go] to my partner's church [a Cook Islands church]*. (Julius, Interview 1)

> *If you don't know the boundaries around church then, yeah, you have to ask someone what's going on and stuff. "Is it right if I do this, is it right if I do that." Yeah. Just to be sure*. (Julius, Interview 2)

For Uele, his Tongan church was a place where he could spend time with other Tongan people, learn the language, and learn the values of respect for education and respect for parents that were important in Tongan culture. He also saw church as a place that reinforced the knowledge and skills he would need as an adult.

> *I love church, bonding with the brothers and sisters and that. Good place to be. […] The preaching and the speeches they do, really awesome. You know, when I first went in there I didn't really understand what they were saying coz they were saying it in Tongan. And then, when I got to really understand what they were saying it was cool. […] I see some kids are bored when they only see one man up there just preaching about God and that. To me I love it, the way he emphasises the big words and that [pounding his hand]. Love it. That's what makes me push myself at school and that. Coz he always told me, like our top dog at church, always told us that the more you behave to your mother and father, the longer*

they live and you live. So that's why I always push my little brother and sister to listen to my mother and father. Whatever they say, you got to stick with it. […] We have youth service every second Sunday. It's awesome. I don't sing in that but I like watching them sing. Awesome harmonies and everything. And they never sing songs about anything else but God and how he helped us. And sing songs about our parents, how they help us become who we are today. Or sing songs to help us get our minds around, like, that soon we're gonna be adults, we need to step up and show our younger tuakana-teina, younger brothers and sisters, you know, that have fun while you're still at school coz that's the best time of your life, coz once you get into the real world then you're not gonna have fun anymore. (Uele, Interview 2)

Navigating multiple ethnic identities

The five participants all maintained multiple ethnic identifications, even when their family and community experiences drew them towards a primary, single identity. Their stories about themselves and their explanations of their ethnic identifications indicate their desire to be seen as authentic members of their ethnic groups and meet their families' expectations, and yet make choices about how and why they identify with their ethnic groups.

Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Stacey all felt that their ethnic identities had changed over time, becoming stronger because of their increasing knowledge about their cultures, and their increasing participation in gatherings or activities related to their cultures, such as kapa haka or performance groups. They were able to access information about and opportunities to participate in their cultures through their families and other organisations such as church. In contrast, Uele felt that his identity had not changed since he was a boy, that he and his family had always been strong in their Tongan identity.

Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Uele all said they would not change their identifications according to context. Stacey did change the emphasis of her identifications, depending on who she was with. Often, Stacey differed in her opinions about identity from those of Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Uele. She was more flexible in her identifications according to context, and she did not believe that language competence was an essential marker of ethnic identity. As the only young woman amongst the fieldwork participants, one possible explanation is that these differences are due to gender. However, Stacey never framed her thoughts in terms of gender or women's rights. In fact, Uele was the only one of the participants who mentioned

gender, based on his observations of the differences between how his sister was treated and how he and his brother were treated in the family. A much more likely explanation for the differences between Stacey and the other participants is that she was exposed to more experiences from both of her ethnic groups in a genuine and everyday manner within her family. As such, she was more comfortable and confident in both her ethnic identities, and did not feel she had anything to 'prove' to be accepted as a member by both groups. That confidence led to greater flexibility to change the emphasis of her identities according to context, and to her belief that she could act as a cultural lubricant and show others her different heritages.

All of the participants were aware of the identity markers of their ethnic groups. They described the cultural activities and performance groups in which they participated, they talked about their language abilities, and they discussed links to a homeland and family ancestry. These were markers that they supported and believed in. In this sense, they located themselves within what McIntosh (2005) calls a 'traditional identity': a contemporary identity that draws on the stereotypical and essentialised indicators of a 'real' and authentic identity. In other ways, the participants resisted these markers. Stacey still described herself as Māori, despite not knowing her genealogy. Deazel and Mohi both identified as Māori, despite feeling challenged by other people's perceptions of them based on their skin colour. In this sense, they enacted McIntosh's (2005) 'fluid identities'. A fluid identity draws on the traditional markers of ethnic authenticity, but challenges them, upends them, and reforms them to be more appropriate for the lived reality of individuals. "The fluid identity 'plays' with cultural markers such as language, custom and place and reconfigures them in a way that gives both voice and currency to their social environment" (McIntosh, 2005, p. 46). Often, it is young people in urban settings, dislocated from marae or village, who display a fluid identity.

Other theorists have different ways of explaining the experiences of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups. Bell (2004b) draws on the notion of ontological hybridity as a useful way of thinking about multiplicity, because it focuses on the product of mixture and the specifics of heritage and cultural experiences that combine to form a hybrid identity. For Bell (2004a), ontological hybridity refers to the cultural mixing that "arises out of the culture contact that follows migration or, as often then happens, via sexual relationships and the birth of individuals of 'mixed descent'" (p. 127).

This was certainly true of the five participants in this study. They each enacted a doubled hybrid identity, as Māori-Pākehā, Tongan-Fijian, and Māori-Cook Islands Maori, and saw

themselves as moving between the two worlds of their ethnic groups, rather than as belonging to a fused or blended combination of the groups. Deazel, Julius, Mohi and Uele each had a clear preference for a primary identity: Māori for Deazel, Julius and Mohi, and Tongan for Uele. This did not mean that they did not claim the other identity, just that they found the primary identity more relevant to their everyday lives at that point in time (Kukutai, 2007; Nakashima, 1996; Song, 2003). Only Stacey identified equally with her two ethnic groups, Māori and Cook Islands Maori.

Families contributed to the participants' ethnic group identifications by providing opportunities to learn about and participate in their cultural practices. Their families also expected them to participate in this process, by acting as role models to their younger siblings and cousins. Stacey's family, in particular, supported both of her ethnic groups equally, valuing both and providing equal opportunity for both. As a result, her identification with both groups was strong.

Julius' experiences with his partner's Cook Islands family indicate that cultural transmission takes place, even when the family culture and the individual's ethnic identity do not align. Julius felt a sense of belonging to Cook Islands culture, despite having sole heritage as Māori. He also found that his Cook Islands cultural experiences enhanced his Māori identity, by pointing him towards gaps in his knowledge or strengthening his resolve to know more about his Māori culture and language.

Overall, the experiences of these five participants demonstrate the interplay between individual experiences of identity and the understandings of ethnicity they receive from their families. Barth (1994) has argued that individual identities may be different from, or in conflict with, family identities. Deazel and Julius have chosen to focus more strongly on their Māori identities than either of their families. Equally, individual identities may reflect more directly the identities of the family. Stacey felt strongly committed to both her Māori and Cook Islands Maori identities, and this was mirrored in her family's identifications and practices. Family messages about ethnic identity were an important beginning point for each of the participants, helping them to recognise their ethnic group membership and providing them with opportunities to participate in cultural activities. However, each of the participants also felt free to make their own choices about how they would emphasise their ethnic group identifications.

Chapter Six: Kia Aroha College's Influences on Identity

Introduction

Ethnic identity is not simply transferred from parents to their children. A number of other factors, such as societal understandings of ethnicity, and life experiences outside the home, influence identity and impact on how people choose to identify themselves (Keddell, 2006). At the meso level of identity construction, individuals bring their ethnic group identifications, formed through micro-level interactions within their families, into contact with societal messages about the value of their identities (Rocha, 2016). Schools are a site where students are exposed to new ideas about identity (Kukutai & Webber, 2017). Schools are also a site where ethnic group membership can facilitate a student's experiences. Webber (2012) has argued that a positive sense of Māori identity and connections to language and culture are important factors that support educational success for Māori students.

For children and young people, school is the institution outside their families and immediate communities where they spend the most time. Primary, intermediate and secondary schools are places where young people interact with peers from other parts of their community, meet people from different ethnic groups, and are exposed to different ways of living in and interacting with the world. Students have to learn how to fit into a school community, what the rules of conduct are, what behaviours and experiences are valued, and what is not valued. What students are taught at school (the curriculum) and how they are taught by their teachers (pedagogy) also plays a role in telling students what kinds of knowledge are valued. For students from minority ethnic groups, school is often an important site of learning about language, culture and identity, particularly for students who do not have access to a lot of cultural knowledge at home (Borell, 2005).

This chapter examines the role of the research school in shaping the participants' ethnic identities. It describes Kia Aroha College's choice to become a culturally responsive school

that values and enriches its students' cultural experiences, by reflecting the ethnicities of the student population in the school's physical spaces and learning programme, and through the philosophy that underpins teaching and learning at the school. The chapter argues that by focusing on cultural identity and providing opportunities for students to participate in cultural activities and speak their languages, Kia Aroha College was influencing the ethnic identities of its students. As a result of the school's actions, the participants were confident in their identities and had the tools to continue learning about their multiple ethnic groups in the future.

Social reproduction and cultural responsiveness

A number of narratives operate in New Zealand society that shape our understandings of the purpose and role of schools. The prevailing discourse about education in New Zealand is that it is freely available to all and that everyone, no matter their background, has equal opportunity to succeed (Harker, 1990; Seve-Williams, 2013). Another narrative is that lack of success is the fault of the individual, which leads to 'deficit thinking': the tendency for some people to make assumptions that certain students or groups of students are not capable of doing well at school (Bishop, 2012).

Harker (1990) examined the narratives and political debates that accompanied the establishment of the New Zealand education system in the nineteenth century. He argued that the education system was set up by the Pākehā, upper and middle class ruling elite to provide social controls and to prepare the population to contribute to the economic progress of the country. A separate and parallel system of 'native schools' for Māori students was established in 1867 (Seve-Williams, 2013). Native schools, however, were not based on the ideals and practices of Māori culture. The outcomes for students at these schools reflected the educational goals for Pākehā students at mainstream schools: "merit for Maori children was measured by their competency in English, their assimilation to European ways and beliefs, and their skills in agriculture" (Seve-Williams, 2013, p. 246). Despite the rhetoric that education provided equal opportunity for everyone to become successful citizens of New Zealand, it was the mechanism through which the population, particularly the working class, could be taught morally and socially acceptable ways of being, and Māori could assimilate to European culture and society (Harker, 1990; Seve-Williams, 2013). As Harker (1990) states,

> For the Maori population, the schools have constituted a constant source of assimilationist pressure while maintaining a rhetoric of equality of

> opportunity—'schools open to all'. […] The intended outcome of the spread of public education can also be seen to have a strong social control component for working-class Europeans. (p. 34)

Schools are still seen as the means through which everyone, no matter their background, can succeed academically and as citizens of New Zealand. In the Ministry of Education's current four-year plan for education in New Zealand, the vision statement is that every student has equal opportunity for success:

> Our vision is to see all children and students succeed personally and achieve educational success. We want every New Zealander to:
>
> - be strong in their national and cultural identity
> - aspire for themselves and their children to achieve more
> - have the choice and opportunity to be the best they can be
> - be an active participant and citizen in creating a strong civil society
> - be productive, valued and competitive in the world.
>
> Our work and investment priorities are focused on activities that will help the education system flourish and make it possible for everyone to succeed. (Ministry of Education, 2016b, p. 2)

However, this rhetoric of equal opportunity for all is not reflected in a range of social indicators, especially when examined in terms of ethnicity. Various education and economic measures show that Māori and Pacific Islands peoples living in New Zealand are more disadvantaged than their Pākehā counterparts. Māori and Pacific Islands students are more likely to be absent from school or to be stood down or suspended[53] than Pākehā students, and have lower levels of achievement in NCEA[54] Levels 1 to 3 than Pākehā students (Ministry of Education, 2014, 2016c). The Ministry of Education (2016c) notes that these education measures have improved since 2000, but Māori and Pacific Islands students are still not reaching the same academic achievements as their Pākehā peers. Māori and Pacific

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[53] According to the Ministry of Education, a stand-down is the temporary removal of a student from school for behavioural reasons, and a suspension is the formal removal of a student from school until the Board of Trustees can meet and decide on the outcome for that student. A suspended student can return to school with or without conditions, be excluded (if they are under 16 years of age) and required to enrol at another school, or be expelled (if they are 16 years or older) (see www.education.govt.nz/school/managing-and-supporting-students/student-behaviour-help-and-guidance/stand-downs-suspensions-exclusions-and-expulsions-guidelines/).

[54] In New Zealand, the current school qualification is the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). Students sit 'achievement standards' in each subject at Level 1 in Year 11, Level 2 in Year 12, and Level 3 in Year 13. These standards might be internally assessed by the school or externally assessed through examinations.

Islands groups are also overrepresented in other negative social indicators, such as unemployment, low incomes, crime and imprisonment, and poor health (Bishop, 2010; Durie, 2005).

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction provides a mechanism to understand this inequality of outcomes for different groups in society, despite discourses of equal access to education for all. According to Bourdieu (see for example, Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Harker, 1990; Nash, 2000; Sullivan, 2002; Tzanakis, 2011), schools are a tool through which the dominant culture of a society is reproduced and social inequalities are reinforced. Schools reflect the culture of the dominant group in society, the group that controls the social, economic and political resources, and not the culture of minority groups (Harker, 1990). Students who arrive at school with the 'cultural capital' of the dominant elite—having learnt the language and values of the elite from their parents and having been exposed to the dominant culture by their families—have an advantage over their peers who have not been socialised into the dominant culture outside of school (Harker, 1990; Sullivan, 2002). Students with cultural capital are rewarded by the schooling system with academic success and qualifications, while students without the necessary cultural capital are disadvantaged and excluded from this success. Despite the role played by cultural capital, academic success is attributed by schools and by society to individual students' abilities; success is seen as meritocratic (Sullivan, 2002; Tzanakis, 2011). The idea of meritocracy assumes that "if you work hard enough and are talented enough you can overcome any obstacle and achieve success" (Seve-Williams, 2013, p. 248). Students who do not succeed in the education system, by implication, are seen as lazy, undeserving and lacking in ability.

In Bourdieu's model, success at school is also linked to high familial aspirations for their children (Nash, 2000). Students and their parents from non-elite backgrounds are assumed to have internalised the chances of success of their group, and to have correspondingly low belief in their ability to succeed. Nash (2000) identified Pacific Islands groups in New Zealand as a significant outlier to this assumption: "Pacific families and their children […] maintain very high aspirations […] quite at odds with their actual location in the social structure" (p. 71). Nash (2000) observed that if schools were to harness the high aspirations for education of Pacific Islands groups, then schools and families could work together to raise achievement.

Bourdieu was theorising in terms of social class, and was considering 'culture' in terms of the 'high culture' of the political and wealthy elite. For him, cultural exposure meant exposure to literature, theatre, concerts, art, and cinema (Bourdieu, 1977). However,

Harker (1990) has demonstrated that Bourdieu's theory is equally applicable to ethnic group differences in New Zealand. Pākehā New Zealanders are the group for whom and by whom the education system was designed, and are the group with the cultural capital to gain the most benefit from education as it is currently framed in New Zealand. Other groups, such as Māori and Pacific Islanders, do not necessarily receive this cultural capital from their families (Harker, 1990; Nash, 2000). Instead, children from Māori and Pacific Islands ethnic groups receive different cultural capital. As Harker (1990) argues,

> For many Maori children there is a discontinuity between home and school, between the academic knowledge of the school and the common sense, everyday knowledge of the home community. It is this cultural rift which Bourdieu sees as the fundamental cause of the perpetuation of social divisions. (p. 36)

Māori researchers (for example, Bishop, 2003; Macfarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh, & Bateman, 2007; Penetito, 2001) and Pacific Islands researchers (for example, Seve-Williams, 2013) make this same observation: that the New Zealand education system was set up by and for Pākehā, and Māori and Pacific Islanders are expected to conform to the mainstream ways of doing things if they want to succeed. As Penetito (2001) states, "the New Zealand education system has always operated as though all its clients were either Pakeha or wanted to become Pakeha; Maori had much to learn from Pakeha but Pakeha had little to learn from Maori" (p. 18). Likewise, Macfarlane et al. (2007) argue that:

> Government educational policies have ranged through assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism. The cumulative effects of these successive policies has been to require Māori to sacrifice more and more of their language, culture and their own Indigenous educational aspirations to the needs and goals of the nation, as determined largely by the Pākehā majority. Participation in mainstream education in Aotearoa New Zealand has come for Māori at a cost of their own language and culture. (p. 67)

In order for the education system to better serve all its students, not just those with the cultural capital of the elite, schools need to value other types of knowledge and other ways of knowing (Harker, 1990). One way of approaching this challenge is through culturally responsive education.

Simply put, culturally responsive education is where the cultural knowledge that students bring with them from home, and their culture-specific ways of learning, are incorporated

into classroom practice (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). A culturally responsive school, and a culturally responsive teacher, is one who respects and values the daily lived experiences of students and makes use of those experiences to teach students in culturally relevant ways (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Savage et al., 2011). Culturally responsive education requires shifts in school structures, curriculum content, teacher attitudes, teaching practices, and assessment practices (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008), so that schools are places that support the learning needs of all students, not just those of the dominant group in society.

Relationships are key to culturally responsive education. Macfarlane et al. (2007) argue that learning relationships between teacher and students are the foundation of a successful school where Māori and Pacific Islands students feel supported and achieve culturally and academically. Not all relationships are equal, however. Valenzuela (2005) suggests that many teachers demonstrate aesthetic caring, which involves relationships at a superficial level of sharing information and goals for learning, rather than the authentic caring relationships that are desired by minority students. Authentic relationships involve genuine care for the well-being of students, are respectful of students' abilities, cultures and identities, and are based on reciprocity between student and teacher (Savage et al., 2011; Valenzuela, 2005). In a New Zealand education context, such authentic caring relationships are known as whānau (family) relationships (Bishop, 2012). Learning based on whānau relationships involves a teacher establishing an environment where all students' backgrounds and abilities are respected and utilised, and where students can learn together and support one another as if they were a family.

Culturally responsive education challenges the narrative that the problem of low academic achievement is located within the students (their lack of ability) and their home lives (poverty, lack of resources, or lack of respect for education) (Bishop, 2012). Bishop (2012) argues that teachers who displayed such deficit thinking tended to view low student achievement as the result of external factors and therefore as outside their area of influence. Instead, teachers who had high expectations of all their students, and believed that respectful relationships between students and teacher were important, tended to see themselves as agents of change and felt that they could help their students to succeed.

In New Zealand, Bishop and colleagues have developed a model for the culturally responsive education of Māori students that draws on Māori metaphors and values (see for example, Bishop, 2003, 2012; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). The values that Bishop (2012, see pp. 186-188) sees as vital to culturally responsive education that work for Māori students are:

- Teachers and students sharing decision-making in the classroom (rangatiratanga);
- Using Māori language, culture, knowledge, values, and aspirations for the future to shape classroom interactions (taonga tuku iho);
- Teachers and students both contributing to learning conversations, where the teacher does not have to assume the role of expert (ako);
- Breaking down barriers between home and school, so that school is a more culturally familiar environment for students, and parents and families are welcome at classroom and school activities (kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga);
- Establishing family-like relationships in the classroom, where commitment to learning and connectedness between people are paramount (whānau); and
- An understanding of what constitutes excellence for Māori learners (kaupapa[55]).

'As Māori'

The New Zealand Ministry of Education uses the language of cultural responsiveness when talking about learners from ethnic minorities. In current education strategy documents that target Māori and Pacific Islands learners, such as *Ka Hikitia: Managing for Success* (Ministry of Education, 2009), *Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success* (Ministry of Education, 2013a), and the *Pasifika Education Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2013b), the Ministry argues that students should be taught in a way that supports their cultural identities. Māori students are expected to achieve 'as Māori', to achieve culturally as well as academically:

> 'Māori enjoying education success as Māori' means having an education system that provides all Māori learners with the opportunity to get what they require to realise their own unique potential and succeed in their lives as Māori. Succeeding as Māori captures and reflects that identity and culture are essential ingredients of success. The strategy takes a broad view of success and recognises the multiple concepts of success held by students, whānau, hapū, iwi, and education professionals and providers. (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 18)

[55] The more traditional translations for these terms are: rangatiratanga—chieftainship, autonomy, authority, leadership, self-determination; taonga tuku iho—cultural aspirations, heritage; ako—teaching and learning, reciprocal learning; kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga—mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties; whānau—family, extended family; kaupapa—philosophy, collective vision (Bishop, 2012; maoridictionary.co.nz).

Likewise, students from different Pacific Islands ethnic groups are expected to achieve success in cultural terms as well as academic terms:

> Pasifika Success will be characterised by demanding, vibrant, dynamic, successful Pasifika learners, secure and confident in their identities, languages and cultures, navigating through all curriculum areas such as the arts, sciences, technology, social sciences and mathematics. (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 3)

However, in these documents success is measured predominantly in academic terms. Both the Māori education strategy and the Pasifika education strategy have set goals related to literacy, numeracy and NCEA achievement, and view these goals as contributing to future success in study beyond school or in the workplace. Targets for measuring the success of the strategies for Māori and Pacific Islands students include: increased literacy and numeracy achievement in the primary school years; reduced rates of truancy, suspension, expulsion and exclusion; an increased number of school leavers with NCEA Level 1 credits in literacy and numeracy; an increased number of students achieving NCEA Level 2; and an increased number of school leavers qualified to attend university (Ministry of Education, 2009, 2013a, 2013b).

In terms of targets for achievement related to culture or identity, *Ka Hikitia* intends that "in 2015, 22% of students will participate in Māori language in education (primary and secondary education)" (Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 58). The *Pasifika Education Plan* asks that more schools become inclusive of the needs of Pacific Islands learners, and that "Pasifika parents, families and communities engage with schools in supporting their children's learning" (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 8).

Success 'as Māori', 'as Samoan', 'as Tongan' and as other Pacific Islands groups is measured using the same indicators as success for Pākehā students: literacy, numeracy, and the gaining of qualifications. In *Ka Hikitia*, participation in te reo Māori (but not excellence in te reo Māori) is considered a measure of success; the only measure of cultural success. The *Pasifika Education Plan* puts the onus on the families of Pacific Islands students to provide the cultural input to support their children's learning. The same expectation is not placed on schools.

Ann Milne (2013), principal of Kia Aroha College, has criticised *Ka Hikitia* for saying the right things about cultural responsiveness, self-determination for Māori, sharing power, and focusing on culture and identity, yet not offering a realistic way for schools to put this

into practice. As she argues, "'as Māori' are the most powerful words in the whole document, and will be the two words most ignored by schools who have no understanding of what 'as Māori' might look like" (Milne, 2013, p. 120). The same criticism can be levelled at the *Pasifika Education Plan*.

Kia Aroha College has been using the language of students learning 'as Māori' for many years. The school had been thinking about learning in those terms long before 'as Māori' became enshrined in the Ministry of Education's *Ka Hikitia* strategy (A. Milne, personal communication, 31 January 2015). It is language that the students are familiar with hearing from their principal and teachers.

During my fieldwork visits to Kia Aroha College, one of the phrases I heard over and over again was the importance of the students being able to succeed 'as Māori', 'as Tongan', 'as Cook Islands Maori', and 'as Samoan'. In the interviews, I asked each of the participants what the phrase 'Māori learning as Māori' (or 'Tongan learning as Tongan' or 'Cook Islands Maori learning as Cook Islands Maori') meant to them. Each of the participants could explain it in their own words:

> *It's like learning as Māori. […] I think it's like, don't compromise who you are. You know. […] It's like knowing and understanding, you can kind of know who you are. […] It's a pretty big kind of thought. […] Not only achieving within your academics, but achieving and knowing who you are culturally. So you can be strong in the academic side of things, but if you don't know who you are culturally, then what's the point? I think they're doing a pretty good job*. (Deazel, Interview 2)

> *Learn[ing] the ways of their ancestors. And the reason they learnt that way. […] Once you achieve something in your own culture, then you're ready to go. […] I know who I am a lot more than I did when I first walked in the gates*. (Julius, Interview 2)

> *[It] is like how Māori have been taught in those days should be how [they're being] taught now. But, since we're in Pākehā society, we're learning their ways instead of our original ways. Like, "the white way is the right way". It's a quote from Nanny Ann[56]. I reckon it's time for us to learn <u>our</u> ways, like, probably Māori ways is the right way, and the Pākehā way is the right way. Like, they got two different ideas*

[56] The students at Kia Aroha College referred to the principal, Ann Milne, as Nanny Ann.

of their ways. And we've got our ways and their ways. And, I reckon we should go back to the ways that we've been taught back in those days. (Mohi, Interview 2)

People experiencing their own culture. So, if you were Cook Island then they'd want you to be the best Cook Island in the world. So they give you the resources for you to learn. So it would give you more understanding of your culture and stuff. So, if we were Māori then we would do the same thing. So, give us a wider range of our culture understanding and the knowledge that we use and stuff. (Stacey, Interview 2)

That it's important for us to, like, if I'm Tongan, it's important for me to learn as a Tongan. You know, be who I am and don't be afraid to show other cultures who I am and what I am and my cultural backgrounds and that. Don't be scared to show my Tongan side. […] When I came straight from primary I wasn't really used to talking the language. When I come here, [I was] talking the language a lot. [My parents wanted me to change schools], but I told them "oh I love it here. This is where I belong". Yeah, Nanny Ann's right. Yeah, it's important to learn as a Tongan, and as a Māori, a Samoan, you know. All the cultures. And I thank her. She's a good principal. Don't change her. (Uele, Interview 2)

In their responses, the participants each demonstrated that they understood the importance of learning about their cultures and about their history. They also felt that this was something that the school did well. This then raises the questions: How has Kia Aroha College arrived at the point where their students feel happy and supported in their cultural identities? What actions has the school taken to be culturally responsive to its students' needs?

Kia Aroha College

Kia Aroha College is used in the literature on culturally responsive schooling in New Zealand as an example of a school that acknowledges students' identities and has based its policies and teaching practices on its students' cultures, languages and backgrounds. Driver (2015), for example, calls Kia Aroha College "an exemplar of a culturally responsive school" (p. 1). Whyte (2012) describes the school as one where learning is shaped around the values and backgrounds of each student, whanaungatanga (relationships or sense of family connection) is paramount, teachers and students negotiate learning together, and changes

are made in response to community needs. The culture-centred learning environment and the use of students' home languages helps to reduce the barriers between home and school.

The school's journey to establish a culturally responsive learning environment spans more than two decades. As Ann Milne explained in her doctoral thesis (Milne, 2013), Kia Aroha College has a long history of struggle to become a school that responds to and fulfils its community's needs. The school was established in 1980 as Clover Park Intermediate School, catering for Year 7 and Year 8 students, and incorporating a Māori bilingual unit called Te Whānau o Tupuranga. Māori parents and whānau liked their children's learning taking place in a Māori context and wanted their children to stay in the bilingual unit for a further two years. In response to requests from the school's community in the early 1990s, a change process was initiated. Ann Milne led these changes, first as a teacher and later as principal. As she outlined,

> Parents wanted continuity of a Māori, whānau (extended family group), learning environment and te reo Māori (Māori language). They wanted teachers who knew their children well and with whom both students and whānau could establish a relationship. They wanted high academic outcomes and consistently high expectations. They wanted their children to have clear boundaries and they worried about their children's safety and learning in a secondary school system where Māori values and knowledge had little worth and where they had to relate to many different adults each day. Many families spoke from the schooling experience of the parents themselves and also of older siblings in the family. (Milne, 2013, p. 8)

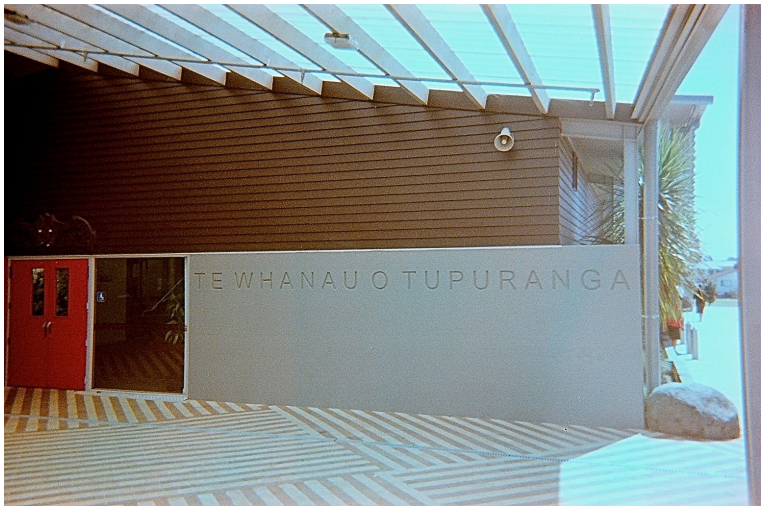
This desire precipitated a four-year struggle with the Ministry of Education to change the school's status from a two-year intermediate school to a four-year middle school. In 1995, the school became Clover Park Middle School, for Years 7 to 10.

Further requests from the school community led to the establishment in 2005 of Te Whānau o Tupuranga as a separate, designated character school to provide Māori-focused, bilingual education for students from Years 7 to 13. Te Whānau o Tupuranga shared the same site and same principal as Clover Park Middle School. Now that senior secondary schooling was available for Māori students, in 2007 parents of Pacific Islands students approached the combined Boards of Trustees of the two schools, asking that their children be provided with culture-specific bilingual education to Year 13. After another protracted battle with the Ministry of Education, Te Whānau o Tupuranga and Clover Park Middle School merged in 2011 to become Kia Aroha College, providing Year 7 to 13 education within a cultural and

bilingual context for Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands Maori, and other Pacific Islands students.

The senior students whom I interviewed had been studying at the school during these later changes. Deazel, in particular, felt that the school's history was an important part of his own history. His photo of Te Whānau o Tupuranga's name carved into the side of the building (see Figure 14) prompted him to reflect:

> *That's out the front. It's Te Whānau o Tupuranga. […] This name kind of represents the history of the school, I guess. […] The whole school was called Clover Park and then there was that split. So Te Whānau o Tupuranga split from Clover Park, so we were two separate schools at the time. But still, like, one. I don't know, that's kind of weird I guess. And then, so Te Whānau o Tupuranga was on its own and Clover Park was on its own and then we merged and then we became Kia Aroha College. […] Me seeing this name kind of brings back a lot of memories and history of this school*. (Deazel, Interview 2)



(Photo D22)

Figure 14: Te Whānau o Tupuranga

The structure of the school

My fieldwork at Kia Aroha College took place in 2012, a year after the school was formally established. During my time at the school, I observed the students working in ways that responded to and supported their cultural lives. Kia Aroha College's physical spaces and learning philosophy were both explicitly designed to be culturally responsive. The structure and physical environment of the school are considered below, while the learning philosophy will be explored later in the chapter.

Physical spaces

Learning at Kia Aroha College took place within four 'whānau units': Te Whānau o Tupuranga ("future generations", the bilingual Māori whānau unit), Fonuamalu ("a safe shelter", the Tongan bilingual unit), Lumana'i ("future", the Samoan bilingual unit), and Kimiora ("seeking life or well-being", the Cook Islands Maori and general unit) (Milne, 2013, p. 165). In these culture-centred units, students used their own language in addition to English, and teaching was based on practices and philosophies from their cultures. Each unit is open plan, with a central meeting area surrounded by classroom spaces.

Students and their families chose which unit the student was enrolled in for an academic year. Commonly the culture of the unit matched the home culture of the student, but that was not always the case. Some of the students chose to remain in the same unit for their time at the school, while others shifted units based on their learning needs or their desire to learn more about a different culture.

Julius and Stacey both told me that they had enrolled in the Cook Islands Maori unit, Kimiora, when they came to Kia Aroha College as Year 7 students. Kimiora is referred to as the 'mainstream' or 'general' unit, as teaching and learning takes place in English alone, but the programme is informed by Cook Islands culture and values (Milne, 2013). After two or three years, Julius and Stacey made the move to Te Whānau o Tupuranga. They both felt they would learn more in the Māori unit, as they advanced through the year levels at school:

> *I was in the Cook Island area when I first came. The mainstream area. Yeah. I don't know [why I was there], my parents just put me in there. I think they wanted to make me learn, like, mainstream first. Yeah. I've been here for two years, oh three years in here [in Te Whānau o Tupuranga]. […] I was over there [indicating the other part of the school]. […] Over here you get a bit more stuff to do than over there*. (Julius, Interview 2)

> *When I was Form One and Form Two[57], I didn't learn much. So I came here for Third Form and until my Seventh Form. And I ended up learning more than I wanted to. I learnt heaps here. […] I was in Fanau Pasifika for Form One and Two and then I came here [to Te Whānau o Tupuranga], for Third Form until now. […] I wasn't learning much in the Cook Island area, so I decided to move coz it felt better*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Uele enrolled in Fonuamalu, the Tongan unit, in Year 7. He shifted to Te Whānau o Tupuranga for Year 11:

> *I studied there [in the Tongan unit] from Form One to Form Four, and then Fifth Form to now [in] Tupuranga. And I loved it here. That's the school to me*. (Uele, Interview 2)

Uele felt that Fonuamalu was very different to Te Whānau o Tupuranga, and that learning in the Tongan unit was much easier than the NCEA-level work he began in the Māori unit:

> *[The Tongan unit is] totally different to the Tupuranga area. […] We have one whole block learning about our language, where we originated from and that. Like, different. Can't really explain [how]. Real different. You learn really different things to when you come here. So I was learning real easy things there and then when I came here I found it really difficult to, like, get my brain around what work they're giving us. I struggled. And then, after four weeks, I like started to pick up, you know, that getting into the NCEA year, so I better pick up my game. And around September I passed my Level One, so it was a big achievement for me*. (Uele, Interview 2)

As Te Whānau o Tupuranga was the largest unit in the school, with the most students, it was divided into two areas. Students from Year 10 to Year 13 were working within a downstairs space. The younger, Year 7-9 students worked together in a separate space upstairs. I spent the majority of my time downstairs in the Year 10-13 space. There were a lot of resources available to the students: computers, printers, a photocopier, and communal work tables. The students were able to use the computers as well as their own music devices as they saw

[57] Years 7 to 13 were once known as Forms 1 to 7. The students at Kia Aroha College often used the older terms, a habit they had picked up from their teachers and parents. The transition from Forms to Years was first introduced in the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) and was in common usage amongst Ministry of Education officials by the mid 1990s. Schools began adopting the new terminology from 2000 onwards (H. Lee, personal communication, 1 August 2016).

fit. They worked individually or in groups, consulting with their teacher as necessary. Each year level had its own area, but students were not confined to that area. I observed students of different year levels asking each other for help or for feedback on their work, and sharing resources such as stationery. There was movement between the areas, as students talked to their peers or went to borrow items. Some students were very focused on their work, whilst others lacked concentration. For some, being able to listen to music through headphones, or being able to discuss ideas with friends, helped them to focus. The students showed respect for their space, tidying up at the end of each day and cleaning the tables.

At the time of the research, all the Year 13 students in the school, no matter what whānau unit they had been in for their previous years at the school, were working together within Te Whānau o Tupuranga. This was due to the small number of Year 13 students in the school—only 17 in 2012—and their need to focus on the more advanced academic work of NCEA Level 3.

In 2012, Kia Aroha College was offering Level 3 NCEA credits in ten subjects: English, Mathematics, Computing, Social Studies, Physical Education, Health, History, Te Reo Māori, Performing Arts, and Visual Arts. One teacher explained to me that the school offered only a few subjects so that each could be covered in depth. Some of the teachers came from a primary teaching background, so needed time to develop their content knowledge to address the higher NCEA levels. As that happened, more subjects, and more standards within each subject, would be offered. Each of the NCEA achievement standards on offer at Kia Aroha College in 2012 was internally assessed through tasks such as essays, speeches and projects. As Deazel and Julius both informed me in their interviews, "*we don't have exams here*" (Deazel, Interview 2), "*we don't have tests at this school*" (Julius, Interview 2).

The Year 13 space was decorated with students' projects about leadership, being a role model, and being warrior scholars[58]. There was information about Kīngitanga[59], the Māori King movement, which was part of their history lessons. A 'sticker chart' showed each student's progress in the achievement standards they were working on.

[58] 'Warrior scholars' is a school-specific concept that will be explained later in the chapter.

[59] Kīngitanga, or the Māori King movement, began in 1858 as a response by some iwi to land confiscations by the British colonial government. The current Māori King, Tuheitia Paki, was crowned in 2006 following the death of his mother, Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the Māori Queen. Kīngitanga is an elected monarchy, though the role has so far been handed down through the same family line. The role is ceremonial with no national political power. The Māori King (or Queen) acts as paramount chief of a number of iwi and has local political power within those iwi. Kīngitanga is not recognised or supported by some iwi in New Zealand.

English was the language most commonly used by the Year 13 students, complemented by several words and phrases in te reo Māori. Some Pacific languages, such as Tongan, were used among peers of that culture. The students tended to use phrases and sentences, rather than holding complete conversations in these languages. There was a lot of giggling and conversation, and evidence of mocking amongst peers. The students seemed very aware of one another's ethnicity and culture and were willing to use this to mock or tease one another. They also used ethnicity as a descriptive term: "that Samoan chick", for example.

I also spent time in the Tongan, Cook Islands Maori and Samoan spaces during class time. Each was an identical building with open plan spaces. Students of all ages were working in each, from Year 7 to Year 12. The Tongan unit was the biggest and the busiest. A teacher there explained that they had given the Year 12 students the use of a separate, walled room within the unit, so that they could work undisturbed. This also demonstrated to these students that they were trusted with some responsibility for their own learning.

Each unit had a different atmosphere. Each was decorated with artwork or cloth, in their cultural style. The Tongan unit, Fonuamalu, and Samoan unit, Lumana'i, were both bilingual, so part of the teaching and learning day took place in the Tongan and Samoan languages. This was pitched at the ability level of the students, as some came to the school with fluent language skills while others came with no knowledge of their language. In the Cook Islands Maori unit, Kimiora, all of the teaching and learning took place in English.

Uele described his experiences of learning in Fonuamalu. He had enjoyed learning in a way that was supported by Tongan language and culture:

> *They acknowledge your culture when you are at this school. That's why I love it. When the Tongan are in Fonuamalu, everything we do is in our culture. Talk in our culture, you know. And when we have cultural performances, practices, it's like—I use the word 'solid'. It's cool as, you know. Everyone's in there, you're laughing, you're performing in your culture. Mothers, parents come with Tongan cultural food*. (Uele, Interview 1)

The use of open plan spaces in the school was intentional. During the 2000s, Clover Park Middle School and Te Whānau o Tupuranga[60] underwent a redesign project to ensure that the physical environment of the schools would support the philosophy of whanaungatanga or relationships between learners. Open plan spaces enabled students to work together, and

[60] This redesign project took place before the formal merger of the school into Kia Aroha College.

older or more able students to support younger or less able students. As Ann Milne explained,

> We wanted an open plan design […]. Computers had to be available as a tool in the classrooms, there as and when needed, and not placed in separate computer rooms. In our learning model teachers are facilitators and rarely 'stand and deliver' learning from the front of the class. We wanted no such thing as a 'front' of the class. That meant all equipment had to be moveable and multipurpose. Classrooms have no interior walls or doors and are arranged in pods of four, with a very large common "hui" (meeting) space in the centre that allows students to mix, meet and collaborate. This also allows teachers to work together as a whānau—planning and teaching collaboratively, sharing planning and assessment and grouping students in a wide variety of organisations depending on the current topic. (Milne, 2013, p. 168)

The open plan spaces had the support of students. Julius described the open, whānau structure of the school as a system that helped him to learn:

> *The family based learning system. […] Everyone helps each other. No walls, no doors. Like, don't get blocked in. If someone across the other class needs help, they'll just ask you for help. You can go over there, help them, or you can work together and [help] each other. So it's not like there's walls around you and your desk in the middle and looking at the teacher. The teacher will just say "yous got the assignment today. Do it and finish it by this time", and everyone just gets to it. Helps each other out. Yeah. Or you can use all the teachers around instead of just using the one. It just takes that class feeling away. Like you use your family as the way to help push you up more. And if the class gets like, really good, they learn group work and how to work together. And they accomplish stuff a lot more faster than sitting in a desk, like a test kind of way*. (Julius, Interview 2)

Likewise, Mohi talked about how the open plan learning spaces helped to support the school's whānau approach, in contrast with schools that have individual classrooms:

> *Like, how our building is structured right now. It's like open space, not like in [other] schools, it's a closed space, there's walls. […] We don't have walls, we have just open space. It's like, we're a whole family, unlike, that [other] school it's […] only one classroom and that will be their basic family. Us, we've got a whole*

classroom there, and that's our whole whānau. That's he whānau kotahi tātou [we are all one family]. (Mohi, Interview 2)

The open plan space facilitated learning relationships between peers. Deazel valued being able to share ideas about his learning with others:

We get to work with older students. So if they've done the assessment, you can get them to help you on the assessment that you're doing now. Just having that, you know, just knowing that you can talk to people, like teachers and your friends about anything is a huge help. (Deazel, Interview 2)

It was the social aspects of the open plan space that appealed to Stacey:

I reckon it's pretty cool coz instead of going to different classes, there's classes just right there where you can talk to your friends, see your friends every day. And, you know, at the same time, instead of going out of class and stuff. It's pretty cool. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Deazel took photos of the interior and the exterior of Te Whānau o Tupuranga. He wanted to emphasise the importance of the school and its physical environment to his learning. Of the interior space (Figure 15), he said:

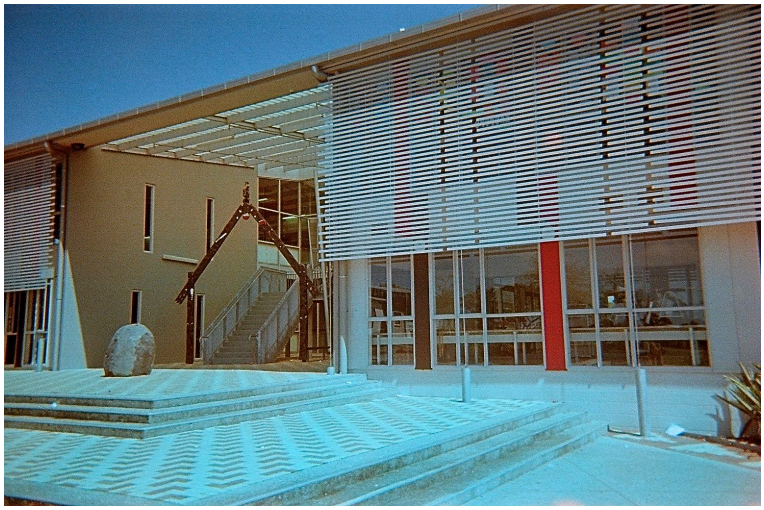
This is my working space. I took it because I like working in the place that makes me kind of happy and comfortable. Open spaces, the point that I get to walk across somewhere else if I need some help or just to be an egg and talk to my mates. Oh, doing work at the same time of course. (Deazel, Interview 2)

(Photo D23)

Figure 15: The interior of Te Whānau o Tupuranga

Figure 16 is Deazel's photograph of the exterior of Te Whānau o Tupuranga, with the senior space on the bottom left of the building and the stairs in the middle leading up to the junior space. He said:

> *It's our buildings and our carvings. […] In the carving it's got pencils, books and stuff, so it's kind of like a reminder that you have to work hard. Yeah, so I took a photo of that. Like books, rulers and stuff. All of them mixed into the carving*. (Deazel, Interview 2)



(Photo D4)

Figure 16: The exterior of Te Whānau o Tupuranga

Kia Aroha College's approach to space allowed students the freedom to learn in ways that best suited their needs. Students could work alone or with their peers, and they could ask for support from older students or provide support for younger students. This approach resonates with a kaupapa Māori[61] approach to learning spaces (Durie, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012), which emphasises that learning can take place in any environment as long as it meets the needs of learners.

Structure of the day

The school day was divided into three blocks—before morning tea, after morning tea, and after lunch. In Te Whānau o Tupuranga, the day started with a hui (meeting) with everyone, from all year levels, gathered together in the central space. Notices (pānui) were read, and the students were reminded to focus on their work and to wear their uniforms properly. The teachers spoke to their students in a mixture of English and te reo Māori. The students

[61] Kaupapa Māori means a Māori philosophy for learning.

then stood for a karakia (prayer) before moving to their class spaces. At the beginning and end of each block throughout the day, the students were again gathered together before dispersing. The day ended with another karakia. The teachers explained to me that this gathering together helped to settle and focus the students on their class work.

During the period of my first visit to the school, in July 2012, the structure of the school day had been changed from its usual pattern. The Year 10-13 students were working in small mentor groups with one teacher so they could complete their current assessment tasks before starting anything new. Each teacher was responsible for covering all subject areas, but also ran specific workshops on their areas of expertise. The students could sign up for the workshops, as needed, to complete particular NCEA achievement standards. The students were in charge of their own learning, making decisions about what they needed to complete and in which order they would approach their tasks. At the beginning of each day, the students filled out a plan for their learning. In it, they specified what they wanted to work on in each block and what resources they would need.

Later in the year, during my third fieldwork visit in November, the structure of the school day had again been changed. Teachers told me that some of the senior students had not been very focused on their work, so they were trialling a full-school assembly at the beginning of the day, followed by the rest of the day in their whānau units. This was an attempt to give the students some more structure and motivate them to finish their work. The teachers were very willing to make changes in response to their students' needs.

In their interviews, the participants explained that there really was no such thing as a 'typical day' at Kia Aroha College. The school day was flexible to allow for long periods of time devoted to one subject, to enable each student to have control over what and when they needed to study, and to accommodate special events such as researchers coming into the school. The structure of the school day also shifted in response to the demands of NCEA. Deazel, Uele and Julius all gave a description of daily life at Kia Aroha College:

> *Every day is different I guess. There's always the norms, like we have karakia, we work for first block. But […] these last few weeks [towards the end of the school year] is kind of, we know what's happening. Because there's this really mad rush to finish off our NCEA work. So we know what's coming and we just have to kind of knuckle down. But like every other day would be like, "oh, today we're doing this", or "today we're going outside to do this". Every other day would be really random. But these last few weeks is kind of, you know what you're doing*. (Deazel, Interview 2)

> *We only have three blocks. And, my friends [at a different school] think this is a crazy school coz all other schools, high schools they have six periods in a day, but we only have three. […] This one, the bell only rings for morning, break time and home time. Don't hear it that much. So first block we have maths and we have that the whole block. Yeah and come the next block, if we have like English or social studies, we study that for that whole block. And last block could be the same or just study done. That's the whole thing*. (Uele, Interview 2)

> *I reckon there's no day that's like the same every week. […] It's just pretty much, know what you've got to get done. It depends on you, the way you choose, which one to do first, which one to do second. […] Oh, there's like, a lot of people that come in, like researching people. Yeah and—and do their stuff too. […] So it's not every day is the same. Then you get stuff come up like their stuff and that. Yeah. Just got to, kind of know how to chop and change*. (Julius, Interview 2)

Mohi, who had attended another secondary school for Year 9, contrasted his experience there with his experience at Kia Aroha College:

> *They won't have much time to spend on the computers, unlike here, we get plenty of time to spend on the computers and stuff. They would only have probably one period of working on the computer. […] It's quite different. [We were] shifting around from different lessons, like from English to science, then interval, then after interval, maths, to social studies, and after that to two other things that we decided for our choices. […] One day we finish early, the other days we don't finish early. But this school, we just finish straight on, we finish at three o'clock*. (Mohi, Interview 2)

Kia Aroha College's approach to the structure of the school day—or rather, the school's willingness to make changes to the learning programme to suit the current needs of students, aligns with a 'Māori approach' to time. Sir Mason Durie, a respected Māori elder and academic, articulated a Māori understanding of time in a 2012 interview:

> The question of time is hugely important because a Māori approach is that you allocate time for what needs to be done, rather than being preoccupied about being on time. […] I think that there are teaching programmes that don't need to be divided into timeslots. To get the best impact, you allocate time to what has to be done. You might need to re-jig your day. You might say this week is about English. That might be a better way for some people to work where they

> don't have their time broken up, but they deal with what's got to be dealt with first, then go on to something else. So there are options to do that. I know some schools where it is the approach they take. (Durie et al., 2012, p. 26)

By placing the learning needs of their students at the heart of their decision-making, teachers at Kia Aroha College enabled the students to succeed both academically and culturally. The teachers did this in ways that respected the cultural values of their students.

Learning philosophy

Kia Aroha College's learning philosophy is based on whanaungatanga[62] or a 'pedagogy of whānau', where teachers and students work together as if they are a family, and relationships are paramount (Milne, 2013). The school's philosophy was developed out of a strong critique of education policy and practice in New Zealand as based on the values and culture of the dominant Pākehā majority. As part of this critique, Milne (2013) refers to mainstream education as the 'whitestream', to highlight the hegemony of white culture, the normalisation of white values, and the way that other ethnic groups are ignored and marginalised by the education system.

When designing their philosophy of teaching and learning, Kia Aroha College made a deliberate decision to make use of their students' languages, cultural norms and values as the context for learning. Teaching and learning at the school are based on issues that resonate with students. Learning begins:

> […] with issues that are identified by students and are derived from problems and realities our youth encounter in school, in families, in communities, as well as national and international issues affecting indigenous and other minoritised youth. This ensures that the contexts for study are relevant and authentic and culturally responsive to the lived experiences of our young people. As many of the issues our students identify are those experienced in their respective ethnic groups this approach also provides the opportunity to develop secure cultural identities that reflect the traditional as well as their fluid, negotiated, multiple, contemporary contexts. (Milne, 2013, p. 189)

[62] Whanaungatanga means relationships or sense of family connection.

The model for learning developed by Kia Aroha College staff is called the 'Power Lenses' model (Milne, 2013). This model is illustrated in Figure 17.

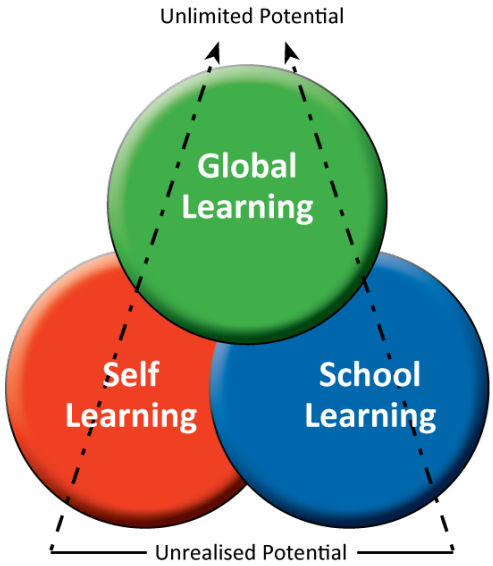


Figure 17: Kia Aroha College's 'Power Lenses' learning model (www.kiaaroha.school.nz/the-learning-model/)

Each lens relates to a different type of learning in which the students are engaged in their school day. 'School learning' refers to the learning mandated in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). This is the subject area learning (such as mathematics, science, social studies, and so on) and academic skills (such as literacy, numeracy, and critical thinking) that are taught at every school in New Zealand. 'Self learning' relates to the knowledge students learn about themselves—their identity, home language, culture, values and beliefs. 'Global learning' refers to learning about the wider world, about social justice issues, about systems of power and advantage and disadvantage, as well as the skills needed to function as an adult in twenty-first century society (Milne, 2013).

In the 'Power Lenses' model, students are seen as situated on a continuum from unrealised potential to unlimited potential. It is the school's task to shift the students along this continuum, to fulfil their potential in each of the three learning areas. Kia Aroha College sees each lens as equally important. No one type of learning is privileged over the others (Milne, 2013).

Student learning is assessed under each of the three lenses. The school has developed indicators of cultural identity so that teachers can track student growth in this area and map

it against school learning. Staff at Kia Aroha College have found that often confidence in cultural identity improves first, followed by increases in the academic learning areas (Milne, 2013). The school does not view cultural identity as merely a step on the journey towards improved literacy and numeracy and NCEA scores, however. Learning about identity and culture is "valid, high status learning in its own right" (Milne, 2013, p. 149).

The 'Power Lenses' model of learning is openly discussed with students and their families. In her second interview, Stacey described her understanding of the three lenses and what her teachers were trying to achieve:

> *Our teachers are mainly going for, like there's three lenses with us, our world and our school. So we learn in our school about the world, but that's related to us. So gives us our [sense] of self-belonging to our work, studies and yeah*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Six core relationships sit at the heart of the three lenses: between the student and their self, the student and peers, the student and learning, the student and teachers, the home and school, and the student and the wider world (Milne, 2013). Each relationship is reciprocal, benefiting both sides, and is based on respect and trust. Learning at Kia Aroha College is authentic and relevant to students' backgrounds and experiences, negotiated between teachers and students, equips students with the tools to critically engage in the world beyond school, and leads to the development of secure ethnic and cultural identities (Milne, 2013).

Kia Aroha College's philosophy of whanaungatanga underpinned the six core learning relationships, as well as forming the basis of the whānau unit structure and the open plan design of the learning spaces. The six relationships were demonstrated in the interviews I conducted with the research participants. The following sections detail how the participants saw these relationships and felt that they supported and fostered their ethnic and cultural identities.

Student-teacher relationship

The participants felt that their relationships with their teachers were very important. Uele explained that this relationship was fostered through a two-week bonding exercise on the school marae at the beginning of the school year. Learning about one another meant that the students and teachers trusted and respected each other, which in turn supported the teaching and learning that occurred during the year.

> *[We have the] same teachers [for every subject]. I think that's better, if you have the same teacher, just teaching. Coz if you have new teachers coming in every time it's gonna be hard for new teachers to understand where you come from. Like, your background and that. They gotta understand how to teach us. […] Having the same teacher is awesome, they already know what you are like and how you learn and that way they can help you better. When I first started Tupuranga I didn't know any of the teachers. […] And then we had this, like, two weeks of bonding with everyone and teachers and wānanga [discussions, seminars] and the marae and they helped me. We see that these teachers […] really want to know who we are as our Tongan, our Māori, Cook Island, Samoan, they want to know who we are. And they found out by having a two-week bonding session with everyone. And I found that, like, really cool. Like, when I was first in here I was really shy, you know, coming from the Tongan area straight into a Māori area and it was hard. And then, after the first week, just like activities and sleeping and cooking in there, oh loved it. Getting to know the teachers was awesome*. (Uele, Interview 2)

Stacey also explained how her teacher supported her learning throughout the year:

> *[The] teachers are pretty cool. Especially [the teacher responsible for Year 13], he's pretty cool. He tells us what to do and then gives us an example so we can carry on from that. Which is good coz some, most of the other schools, they just give you the work and then expect you to do it yourself. […] The teachers here, they can help you and then they'll show you, like, lines for you to follow. So it's easier for us to learn*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

According to the participants, the relationship was reciprocal. Not only did the students learn from their teachers, but the teachers learnt from their students. As Uele said,

> *The relationship we have with our teachers is awesome, coz you know, not only do we learn stuff from them, they learn stuff from us. So, you know, it's awesome. Having teachers that know so much about our background. […] They give us knowledge about […] how culture was done back in the day. So I think that teachers have a big impact. Import. In our school and how we know so much about our cultural stuff*. (Uele, Interview 2)

Student-peer relationship

As Uele pointed out in his second interview, while it was important to have the right teachers, the attitude of the students was just as important. If the students at Kia Aroha College were willing to learn and find out more about their cultural identities, then they would make the most of their time at the school. Uele also contrasted the opportunities he had at school in New Zealand with his knowledge of schooling in Tonga, where his parents grew up:

> *Not only the right teachers, but like, the right students. Because we wanna learn about our cultural identity and what it was like back in the days and how it is now and how our parents will tell us we're lucky we're in New Zealand coz if we were back in Tonga, or back in where we came from, we'll be like, you know, destroyed like. We won't have that freedom that we have here in New Zealand*. (Uele, Interview 2)

For Stacey, the students at Kia Aroha College helped to provide a sense of belonging and an enjoyable learning environment:

> *The students here, they're very welcoming. If you know them really well, they will, you'll probably get a laugh in there. They're pretty cool*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

An important part of the student-peer relationship was the notion of 'tuakana-teina', or peer mentoring. Literally, 'tuakana' means an older sibling or cousin of the same gender, while 'teina' means younger sibling or cousin of the same gender (Winitana, 2012). In New Zealand schools that use a philosophy of relationship-based teaching and learning, tuakana-teina has come to mean being a role model, helping peers and younger students, and taking on leadership roles (Macfarlane et al., 2007). The students at Kia Aroha College demonstrated the tuakana-teina relationship in action.

Deazel and Uele both valued the opportunity they had at school to be role models for younger students. Deazel saw being a role model as an important way that he could express his culture and at the same time pass on his knowledge to others:

> *At school, it's kind of huge for me to be a role model within Māori culture. So that's like doing my mihi and stuff in the morning. At the moment I'm leader of the kapa haka group, so I have to be a really good role model just for the little people watching me. […] I think that at the moment, school is like a huge kind of like 'it'*

for me where I have to kind of express being Māori for the younger generation that's coming after me. (Deazel, Interview 1)

For Uele, part of his role was to prepare the younger children to become role models in the future:

It's awesome for our younger kids, coming up through the ranks, watching us seniors perform. When they watch us, we perform one hundred percent. They always think to themselves, "oh, when I'm that age, I want to be like him". […] We teach our younger kids how to be leaders. Role models. So when we leave here, [the] teachers won't have to panic. Coz we've already done our job, teaching the younger kids how to become role models. That's their job to do once we're done here. (Uele, Interview 2)

Deazel also reflected on the senior students who had been his role models when he was younger.

My biggest influence is probably my seniors, the seniors that I had. […] When I was really young and just started, I looked up to them. […] For some reason I really wanted to be like them. Which is good you know, they were good role models for me. Got me this far, I guess. And they inspired me. (Deazel, Interview 2)

The students took their leadership role very seriously. During my first fieldwork visit to Kia Aroha College, I had the opportunity to accompany a small group of students who were going to deliver a talk at one of the local universities. Deazel was one of the students. As the school van was leaving the school gates at the start of the school day, Deazel saw some younger students approaching the school with their school uniform shirts untucked and socks down. Deazel asked the teacher who was driving to pull over, wound down the window, and berated the students for being late and looking messy. He lectured them for being disrespectful to the school. The younger students hastily tidied themselves and scurried into school. Deazel took on this leadership role without being asked, without even considering the opinions of the teachers in the van. It was his place to say something so he did.

Student-learning relationship

Learning at Kia Aroha College was deliberately built around the cultural practices that students would find familiar. Students could speak their language at school, participate in kapa haka and Pacific Islands performance groups, and learn carving (whakairo) and

martial arts (mau rākau). Some classes and activities took place at the school's marae. Students could leverage these practices into NCEA achievement standards in Performing Arts, Visual Arts and Te Reo Māori. The participants all felt that learning in a setting that supported their cultural values and practices helped to support their identities.

Stacey felt that she was learning things that were relevant to her and her cultures, rather than the history of "*old white people*" with whom she felt no connection:

> *We learn more about our own cultures instead of just learning about old people. Like, old white people […] people who are gone, that didn't make a change in the world. Where[as] we can learn about our own cultures, where we're from and what's affecting our world right now, instead of before. […] It's way better than learning about boring stuff that doesn't relate to us. […] [We] learn more in-depth. […] Like with our culture, experience in culture and realising what we do and how we do it. Whether that's wrong or right*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

Being able to speak his own language—Tongan—at school was a boon for Uele. It was an important way in which he felt part of the school's community:

> *When I came in here and I started speaking to teachers and they were talking to me in my language, I felt blessed. […] Getting to learn in my language is like [an] awesome gift from the people who brought up the school. […] Getting to learn your language and perform in your language. Beautiful*. (Uele, Interview 2)

Deazel felt that his exposure to te reo Māori had increased his language skills:

> *Sometimes teachers talk to us in Māori, and by then you'll just be like "what?" You can kind of understand what they're saying. I'm not sure like how you do, but you just know what they're saying*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

When I first met Deazel, he was working on a speech in te reo Māori. While he was writing it in English and then translating it into Māori, he was proud of his increasing confidence to deliver the speech in te reo.

Julius felt that karakia (prayers) during the school day helped to ground the students and keep them focused on their learning. He took a photo of karakia in the school hall (see Figure 18). Acknowledging a spiritual connection to the world was important to him:

This is when we have our prayer time. All the students are praying. So everyone does that in the morning, in the afternoon for lunch, and home time. So straightaway when they walk in those doors, they don't start any work, they go straight down, do the prayer, so they're always under that spiritual connection. Through, from the starting of their learning, to the time that they walk out of school. Yeah. And that's what [is] safe, helps them and stuff. Guides them along. Being spiritually connected [helps you to learn]. (Julius, Interview 2)

(Photo J1)

Figure 18: Karakia in the school hall

Uele explained that he had had the opportunity to participate in both the Tongan performance group and the Māori kapa haka group during his years at the school:

This school, you have an option. See me, last year I did both. I did Tongan performance and a Tupuranga, Māori performance. [Whereas] this year I'm caught up, coz I'm tutor and drumming and everything, you know, it's hard for me to be two places at once. (Uele, Interview 2)

For Deazel, participating in the school's kapa haka group had helped to increase his knowledge of Māori culture:

Kapa haka is like a huge influence too, you know. Something you love, you just want to learn about it. (Deazel, Interview 2)

The students at Kia Aroha College had the opportunity to take a carving course facilitated by one of the Māori universities, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. As Deazel and Julius explained,

> *We brought in a carver from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, coz that's the course that we're on*. (Deazel, Interview 2)

> *We do [carving] every Friday. The whole day. The first block we'll sketch it out, do all the paper theory work, and then the last two blocks they will be the practical stuff*. (Julius, Interview 2)

Julius also explained that he learnt about different iwi (tribes) and about Māori history through his carving course:

> *Carving is like a big history of Māori, oh, Māori history. They use it through carving to tell like, symbolise stories and stuff, what happened. […] Like the basic patterns and why they use them. Yeah. And how different tribes have their own certain patterns. Their own certain style. So if you was to see that style, that would come from that certain tribe. You learn stuff like that*. (Julius, Interview 2)

The students could also take part in mau rākau (Māori martial arts) lessons. Julius had taken photos of mau rākau (see Figure 19) and, in his second interview, reflected on what he gained from the lessons:

> *[Mau rākau] teaches you a lot. Like a lot of discipline stuff. […] Like knowing your limits. […] Like knowing when to back off. Puts you in that position where you're in power. […] It teaches you physically and spiritually, but also mentally. […] It's so intense when you do the training, and you are gonna wanna give up and that. But your teachers are there to push you along. And then you try to put those disciplines in class as well. And you're always in that state where "oh, it's getting harder, harder, ready to give up". [But] in the back of your mind you will know the reason you are doing it. It teaches you [that] there is a time to play and a time to really concentrate*. (Julius, Interview 2)

(Photos J19 and J20)

Figure 19: Mau rākau lessons

The school marae was an important focus of learning at Kia Aroha College, described as "the hub of the campus" (Milne, 2013, p. 169). It was a place for relationship building, cultural activities, and formal and informal learning. Deazel and Julius both spoke about the school marae, what the marae was used for, and what it meant for them. Julius, in reference to a photo he had taken (see Figure 20), said:

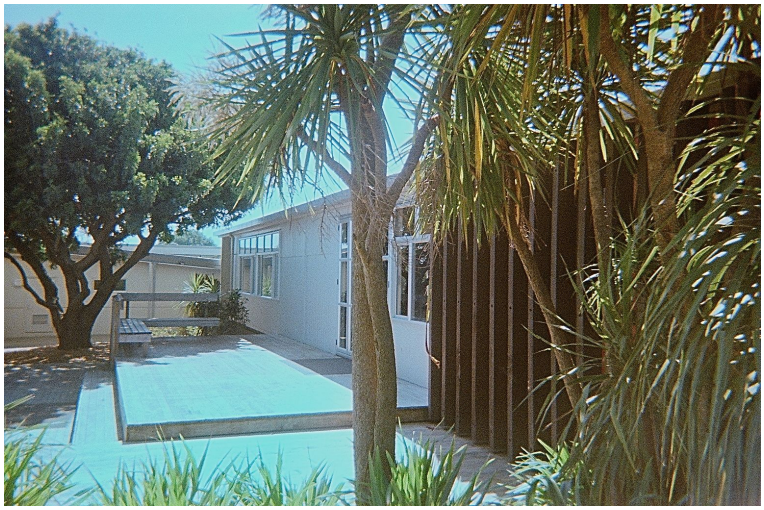
> *You feel like home when you're on that marae. And you get that family based learning. Yeah. Where everyone works together. […] We do stuff around health, like sexual education. Yeah. And […] mau rākau. Yeah. We do it on the front here [in front of the wharenui]. And we do kapa haka inside and that. And even in this part, the cooking area, there's a lot of things that we learn from there too. Like, learning about being respectful [at] the table and stuff like that. And the protocols based around that.* (Julius, Interview 2)

(Photo J16)

Figure 20: Kia Aroha College marae

Describing the marae and its buildings (whare) (see Figure 21), Deazel said:

> *That's our whare in there [right of photo]. And this is like kind of where we all hang out sometimes [left of photo]. When we're doing kapa haka or stuff, you know. That's the spot where we'll just have breaks and stuff. I took a photo of it because that's where we communicate most of [the] time too. When we're doing stuff on the marae. [...] This whare has been with me for about seven years, so I figured that I had no choice but to take a photo of it*. (Deazel, Interview 2)



(Photo D9)

Figure 21: Side view of the school marae

In the interviews, Julius reflected on the relationship between himself and his learning. He felt that having a good attitude towards learning was vital. He used a photo of the entrance to Te Whānau o Tupuranga as a metaphor to express this idea (see Figure 22):

> *This is important. Like how you come into school and stuff. If you come in with a positive mind then of course you will succeed. But sometimes you come to school and [you're] not really focused and that. So, the point [is] when you walk into school it's all up to you. It just depends on what you do. Only you can help yourself, you know. [...] That's the reason I took photos of the doors. It's there, you just got to walk into it. You're not going to get pushed to do something*. (Julius, Interview 2)

(Photo J9)

Figure 22: The doorway into Te Whānau o Tupuranga

Julius also used the photos he had taken to show what and how he had learnt about his identity (see Figure 23).

(Photos J1, J14, J2 and J18)

Figure 23: Julius' story of learning at Kia Aroha College

So the thing we go through, like the physical, spiritual and emotional, through the whole school, like this one [karakia in the school hall], you can base everything around the spiritual side. This one is like more emotional [carving], you can

develop your artistic feeling and stuff. And this one, that's all of them [the Kīngitanga movement, or knowledge of history]. This one's all mental stuff. And it goes back to this one [the school motto]. Just being nurtured and that stuff. (Julius, Interview 2)

Student-self relationship

The student-self relationship at Kia Aroha College was about the students developing a strong and secure sense of identity. Julius defined identity as knowing who you are, where you come from and where you are going:

The first year I came here, I was in the mainstream area, coz of that loss of identity, and not knowing who I was. And then, come a couple of years later, [I] finally realise that without my identity I won't know where I am going. So yeah. When I came to Tupuranga it's enhanced more of my identity and who I am. (Julius, Interview 1)

Deazel talked about the willingness of the students at Kia Aroha College to learn more about their cultures, and the openness of the school to students from different ethnic backgrounds. He emphasised the fact that students at the school did not have to change who they were or how they presented themselves, once they were inside the school gates:

It's really up to the students, how much they want to know. So if you have a student that's really like, kind of blocking out their willingness to learn about their culture, then well they're not going to learn much. But I would say that most of our school is really strong within their cultural identity. Yeah. I think that it's coz we appreciate cultures. We appreciate who [we] are. You know, you're allowed to be this, you're allowed to be whatever you are. You don't have to […] come to school Māori and then when you get into school you kind of have to change who you are. So you can <u>be</u> that person, who you are outside of school, inside school. (Deazel, Interview 2)

A common criticism of mainstream education is that students from minority ethnic groups are expected to act differently at school, to adopt a 'white' persona and leave their cultural identities 'at the school gate' (Macfarlane et al., 2007; Savage et al., 2011; Song, 2003). This was true of the participants in Keddell's (2006) study of Samoan-Pākehā identity. Her participants had learned the different behaviours expected of them at home and at school, and presented a different 'self' depending on the context. These situational identities were not just an 'act', however. As Keddell (2006) argued,

> Although one was necessarily more 'Westernised' than the other, this was not perceived by them as one presentation being a 'true' self, and the other, by default, 'false'. Rather, they felt that both selves were true, or rather that the ability to act appropriately in different contexts did not necessary threaten a sense of self. (p. 53)

This was not something that the students at Kia Aroha College experienced, as Deazel indicates above. Because students at Kia Aroha College felt at home at the school, and because the school responded to them as cultural beings, they did not assume a monocultural, 'white' identity at school.

This was an attitude that I had noticed during my time at the school. The students felt completely comfortable to express who they were in cultural terms. The students just saw themselves as 'normal', no different from anyone else. I also observed that whenever any of the students asked me what I was doing and I explained my research topic to them, it made immediate sense. They found it completely natural that I would be interested in ethnic identity or cultural identity. As I recorded in my field notes,

> I was saying to [two of the teachers] how impressed I was by the students' embodiment of their culture. They said that by the time they reach senior level, the students aren't consciously aware of 'being Māori', 'being Tongan', etc.—they live and breathe it—it is normal. (Field notes)

Studying at Kia Aroha College helped the students to increase their knowledge of their cultures, sometimes without them realising it. As Julius observed,

> *You don't find out until you're finished, all the cultural stuff that you learn. Yeah. And you're like, "oh, you didn't know that before" and that*. (Julius, Interview 2)

More explicit units of learning about culture and history were also taught at Kia Aroha College. Mohi described a specific topic that had helped him to increase his awareness of being Māori:

> *The teachers at this school, they take us back to our ancestral history. […] I think it was last year, some of us students did research on our language, back in those days. Like Te Tiriti o Waitangi [and] the 1870s Act*[63]*. The loss of language, and some other stuff. […] It does [help you to] understand what, who we are. Where we come from. Oh, some of us know where we come from. But our motherland, we've gotta know […] where we come from and how we got here, came to New Zealand*. (Mohi, Interview 2)

Student-wider world relationship

The relationship between the students and the wider world was not something that the participants mentioned often in their interviews, although it did come up. Deazel demonstrated an awareness of the mainstream, Western-centric education system, but was only interested on its impact on te reo Māori:

> *I think that the way that our education system is structured plays a huge role in our communication. […] [The] dominant language is obviously English, so [the] language that we have to talk at school would be English. And I think that we don't talk or learn about te reo as much as we should*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Instead, the participants were more focused on their daily lives at school, and their opportunities to participate in cultural activities and use their cultural languages.

Home-school relationship

The participants did not talk directly about the home-school relationship, apart from Uele's brief mention earlier in the chapter of families bringing food to Fonuamalu: "*mothers, parents come with Tongan cultural food*" (Uele, Interview 1). However, this was a relationship that I observed in action at the school's end-of-year Celebration Day. Many families were present to support their children at the prize giving and in their performances. Families also showed their pride in their children's achievements by making gifts of garlands and money to the prize winners and the performers.

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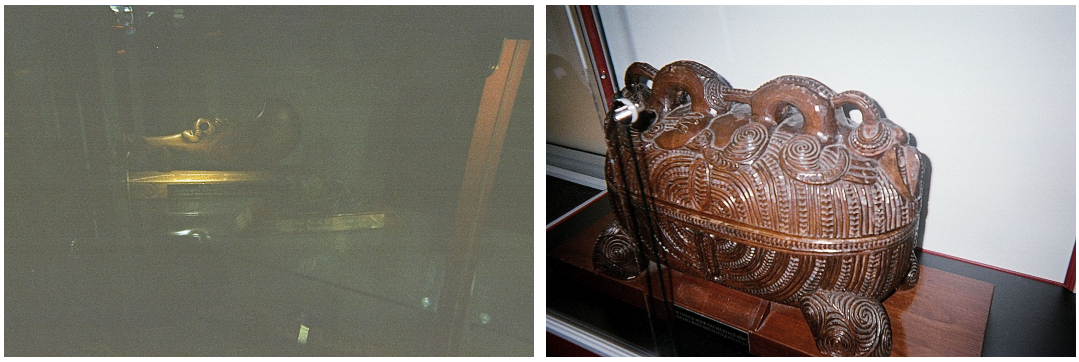
[63] Mohi is referring to the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and New Zealand iwi, the 1877 Education Act, and perhaps also the 1867 Native Schools Act. The Treaty recognised the rights of settler and indigenous groups and laid the foundations for biculturalism in New Zealand (Lourie, 2016). The 1877 Act established the education system (Harker, 1990). The 1867 Act established schools for Māori children as a mechanism for their assimilation into European culture (Seve-Williams, 2013). These Acts actively discouraged Māori children from using their language.

Celebration Day: Relationships in action

The culmination of the school year at Kia Aroha College was the Celebration Day, a combined prize giving and showcase of the different performance groups in the school. The day provides a good example of the different relationships at Kia Aroha College in action: relationships between peers, students and their teachers, and students and their families. Students' learning over the year was rewarded through academic and cultural prizes, and their learning for their performance groups was on display.

Towards the end of the year I had noticed a mounting excitement about the approaching day, and saw the students practising for their performances. Both Deazel and Julius mentioned the Celebration Day in their second interviews. They had chosen to take photos of the school's trophy case, to show that their school took pride in students' achievements (see Figure 24).



(Photos D16 and J6)

Figure 24: Taonga in the trophy case

In describing the taonga (treasures) within the trophy case, they said:

> *That's our taonga. […] It's a patu [a weapon, short club; the photo on the left]. I tried to capture our school, like kind of treasures. Like our victories and all that kind of stuff. Our taonga. It's really important. So on celebration days, students win these*. (Deazel, Interview 2)

> *This is a Māori treasure box [the photo on the right]. It holds a lot of treasure. And there's a lot of stories, just based on the box and why they carved it like that. There's one of, how we were created, like life created. And how there was a man and a lady and they separated*[64]*. Then when you take the lid off, you know how*

[64] Julius is referring to the Māori creation myth of Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother). Rangi and Papa lay locked in a tight embrace until their children, trapped between them,

> *there's a lot of treasures inside, that's the life-force. […] It's one of our trophies I took a photo of. It's just what they give out on prize giving*. (Julius, Interview 2)

My final fieldwork visit to Kia Aroha College was scheduled so I could attend the Celebration Day. When she described the day to me, the principal said that I would be "up on the stage with all of us", so I expected that I would be sitting amongst the school staff members and would be able to blend into the background. Instead, I found that the teachers sat in the main body of the hall with the students, and I was treated as one of the invited guests. The following account is adapted from my field notes.

Before the day started, the invited guests assembled in the foyer of the school's main office. Other guests included board members, community members, others with links to the school, and an academic from California and her husband. We were welcomed onto the stage in the school hall with a pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony)—a karanga (ceremonial call) to call us in, then the whole school doing a haka as we came in the door. Three hundred and fifty students faced us, chanting in unison, stamping their feet, slapping their chests and knees, rolling their eyes, and gesturing with their tongues. The haka was the loudest, most powerful thing I have ever heard in my life. The students put everything into it when they perform. Once on stage, there were speeches and songs. During the welcome kōrero (speech) from the school's representative, one of the teachers who was accompanying the visitors leaned forward to explain to the international guests that they were being welcomed specifically as travellers from over the sea. When our turn came to sing in response to the welcome, we did our best. But, in comparison with the students, it was weak and feeble.

The day then moved on to the prize giving component. A prize in each category was given to two students from each year level, one from Te Whānau o Tupuranga and one from Fanau Pasifika (the combined Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands Maori units). For each prize, the nominees were called onto the stage. The students all screamed and shouted with excitement as each name was called. Each nominee received a certificate and then the winner was announced. The winner received another certificate and a trophy of some kind. As the winner came forward, the students from their part of the school all responded—Te Whānau o Tupuranga leapt to their feet and did a haka; Fanau Pasifika started drumming and clapping and singing. The runners-up on stage also joined in with the haka or song. The winner faced the others and responded by performing the haka or dance back to the

agreed to push them apart. This created the sky and the earth (see teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao45TeA/c11.html).

students, so it became a conversation between the winner and their peers. While this was going on, particularly for the Fanau Pasifika students, many of their family members—mothers, grandmothers, aunties, brothers and sisters—came up onto the stage to put garlands of wrapped lollies or flowers around the necks of the students, both winners and nominees. Some students ended up with thick bundles of garlands. Some then gave these garlands to the principal or the teachers. Some of the family members joined in the dancing on stage, which obviously embarrassed (and delighted) their children. There was a lot of laughter and excitement: the whole student body seemed genuinely happy for their peers who had done well. For the students with links to both sections of the school, particularly the Year 13 students who had studied in Fanau Pasifika before shifting to Te Whānau o Tupuranga for their later years, both parts of the school acknowledged their achievements.

The deputy principal announced each prize and the nominees, then asked someone to come up to present the prize, usually the chair of the Board of Trustees or the principal. Some of the invited guests were there to give out specific sponsored awards and scholarships. On a couple of occasions, I was asked to come up to present an award, both times for cultural identity awards. One was for the junior school, where the students didn't know me, but the other was for the seniors. It was lovely to present certificates to students I knew. I didn't know I would be invited to present so it was a bit of a shock, but I also felt pleased that the school felt I was appropriate to give out awards.

Following a morning tea for family members and guests in the wharekai (dining hall) behind the school marae, the second part of the day comprised the cultural performances. The stage had been cleared and made ready (see Figure 25). The audience sat in chairs behind the students on the floor. Each section of the school performed in turn: Kimiora (the Cook Islands students), Lumana'i (the Samoan students), Te Whānau o Tupuranga (the Māori students), and Fonuamalu (the Tongan students). During the Fanau Pasifika performances, family members again came to the stage to put garlands around students' necks and to pin money to their hair or clothes. The other students in the audience were very responsive—laughing, whistling, shouting and clapping, particularly for the boys' parts, which were more powerful, rhythmic and humorous than the girls' more lyrical songs. The students also enjoyed 'Rangeela', a dance led by the Indian teacher employed at the school.

Figure 25: The school stage ready for the Celebration Day performances

During his second interview, Uele had talked about his role in tutoring the younger Tongan students in preparation for their performance at Celebration Day. He was very pleased and proud of them. The performance itself was a success and was very popular with the audience.

> *We're doing a sailors' dance for Celebration Day. […] It's pretty awesome watching the little kids, you know. Wanting to join our thing. Coz last year was pretty dumb. Our young children were bored. They [didn't] want to join our sitting dance called ma'ulu'ulu. So this year I stepped up and I asked the teachers if I could tutor our sailors' dance. But we call it tau faka-Niua in Tongan. It's like a war dance. It's looking pretty awesome. All the little kids [are] hyped. Coz there's some parts where it's like a funny dance, like there's this part when you're just, "I like to move it move it". Then […] all the little kids just dancing around the stage. It's pretty awesome watching them*. (Uele, Interview 2)

It was a long day, and it ran at least an hour and a half over time, but it was a great day. My overwhelming impression was of the fun and excitement of the students, and that the students genuinely cared for and were excited about each other's achievements.

Impact on identity

In Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, schools are not a means of transformation and change, but rather are a conservative force that acts to consolidate social class stratification (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Sullivan, 2002; Tzanakis, 2011) and maintain differences in outcomes between ethnic groups (Harker, 1990). The dominant group in a society controls the education system, including curriculum (what is taught), pedagogy (how it is taught), and assessment (how learning is measured) (Harker, 1990). Students who arrive at school already understanding how the dominant group thinks and what behaviours are deemed appropriate, have a significant advantage over students who do not have this cultural capital.

Kia Aroha College is a school that understands this view of education, and actively resists the implications of this view for its students. Instead education is seen as a means of effecting transformation and change for its students. Teachers at the school do this by focusing on being culturally responsive in a meaningful way and centring teaching and learning experiences on Māori identity, Tongan identity, Samoan identity, and Cook Islands Maori identity. The school measures success in cultural terms as well as academic terms, and awards prizes to students who achieve in both areas.

In so doing, Kia Aroha College subverts the process of social reproduction, instead giving precedence to the cultural capital of non-dominant groups. The school aims to strengthen the cultural knowledge and identity of its students, so that they are equipped for the future. In the terminology of the school, the aim is to develop 'warrior scholars':

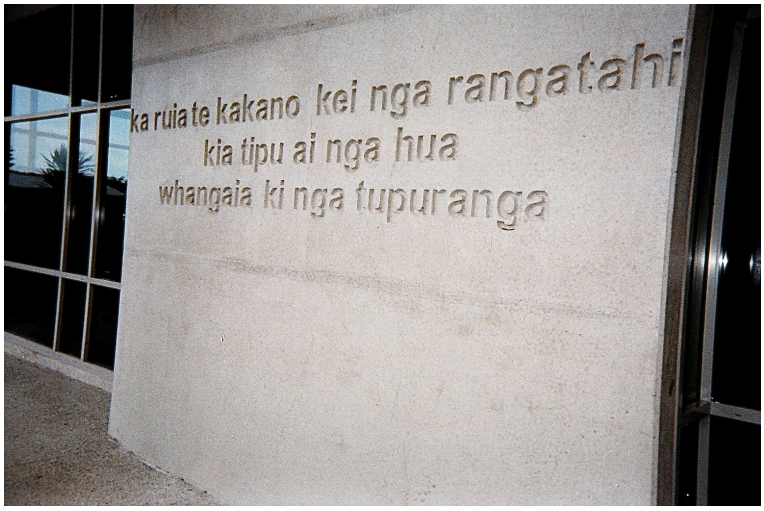
> The term "Warrior-Scholars" describes young people who have high academic achievement, a secure cultural identity, and understand their rights and responsibilities to act as agents of change for their people, in their communities and in our society. (www.kiaaroha.school.nz/our-name/)

Deazel and Julius both used Te Whānau o Tupuranga's whakataukī (proverb or motto), emblazoned on the outside of the building (see Figure 26), to capture the idea of the school preparing them for the future. They explained that the school nurtured them in their learning and in their identities:

> *That's one of our mottos. So, "ka ruia te kakano kei nga rangatahi kia tipu ai nga hua whangaia ki nga tupuranga". […] This whakataukī is like, I'm talking about planting the seed. And letting it grow. And when it grows, keep it nurtured and*

look after it. So it's kind of good for a school motto, coz it's kind of referring to the students as being the seeds and the school nurturing it and knowledge and stuff. […] We say this in one of our karakia. So yeah, it's really important, not only to me but also to the school. As a motto. (Deazel, Interview 2)

This one is one of the Māori values. It's about, like, if you was to plant a seed, it will depend on the water, the resources you give it. That will help it to grow. […] This is one of the main values for the school. […] Like the young people should be nurtured with the right resources and that. The right education and that. (Julius, Interview 2)



(Photo J18)

Figure 26: Te Whānau o Tupuranga's whakataukī

The participants certainly felt that the actions of the school had helped them to learn more about their ethnic backgrounds. They explicitly attributed their identification with their ethnic groups to their experiences at Kia Aroha College. Because of the school's emphasis on cultural identity, and through opportunities the school provided for students to participate in cultural activities, the participants felt confident to express themselves in cultural ways. As Deazel argued:

Coming here, they just told me heaps about who I am, and it was pretty cool. [Before coming to this school] didn't know who I was. Like 'Māori'. Didn't know who I was, where I was from. And then, I don't know, say like two years, I just ended up knowing all this stuff about who I am. It's quite interesting, not knowing all this stuff before. (Deazel, Interview 1)

Stacey believed that her knowledge of her cultures and her opportunities to participate in them had increased over time, especially because of what she had learnt at school. She felt that being both Māori and Cook Islands Maori was 'cool'.

> *Everything has changed. Before I came here I didn't know much about my culture and stuff. I was more into just like, playing around, being a kid and stuff. But now I've learnt more about my culture and who I am and stuff. I'm more cultural, […] [more aware] of our culture and stuff. And I'm more likely to express Cook Island, Māori, anything else. […] It's pretty important now. Before, it was like uhh [sigh], and now it's pretty cool*. (Stacey, Interview 1)

Uele felt that his experiences at school meant that he could now assert a Māori identity, though not to the same extent as his Tongan and Fijian identities. When describing his ethnic identities,

> *Sometimes to be funny I go Tongan, Fijian, Māori. Just to be funny. Yeah, but I always put my Fijian side in it. And now I think I have a little Māori in me*. (Uele, Interview 2)

The participants were well aware of what it was like to study at a school that did not take them or their cultures and identities seriously. Prior to coming to Kia Aroha College in Year 7, Deazel, Julius, Stacey and Uele all went to mainstream primary schools. Mohi was in a bilingual Māori unit at a mainstream primary school, then went to a mainstream intermediate and a mainstream secondary school for Year 9 before coming to Kia Aroha College. The participants all described their previous schools as places where they felt they did not fit in; as places that did not recognise who they were in cultural terms. In his first interview, Deazel implied that he did not identify as Māori until he came to Kia Aroha College:

> *Before I was Māori I went to like kind of a Pākehā school, which was alright but didn't really learn about who I was*. (Deazel, Interview 1)

In the second interview, Deazel expanded on this idea. He had felt no connection with what he was learning in his previous school:

> *I was just going about my day just learning stuff. Random stuff, now that I look back on it. It's like, "why did I learn this?" When I was there, I learnt about Egyptians, right. And now when I look back on [it], like why the hell did I learn*

about Egyptians? What's that got to do with me? Nothing to do with me. (Deazel, Interview 2)

Both Stacey and Uele felt that their culture was marginalised at their primary schools, and relegated to special focus weeks or performances. Uele also noted that he had little choice over his participation in cultural groups.

We didn't learn about our culture, oh we only did that for tags. We only did it for tags. [Tags are] where we, at the end of the year where they perform. Like they can either do Samoan, Tongan, and then dancing, like hip hop dancing and other stuff. […] It's like the end of the year performance. And you get to pick what kind of culture you want to learn. And I chose Cook Island. (Stacey, Interview 2)

We never really spoke our language until language week. Like until [the] last week of school and everyone starts speaking our language because of our cultural performances. But the stink thing I found about there, I never really got to perform in a Tongan group when I was there. I performed in a Niuean group. Coz it wasn't the students' choice. It was always the teachers'. Like if they say, "oh yeah, I'll put you in a Niuean group", you have to. (Uele, Interview 2)

Kia Aroha College, and the school's approach to learning that was built around his cultural background, had had a profound effect on Uele. He described his primary school as a place where he felt he did not belong, because he did not share a class with one of his 'brothers'—one of his Tongan peers. The stress of this lack of belonging meant that he had acted out by bullying others. Uele felt accepted at Kia Aroha College and credited the school with changing his future:

We never really learn about who we are and that. Just go and chuck you in a class. […] I was never really put in the same class as one of my brothers […] I was never in a class with another Tongan. I was always in a class with heaps of white people. And I was always being mocked because of that. […] That's why they call me the bully when I was back there, because they kept mocking me and all that mocking and thing just angered me more. And then I just broke loose, all hell broke loose and just became a bully. Coz of the way I was treated. But once I come here, all that bullying and that was gone. That's why all the teachers say I'm a changed man. Once was called a bully but now I [am] called a clown. I thank the school for changing me, you know. This school changed my lot. I became a better man. […] Real happy [because of it]. Coz if they hadn't changed me, I think I would probably

> *be in jail. On the streets. Somewhere. Coz I was one of those kids, you know, never really listened. […] I still don't listen now, but I only, like, choose to not listen just to be funny*. (Uele, Interview 2)

Uele is considered one of many success stories by the staff and principal of Kia Aroha College. I observed him taking on a leadership role with younger Tongan students, and he was responsible for preparing and leading one of the Tongan performances for the end-of-year Celebration Day. This is a role he still takes on, years after he finished at the school (A. Milne, personal communication, 9 November 2016).

While Kia Aroha College took deliberate steps to establish a physical environment, a daily structure and a learning philosophy that responded to its learners' needs and respected the cultures and identities of its students, the participants' reasons for choosing to attend the school were not necessarily as considered. The participants described their enrolment as more of a 'happy accident' than a choice to learn in a culturally responsive way.

In the interviews, I asked each participant why they had come to Kia Aroha College, and whether it had been their choice or the choice of their parents. I had thought that the students or their parents might have chosen Kia Aroha College because of a belief in the school's philosophy of whanaungatanga and culture-based learning style. This was not the case, however, for the students I interviewed. The participants all described much more pragmatic reasons for their attendance. Julius, Stacey and Uele came to the school because of previous family history, because it was close to home, or because there were no school fees:

> *My sister attended this school before me. Then I went, and then my younger sister came too and I had to stay here with her. So yeah. […] There was a lot of family here. And our family had a lot of past family who had been through this school*. (Julius, Interview 2)

> *Coz it was closest to my house*. (Stacey, Interview 2)

> *Closer to home. No school fees*. (Uele, Interview 2)

While his reasons for coming to Kia Aroha College were practical, Deazel was very pleased with the outcome:

> *My parents sent my sister here first. Oh, my older sister came here then my sister that's older than me, she came here. I wanted to go somewhere else. I don't know*

> *where though. I was like, I really wanted to go this school where all my friends from primary was going. And so I asked my mum and she said "no". And I go "why?", she goes "it's too far". So the only reason that I came here is because it was closest to my house. […] I'm really thankful that I came to this school. […] I didn't come here on purpose, you know. I really wanted to go somewhere else. It was just coz this school is the closest thing to my home. Pure luck*. (Deazel, Interview 2)

Of the five participants, only Mohi's mother had chosen the school because of its focus on Māori culture:

> *My mother decided me to come here because it was closer to home. [We] shifted from, I think it's East Auckland, to South Auckland. And moved schools from there to here. And it was the only, closest Māori school to home, otherwise I would have, I think my mum would have sent me to [a nearby kura kaupapa Māori]. If not, another school. […] And this school, don't pay fees. We don't have to pay fees. That's a good thing about it*. (Mohi, Interview 2)

Kia Aroha College's choice to build its learning philosophy, physical structure and daily programme around the principles of cultural responsiveness and relationship-based learning had an unexpected pay-off for these participants. They were learning about their cultures, their languages and their values, and were realising that this knowledge, and the sense of security in their identities it brought, was contributing to their success at school.

This link between identity and success is the reasoning behind culturally responsive education (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). Bishop (2012) argues that the indicators of a culturally responsive school, as referred to at the beginning of this chapter, are teachers and students sharing responsibility for learning and sharing decision-making in the classroom; real and authentic learning relationships between teachers and students and between students and their peers; making use of students' languages, cultures and values to shape teaching and learning experiences; teachers understanding the values, aspirations and what constitutes excellence for the different cultural and ethnic groups of their students; and teachers and schools fostering a welcoming and inclusive atmosphere for the parents and families of their students. These are all indicators that are obvious at Kia Aroha College, from what I observed during my time at the school, and from what the participants told me about how the school supported their learning. Both the teachers and the students drew explicit links from the philosophy of whanaungatanga, where learning relationships were authentic and supportive of the students and their home cultures, to the nurturing of students' ethnic and cultural identities.

Through the school's learning philosophy, the students were supported to understand their identities within their cultural context. They felt encouraged to do their best and to be proud of who they are. They felt that they belonged at the school and were part of their community. The school's structure also supported the students to focus on their cultures and ethnicities, by placing them in one of four culture-based whānau units: Māori, Samoan, Tongan or Cook Islands Maori. However, as a student could only be enrolled in one unit at a time, students who identified with more than one ethnic group were forced to make a choice. As evidenced by Stacey's, Uele's and Julius' experiences, students could and did shift between the units, but only between academic years. During a school year, all of a student's learning and cultural participation took place within the one cultural context. Uele and Stacey both talked about taking part in the cultural performances of two units: the Māori and Tongan units for Uele, and the Māori and Cook Islands Maori units for Stacey, but they both also talked about it being time consuming and "*hard […] to be two places at once*" (Uele, Interview 2).

Given the constraints of an academic year and the need for a school to have some kind of structure through which to organise its students, it is difficult to see how this could change. Kia Aroha College had made a choice to use cultural heritage as an organising principle, rather than grouping students based on year levels and subjects. Arranging students into two (or potentially more) cultural groups at the same time would not be easy.

Kia Aroha College's approach is successful in helping students to value culture and ethnicity, but tends to focus those students who could identify with multiple groups on one primary ethnicity. Deazel, Mohi and Julius all expressed more interest in and knowledge of their Māori identities, as did Uele in his Tonga identity. Stacey was alone in maintaining a strong interest in both her Māori and Cook Islands Maori identities, but she was doing this with the support of her family, who wanted her "*to express my Māori side as well as my Cook Island side. Not like, just one*" (Stacey, Interview 2). Her family's influence had more impact in this regard than the school's influence.

Despite the school's structure drawing them towards a single cultural group, each of the research participants still maintained a multiple identification: Deazel and Mohi as Māori and Pākehā, Stacey as Māori and Cook Islands Maori, Uele as Tongan and Fijian, and Julius as Māori with Cook Islands cultural experience. What they had gained from the school was a recognition that culture and ethnicity were important to them, a desire to explore all the different cultural heritages and experiences that were open to them, and opportunities to learn about and participate in cultural activities. In addition, by emphasising that different ethnic groups had different languages and cultural practices that should be celebrated, the

school was also implicitly supporting multiple identifications. The school had given the participants the tools—the language to talk about identity and the desire for knowledge—that they could use in the future to discover more about their ethnicities. To borrow Bourdieu's concept (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), Kia Aroha College had ensured that its students had the cultural capital they needed to learn about culture.

The students I spoke to at Kia Aroha College were confident young adults who were secure in their ethnic and cultural identities. Their learning took place in whānau-centred units and was shaped around their ethnic backgrounds and their cultural values and practices. Their learning was supported by six key relationships, with their teachers, with their peers, with learning, with their self, with the wider world, and between home and school. All aspects of learning at Kia Aroha College contributed to and supported their identities.

As the school setting in which the participants spent a good part of their daily lives, Kia Aroha College had an important role to play in defining, supporting and shaping their ethnic identities. The school's philosophy was based on a belief that cultural identity (or 'self learning') was as important as the school curriculum and learning to be a global citizen. The school was structured so as to support this belief, with students learning in Māori, Tongan, Samoan and Cook Islands Maori units where their cultures, languages and values provided the context for their learning. A description of the school's Celebration Day provided an example of how the school values cultural identity and celebrates the success of the students in cultural terms. The school's focus on cultural identity had a profound impact on the students, and furnished them with the tools they needed for the future, to continue learning about and participating in their identities.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This thesis conceptualises ethnicity as a socially constructed phenomenon, that is based on self-identification and social ascription, reflects cultural affiliations, can be multiple, and can change over time and according to context. People who identify with more than one ethnic group help to challenge primordial and essentialist understandings of ethnicity: the notion that ethnicity is a permanent, innate and essential part of human nature, that does not and cannot change. The concept of multiplicity supports the idea that people do not fit into discrete categories but can and do cross boundaries between ethnic groups through processes such as marriage, migration and cultural exposure.

People who identify with multiple ethnic groups have a number of identity choices open to them. However, these choices are at all times constrained by ancestry and cultural exposure. People with multiple identity options may choose to identify with all their groups equally, may choose to focus primarily on one group, or may choose to shift the focus of their identifications over time or according to context. They may decide to focus on being 'mixed' rather than on specific ethnic identities, or focus on a new blended or hybrid identity.

Individuals learn about ethnic identity at three different levels of social interaction: the macro (state), meso (institutional) and micro (individual and family). Parents have an important role to play in the transmission of cultural knowledge and ethnic identity to their children, but they are not the only source of information from which children draw. Other influences include peer groups, schools and universities, the surrounding community, and messages about what it means to be a member of an ethnic group that come from sources such as the media or the government.

Ethnic identity is shaped in different ways at these different levels. At the state or macro level, the way ethnic group data are collected and used tells people what 'official' categories are open to them. State-based narratives encourage people to self-identify with the group or groups with which they feel a sense of belonging. At the same time, race-based narratives that focus on biological and phenotypical indicators still persist in New Zealand society, and

inform perceptions about who belongs to which group. At the institutional or meso level, ethnic identifications shift and change and are reaffirmed by interactions with people from their own group and from other groups. Knowledge about ethnicity and cultural practices is added to or challenged. As meso level institutions, schools play an important role in this process. In schools, students encounter narratives that suggest to them that their academic potential is shaped by their ethnic group membership. At the individual or family or micro level, identity is shaped by family practices and how families teach people to identify. Individuals receive messages from their families about what people like them are 'like', and must navigate between these messages and their own identity preferences.

This thesis set out to explore multiple ethnic identifications at these three levels of identity construction: macro, meso and micro. Data collected through a nation-wide survey of Year 12 students, and data collected through fieldwork with senior secondary school students, provided the basis for exploring ways that adolescents in New Zealand identify in terms of ethnicity, the ways that they explain their identifications, and the robustness of their multiple identifications in the face of macro, meso and micro narratives that might encourage a single ethnic group identification.

Addressing the research questions

The research conducted for this thesis was shaped by five research questions, asking how and why adolescents in New Zealand identify themselves in terms of ethnicity, and how these identifications play out at the three different levels. Insights from the data collected through the survey and the fieldwork phases of the research have been used to address each of the questions in turn.

How do adolescents in New Zealand identify themselves in terms of ethnicity?

The *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* was administered in 2011 to Year 12 students in schools across New Zealand. In total, 732 valid responses were received from students at 54 schools. These 732 respondents identified with 45 different ethnic groups. Five hundred and thirty-three (72.8%) respondents identified with a single ethnic group, and 199 (27.2%) identified with more than one group. These data are in line with trends observed in the New Zealand Census over recent years, where the incidence of people, particularly young people, identifying with multiple ethnic groups is increasing (Carter et al., 2009; Kukutai & Callister, 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2014), and with trends noticed

by demographers, who point towards New Zealand's growing ethnic superdiversity (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009).

The survey asked about the respondents' ethnicity in two different ways: through an open question where people could describe themselves in any way they preferred, and through a closed question where people could select from one or more predetermined boxes to describe their ethnicities. Responses to the two questions were compared. Ethnic group identifications differed between the two questions for 28.6% of the respondents. Some people identified with a single group in the open question and a different single group in the closed question (13.4%), some identified with a single group in the open question and multiple groups in the closed question (10.4%), some identified with multiple groups in the open question and a single group in the closed question (3.0%), and some identified with multiple groups in the open question and a somewhat different set of multiple groups in the closed question (1.8%). These findings demonstrate that the way ethnicity questions are asked needs close examination, and that no question will give an 'accurate' picture of ethnicity. Open and closed questions do not generate equivalent data (Aspinall, 2012; Bonnett & Carrington, 2000; Lopez, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 2000a). It cannot be assumed, however, that open questions are more likely than closed questions to reveal more descriptive information about ethnic identity. Some survey respondents used the open question to explore the nuances of their identities, while others used the closed question to reveal these nuances.

The survey also asked the respondents to identify their parents' ethnic groups. For 24.2% of the respondents, the ethnic group or groups with which they identified were different from those they ascribed to their parents. Some identified with a single group and ascribed multiple groups to their parents (13.3%), some identified with multiple groups and ascribed somewhat different multiple groups to their parents (5.5%), some identified with multiple groups and ascribed a single group to their parents (4.8%), and some identified with a single group and ascribed a different single group to their parents (0.7%). These results show that ethnic identity is not necessarily transmitted directly from parents to children (Kukutai, 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 2000a). Instead, people add to or reduce their ethnic group identifications based on their cultural experiences, where they are living, and who they interact with.

Together, the ethnicity data from the survey reveal that adolescents in New Zealand identify with a rich and diverse range of ethnic groups. Multiplicity is common amongst adolescents, perhaps even more common than official tools like the national census might indicate. Open

and closed questions capture different, but not necessarily discrepant, information about ethnic group identifications. Multiplicity is not always a direct transmission from parents to their children. Other factors such as cultural exposure, geographical location and affiliation also contribute to ethnic identities.

What decisions form the bases of their identity choices?

The survey respondents provided many reasons for their ethnic identifications. For respondents who identified with multiple ethnic groups, the most common reason was ancestral (54.9%), followed by associative (32.0%) and cultural (32.0%) reasons, by geographical reasons (22.3%), and finally by biological reasons (12.6%). Many respondents gave more than one reason.

The categories used to group the survey responses were drawn from research conducted by Lopez (2003). Ancestral reasons included a focus on parent or grandparent ethnicity, or the heritage of the respondents' ancestors more generally. Some respondents also mentioned their knowledge of their whakapapa or genealogy. Geographical reasons included the respondents' place of birth, where they were brought up, or where they felt they were 'from'. Another factor was the country of origin of their parents or their more distant ancestors. Associative reasons included a sense of belonging, a sense of pride, and feelings of connection with other people from the respondents' ethnic groups. For some respondents, relational identity was important: they were members of their ethnic group or groups because they were not members of another ethnic group, usually Māori in the New Zealand context. Cultural reasons included participation in cultural practices, language, knowledge of the history of their ethnic group or groups, knowledge of traditions, and cultural beliefs and values. Biological reasons included physical characteristics and blood or genetic history.

The fieldwork data allowed more in-depth explorations of how the participants identified themselves, why they identified themselves in that way, and the relative importance they placed on their ethnic groups. Each of the fieldwork participants identified with multiple ethnic groups: Deazel identified as Māori and European, Julius identified as Māori with Cooks Islands experience, Mohi identified as Māori and Pākehā, Stacey identified as Cook Islands Maori and Māori, and Uele identified as Tongan and Fijian.

Deazel based his ethnic group identifications on his parents' ethnic groups, but identified more strongly as Māori than Pākehā. He did not feel that a Pākehā identity was important, interesting or distinctive in a New Zealand context. He enjoyed finding out information

about his Māori culture and was more certain of his identity as Māori than his parents, older siblings and extended family members. Because of his greater knowledge of Māori language and culture, he took on a cultural leadership role for his family at funerals and family gatherings.

Julius identified solely as Māori, and acknowledged only Māori heritage. He was very knowledgeable about his Māori cultural practices and protocols. He was able to leverage this knowledge into participation in Cook Islands and Niuean cultural performances, and had an interest in finding out about Cook Islands Maori culture and language through his partner's family. His sense of multiplicity came through participating in Cook Islands cultural activities and living in a Cook Islands household.

Mohi identified as Māori and Pākehā, based on his parents' identifications. He identified more strongly as Māori, and had been taught in a Māori context throughout his primary and secondary schooling. He resisted perceptions that other people might have of him, based on his lighter skin colour. Like Deazel, he also felt that his Pākehā culture was uninteresting, and found Pākehā culture difficult to recognise.

Stacey identified with her Māori and Cook Islands Maori ethnic groups equally, and came from a family that also identified strongly with both groups. She was knowledgeable about both cultures and participated with groups from both her ethnicities in equal measure. She chose to act as a cultural lubricator, moving back and forth between groups and demonstrating pride in both.

Uele identified most strongly with his Tongan heritage, and his home life and cultural knowledge reflected this. He participated in many Tongan cultural practices, and attended a Tongan church. He was interested in his Fijian heritage and wanted to find out more about Fijian culture and language. He had links into the Fijian community through his grandfather's family, so felt able to go to Fiji and make connections to his Fijian relations.

Like the survey respondents, the fieldwork participants based their ethnic group identifications mainly on ancestry and cultural affiliation. They talked about how their parents and wider families identified, about their sense of belonging to their groups, and their participation in the cultural practices that were important to the groups. Some biological reasons were also evident, such as in Julius' talk about being a 'full Māori', and in Deazel's and Mohi's discomfort at being perceived as white. The participants did not talk about 'where they were from' as a reason for their identifications.

These bases of identity reflect understandings of ethnic identity at play in New Zealand. Official constructions define ethnicity as something based on shared cultural practices, a sense of belonging together, shared ancestry, and a shared geographical origin (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Statistics New Zealand (2005) emphasises that ethnic identity is primarily a matter of cultural affiliation. However, Rocha (2012) has argued that notions of ethnicity as biological heritage and genetic makeup persist in New Zealand. So too does the idea that ethnicity can be determined by looking at a person's skin colour and physical features.

How are ethnic identifications influenced at the macro, state level?

The ethnic group responses from the survey were re-categorised according to two different state-level categorisation schemes: the census ethnicity data output protocols used by Statistics New Zealand, and the ethnic group prioritisation protocols used by the Ministry of Education. Statistics New Zealand's protocol involves all of the ethnic group responses being collapsed into one of six categories: European, Māori, Pacific Peoples, Asian, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American and African), or Other Ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Most of these are broad, pan-ethnic categories, except for Māori, which is a specific ethnic group. When the data are reported, it is in one of two ways. For 'total response output', total percentages for each category are reported, so when a person identifies with more than one category they appear in each and the percentages add up to more than 100%. For 'single/combination output', individuals are placed in one category only and the categories total to 100%. In this second reporting method, people who identify with ethnic groups that represent more than one category are placed in a combined category, for example 'Māori/Pacific Peoples'. The 45 different ethnic groups reported by the survey respondents were reduced to six categories by Statistics New Zealand's total response output protocol, and to 14 categories by the single/combined output protocol.

The Ministry of Education requires that schools gather ethnic group data about each of their students. While schools can record up to three groups per student, the Ministry allows them to report only one group per student. The Ministry publishes a prioritisation schedule each year (for example, Ministry of Education, 2012, 2017) to help schools to report their ethnicity data. Identification as Māori is first priority, followed by Pacific groups, Asian groups, other ethnic groups, European groups, and finally, those who identify as New Zealand European or Pākehā. Within each overarching ethnic category, further prioritisation occurs. For example, the Pacific Peoples category is ordered so that an identification as Tokelauan takes precedence over identification as Fijian, followed by

Niuean, Tongan, Cook Islands Maori, Samoan, and finally Other Pacific Peoples. The Ministry of Education's classification scheme reduced the survey responses to five categories, or 16 categories under their more detailed output.

Reanalysing the survey data based on the Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Education protocols provided a concrete example of how individuals' ethnic group identifications are contained and reduced by categorisation schemes so that they fit into predetermined categories. The Ministry of Education does not allow multiple ethnic identifications, and does not allow individuals to choose which category they would prefer to be recorded under. Statistics New Zealand does allow multiplicity, as long as people identify with ethnic groups that appear in different pan-ethnic categories. For an individual who identifies as Samoan and Tongan, for example, multiplicity is lost. They would be recorded as Pacific Peoples only.

As a consequence, categorisation and prioritisation schemes do not reflect individuals' identity choices, particularly for those who prefer to identify with multiple ethnic groups. The rich and diverse range of ethnic groups that are expressed through data collection tools are collapsed into a few ethnic categories. Narratives at state level, which hold that ethnicity is based on self-identification and cultural affiliation and that multiplicity is valued, are contradicted by the way the state collates ethnicity data. Statistics New Zealand recognises multiplicity, but still reduces it by the way ethnic categories are defined. The Ministry of Education does not recognise multiplicity, and thereby allocates people to categories that they might not choose for themselves.

It needs to be recognised that the state's ethnicity categorisation activities have an impact on the way that people perceive ethnic identity. Ethnicity data collection helps to perpetuate the idea that people can be sorted into categories, that all the people in a category are homogeneous, and that there are essential and meaningful differences between different categories (Verdery, 1994).

In New Zealand, ethnicity data are collected through the census and by state-level institutions so that the diverse, multi-ethnic population can be recorded and recognised, and so that policies can be developed, services be provided, and resources be allocated to meet the needs of different groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2004). The Ministry of Education uses ethnicity data to inform policy to raise student achievement for students from all ethnic backgrounds (Ministry of Education, 2013a, 2013b, 2016b).

Collecting ethnicity data involves counting and sorting people into groups, which means that people who identify with multiple groups become problematic. Categorisation protocols involve decisions about how to deal with multiplicity in data reporting. Multiplicity is either reduced or hidden by this process. When governments and ministries are using ethnicity data as a basis for allocating resources, it calls into question whether or not the needs of people who identify with multiple ethnic groups are being met.

In Chapter Four, I drew on the example of Respondent #46, who identified as Samoan, Tongan, Māori and New Zealand European/Pākehā. When describing why she identified with her ethnic groups, she focused on "*coming from an island background*", and did not specifically mention her Māori or New Zealand European/Pākehā heritage or cultures. The Ministry of Education prioritisation scheme allocates her to the Māori category. From her description, however, one could assume that, if asked to state a preferred single ethnic group, she would identify more strongly with either her Samoan or Tongan groups. In terms of Ministry of Education resourcing and policies, she would come under strategies targeted at Māori learners. However, these strategies might be failing to support her needs. She might be better served by being encompassed within strategies for Pacific Islands learners.

How are ethnic identifications influenced at the meso, institutional level?

The fieldwork component of the research was conducted at Kia Aroha College, a Year 7-13 secondary school in South Auckland, New Zealand. The school had taken deliberate steps to design teaching and learning spaces and to develop a learning philosophy that responded to the needs of its students. The physical space of the school was divided into four whānau units: Te Whānau o Tupuranga (the Māori unit), Fonuamalu (the Tongan unit), Lumana'i (the Samoan unit), and Kimiora (the Cook Islands Maori unit). Students at Kia Aroha College were enrolled into one of these units, where the learning programme took place in the group's language and was shaped by the group's cultural values and practices. The school's learning philosophy valued cultural identity as highly as academic achievement.

The research participants all talked about the impact that the school had on their ethnic identities. They believed that their knowledge of their cultural practices, values and histories had increased because of what they learnt at school. At school, they had opportunities to participate in cultural activities and to speak in the languages of their ethnic groups. They all felt secure and confident in their identities, and felt able to take on leadership roles for younger students at Kia Aroha College. They also felt that this connection to ethnic identity was facilitating their academic success.

Because of the practicalities of the school year, each student could be enrolled in only one whānau unit at a time. For students who identified with multiple groups, this encouraged them to focus on one primary ethnicity and culture. The participants, especially Stacey, Uele and Julius, had got around this problem by shifting whānau units over their years at the school. Even though all the Year 13 students were studying together in Te Whānau o Tupuranga during the year when I conducted my fieldwork, Stacey and Uele still spent time in the Cook Islands Maori and Tongan units, maintaining their relationships with younger students. These participants were supported by the school to make decisions about where they would spend their time, and their multiple cultural contributions were valued.

The principal and teachers at Kia Aroha College believed strongly in being a culturally responsive school, that valued and respected the ethnic backgrounds and cultures of their students. Six core relationships, between students and teachers, between students and their peers, between students and learning, between students and identity, between students and the wider world, and between home and school, provided the foundation of the learning philosophy. This philosophy was developed in response to the principal's and teachers' critique of the New Zealand education system, which they viewed as based on the values and culture of the dominant Pākehā majority. Instead, they wanted their school to reflect the values and cultures of the students, who were predominantly Māori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands Maori. In so doing, the principal and teachers were seeking to disrupt narratives of student achievement that saw Māori and Pacific Islands students as less capable of academic achievement than their Pākehā peers.

Rocha (2016) views the meso level as the level that does the work of integrating the micro and macro levels, or of exposing the differences in understandings of ethnic identity that operate at these two levels. She argues that it is the people who identify with multiple ethnic groups who help to reveal the interplay and tensions between the three different levels. For the fieldwork participants, their school played a vital role in exposing them to new information about their ethnic groups (especially the Māori, Tongan and Cook Islands Maori groups) and providing opportunities to participate in cultural activities. The participants brought their understandings of their ethnicities, that they had formed at home through the actions of their families, into a new and more diverse environment at school. There, they encountered new ways of understanding and experiencing ethnicity that were mediated by their teachers and peers.

At Kia Aroha College, ethnic identity was visible and valued. The participants all felt it was 'normal' to be interested in and proud of their ethnic identities. Despite structural reasons

to focus on one identity, each participant maintained a sense of multiplicity in their ethnic identifications. Being in a strongly supportive environment at Kia Aroha College gave them confidence and the interest to find out more about the other ethnicities to which they were connected. Through the school they had gained the tools—the language to talk about identity and the desire for knowledge about their ethnic groups—that they could use in the future. The participants were just at the beginning of their journey to learn about and practise their identities.

How are ethnic identifications influenced at the micro, individual or family level?

Information about the research participants' family lives was accessed through the interviews and the photo elicitation exercise. Families play an important role in socialising children into ethnic identity, by providing opportunities for children to participate in cultural activities, to learn and use their cultural languages, and to learn about cultural values, beliefs and histories. The participants described the way that special occasions were celebrated in their families, who they would go to if they had questions about their ethnic groups, and their experiences of learning their languages. They also talked about the expectations their families held for them, to contribute to the cultural life of the family and to act as role models for younger family members.

Each of the participants felt the impact of tensions between their internalised ideas of what a 'proper' member of their ethnic groups 'should' be like, and the reality of the cultural knowledge and practices that they had access to through their families. The participants all had an understanding of what a 'real' Māori, Tongan or Cook Islands Maori was like, that they had picked up from messages at societal level, at school, and from their families and other members of their ethnic groups. The realities of their family lives, however, meant that they could not necessarily learn these things from their families. Deazel said that he lived in a very 'Pākehā' way (but did not value his Pākehā ethnicity). Mohi also did not value his Pākehā identity, focusing instead on his Māori identity. His mother's preference for him to learn in Māori-medium settings reinforced this view. Julius' family did not know much about being Māori, and felt dislocated from their culture. Julius was learning about Cook Islands Maori culture through his experiences with his partner's family, and contrasted this with the lack of Māori cultural knowledge he could access through his own family. Uele's family was strong in its Tongan identity and participated in many Tongan activities, but he did not have access to any knowledge about his Fijian identity at home. Stacey was equally interested in and knowledgeable about her Cook Islands Maori and Māori backgrounds, and participated in the cultural activities of both her ethnic groups. Stacey's family was equally

active in both cultures, and explicitly wanted her to learn her languages and feel an identification with both ethnic groups. Stacey was unique amongst the participants in this regard. Because of the support of her family, she was the most clearly 'multiple' of all the participants.

Families provided the ancestral basis of the participants' ethnic identities, provided some information about their cultures, and provided some opportunities to participate in cultural practices. The participants made their own choices about how they would identify, referencing the role that their families played in transmitting ethnicity, but building on and extending this base. They all identified multiply, even when their families did not.

Value of a mixed methods approach

For this research, I used four methods within two phases of a mixed methods approach. In the quantitative phase, I used a nation-wide survey of one cohort of Year 12 students. The fieldwork phase encompassed participant observation in one secondary school, interviews with the five participants, and a photo elicitation exercise.

Because of my years of experience conducting surveys in my work, the survey was logical entry point for data collection. The survey offered an overview of the wide range of ethnic groups with which the respondents identified, and it provided the respondents with the opportunity to explain why they felt they belonged to those groups. I was able to ask the same ethnicity question in two different ways, so that I could explore differences between responses to an open question and a closed question. I could also explore how the respondents felt their parents identified in terms of ethnicity. The survey was a valuable way of collecting a lot of data (732 valid responses) about one issue, and gaining a sense of the range and breadth of ethnic group identifications for that group of respondents. However, the survey did not allow for much depth in response. That role was more ably played by the qualitative data collection.

The participant observation allowed me to become familiar with the school context at Kia Aroha College, and see the research participants and their peers go about their ordinary school day. I was able to talk informally with the teachers to find out more about the school's philosophy, and observe the learning relationships in action. However, this was the method I felt most ambivalent about. Sitting in the classroom space with the students, I felt awkward and uncomfortable. Because I was neither a student nor a teacher, my role was more that of an observer than a participant. It felt vaguely intrusive, even though I was warmly

welcomed into the school by everyone there. Spending time with the teachers in the staffroom felt more natural. Sharing cups of tea and coffee and chatting about the day was something in which I could participate. Through the participant observation I developed an understanding of the students and their teachers, and of the school's structure and philosophy. This enriched my analysis of the qualitative data.

The interviews with the five participants served multiple purposes. They were a way to get to know each participant and develop trust and rapport. Through the interviews I could find out about key background information such as family history and schooling experiences, and delve into topics like the participants' ethnic group identifications, their feelings about their ethnic groups, the ways that their families contributed to their sense of identity, and the ways that Kia Aroha College influenced their identifications. The interviews were a successful means of gathering information about these ideas.

The photo elicitation exercise involved each participant taking photographs of objects and activities in their daily lives that were important to them and showed something about their ethnic groups. Because I was conducting fieldwork only in the school setting, and not in the participants' homes or communities, the exercise was also a way of accessing other contexts where the participants enacted their ethnic identities. Photo elicitation was the method with which I was most unfamiliar at the beginning of the research, and the method about which I learnt the most. The exercise placed control in the hands of the participants and enabled them to make decisions about what they would photograph, what they would not photograph, and what they would and would not talk about. The participants used the photos as a launching point to talk about values and practices that they found important indicators of their identities. Julius, in particular, tended to take photographs of items that were metaphorical representations of the values he found important. The photos were also a way of finding out about new information and of asking questions about activities that otherwise would not have occurred to me, such as Deazel's and Julius' photos of the memorial grove in the school grounds, referred to in Chapter Three. Photo elicitation was an extremely effective way of enabling the participants to tell me their stories and tapping into the sometimes-elusive topic of identity.

As a methodological approach to the study of multiple ethnic identifications, mixed methods research was very effective. It enabled me to gather data on the breadth and depth of ethnic identity, through the survey and the fieldwork phases, respectively. Abdelal et al. (2006) have argued that a mixed methods approach is appropriate for the study of identity, as a more comprehensive picture of identity can be generated. The embedded design (Creswell

& Plano Clark, 2011) worked for this study, because it enabled quantitative data to be gathered within a qualitative paradigm. The focus of the research on the survey respondents' and fieldwork participants' stories of ethnic group identifications, how and why they identified and what those identifications meant, could be sustained across both quantitative and qualitative phases.

Contributions and implications of the research

This thesis provides a rich and detailed insight into the complexity of multiple ethnic group identifications for adolescents in New Zealand. By choosing to focus the analysis on identity narratives at the macro, meso and micro levels, this research shows that ethnic identities are socially constructed at every level of society. The stories of people who identify with more than one ethnic group help to reveal the interplay and tensions between the three levels, as individuals negotiate the different messages about identity that they receive at each level. Narratives at every level contribute to individual and social understandings of what ethnic group membership means, who belongs in a group, and where the boundaries lie between one group and the next.

Barth (1994) introduced the idea of boundary creation and maintenance at three distinct levels, and was interested in individuals who crossed boundaries and changed their identifications through mechanisms such as migration or marriage. This thesis extends and complicates Barth's work, by focusing on people who embody more than one identity, rather than moving from one identity to another. Rather than being located at the boundaries between groups, this research shows that people with multiple identifications are located at the centres of many groups. Other researchers have used the macro, meso and micro levels to interrogate multiple ethnic identities in New Zealand (Keddell, 2006; Rocha, 2016), but it is not a common analytical approach. The insights about multiplicity gained from this research will add to the growing body of literature about multiple ethnic identifications in New Zealand.

This thesis also contributes to understandings about how ethnicity data are gathered and categorised, the role of schools in supporting ethnic and cultural identity, and the role of families in socialising their children into their ethnic identities. The nation-wide survey of 732 Year 12 students provided a rich and complex picture of ethnic group identifications. The survey provided the opportunity to look at differences in the way that individuals respond to open and closed ethnic group questions, and differences between how individuals identify and the identities that they ascribe to their parents. The survey also

gave the respondents the opportunity to describe why they identified with their ethnic groups. Such a detailed dataset is rarely captured in New Zealand. The survey findings were complemented by research in one secondary school, where participant observation, interviews and a photo elicitation exercise were conducted with five participants who identified with multiple ethnic groups. The fieldwork phase allowed the participants to talk about what their ethnic identities meant to them, and how they were supported by their families and school to understand and participate in their cultures.

Other researchers have focused on ethnic identities within the context of New Zealand schools (for example, Doerr, 2015; Webber, 2011), but a mixed methods approach that incorporates insights from both a survey and fieldwork is much less common. By bringing together findings from a survey and from fieldwork with one group of participants, this research shows that the bases of and influences on multiple ethnic identifications are not straightforward. Identity is complex and nuanced, and a mixed methods approach allows researchers to access this complexity.

This research raises implications for three key groups: for data gatherers, for the Ministry of Education, and for schools. For people collecting ethnic group data in surveys and censuses, this research shows that the way that ethnicity data are collected and collated can work against individual identity preferences. It is preferable to ask questions that allow for multiplicity and allow people to use the terminology they prefer, and to include both open and closed questions if possible.

The Ministry of Education could rethink the way it collects and prioritises ethnic group data, so that multiplicity is recognised and so that it can ensure policies and strategies are targeted at the right students. As the number of people, particularly young people, who identify with multiple ethnic groups continues to increase, this becomes more and more important.

The aspirations in the Māori and Pasifika education strategy documents (Ministry of Education, 2013a, 2013b) call on schools to teach students in ways that support their cultural identities, so that they can achieve ‘as Māori’, ‘as Samoan’, ‘as Tongan’, and so on. However, these documents only ask schools to measure achievement in terms of literacy, numeracy and NCEA levels. The Ministry of Education could learn from the example of Kia Aroha College and develop ways that cultural achievement can be measured alongside academic achievement.

The structure and practices of Kia Aroha College demonstrate that it is possible for a school to reflect and respect the diverse ethnic identities of its students. When a school does this successfully, academic achievement increases alongside confidence in ethnic and cultural identity.

Limitations of study

Any research can only provide a partial view on a topic. Decisions about who participates in the research and what questions are asked of them always means that someone else does not participate and some questions are not asked. In my research, I decided to focus on adolescents who were in the last two years of secondary school. The survey gathered data from Year 12 students, while the fieldwork focused on students in Year 13. The data gathering took place over two years, meaning that the survey respondents and the fieldwork participants came from the same cohort of students.

Adolescents are assumed by the literature to be in the process of questioning and consolidating their identities (Burton et al., 2010; Phinney, 1992), and are exposed to people who identify with many different ethnic groups in their school contexts (Webber, 2012). It was certainly true that the participants in my research, particularly the fieldwork participants, were interested in their ethnic identities and knowledgeable about different cultural practices. However, I was able to gather data only from the perspective of 17 or 18 year olds, who had not yet had to negotiate workplaces, or make decisions about long-term relationships and what messages about ethnicity they might like to pass on to their children. Older participants would have had different perspectives on multiple ethnic identity.

Choosing to situate my fieldwork in a school also had important consequences. It meant that the participants focused more on their school as the setting for their knowledge about their ethnic groups. All of the participants talked readily about how they had learnt about their ethnicities and their cultures at the school. It also shaped their thinking about what photos they would take for the photo elicitation exercise. Three of the five participants took all of their photos in the school grounds. These participants also admitted that they had left their photos to the last minute, so took them at school in the days before I arrived for my next visit. However, they also stated that they were more able to find 'appropriate' things to take photos of at school—in a setting where they were surrounded by evidence of their cultures, and where culture was often talked about—than they were able to find at home.

Because the fieldwork was at school, I could not see into the family lives of the participants. I could only rely on what they told me about how their parents identified in terms of ethnicity, and what family messages about ethnicity and cultural participation were available to them. Similarly, in the survey, the question about parent ethnicity could only capture the respondents' perceptions of how their parents might identify. In order to 'see' into the fieldwork participants' homes and communities, I made use of the photo elicitation exercise. Two of the participants used their photos to share some of their family activities and celebrations.

Future research on multiple ethnic group identifications could be situated in family settings, to further explore the ways that families talk about identity and provide opportunities for language and cultural participation. Interviews with other family members would be a useful addition, to explore the intentions behind ethnicity-related activities and events. Longitudinal research that followed adolescents out of school and into new tertiary education or workplace settings, would also provide valuable insight into the different messages about ethnicity that individuals encounter over their lifespans.

Final word

Of all the photos that the students took during the photo elicitation exercise, my favourite was Julius' photo of the door into Te Whānau o Tupuranga. I love the composition of it, and the clarity of the reason it was taken. Julius intended the photo to represent the choices he made to learn and succeed at school. I would like to extend this metaphor to the students' knowledge of and participation in their cultural heritage. The students' families and school had given them the tools to be active members of their ethnic groups, and to find out more information about their cultures. As they leave school and enter the world of work and further study, it's now up to them. As Julius said, "*Only you can help yourself. […] It's there, you just got to walk into it. You're not going to get pushed to do something*".

(Photo J9)

Figure 27: Doorway to learning and the future

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethnic identity questions from the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey*

27. Which ethnic group/s do you consider that you belong to?
Ko tēhea ngā momo iwi e whakaaro ana koe no taua/aua iwi koe?
[Open-ended response]

28. What is it that makes you feel that you belong to this ethnic group?
He aha tēnei mea e mōhio ai koe no tēnei/ēnei momo iwi koe?
[Open-ended response]

36. Which ethnic group/s do you consider that you belong to? (*Please tick as many as apply*)

New Zealand European
Pākehā
Māori
Samoan
Cook Island Maori
Tongan
Niuean
Chinese
Indian
Other, such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan *(please specify)*

Ko tēhea te momo iwi e hono ai koe? (*Tohua ngā wāhanga e hāngai ana ki a koe*)

Tangata Ingarihi o Aotearoa
Pākehā
Māori
Hāmoa
Kuki Airana
Tonga
Nūe
Hainamana
Inia
Tētahi atu, pērā ki te Tatimana, Hapanihi, Tokerau (*whakahuatia*)

37. Which ethnic group/s do your MOTHER and/or FATHER belong to? (*Please tick as many as apply*)

New Zealand European
Pākehā
Māori
Samoan
Cook Island Maori
Tongan
Niuean
Chinese
Indian
Not sure
Other, such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan *(please specify)*

Ko tēhea te/ngā momo iwi o to māmā, to pāpā hoki? (*Tohua ngā wāhanga e hāngai ana ki a koe*)

Tangata Ingarihi o Aotearoa
Pākehā
Māori
Hāmoa
Kuki Airana
Tonga
Nūe
Hainamana
Inia
Kāre au e mōhio
Tētahi atu, pērā ki te Tatimana, Hapanihi, Tokerau (*whakahuatia*)

A full copy of the *National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey* is available in:

Andrews, R., Bell, A., Butler, P., Tawhai, V., & Walshaw, M. (2012). *National identity and cultural diversity: A research project that looks at what year 12 students say about identity in New Zealand. Summary of results*. Palmerston North, NZ: Massey University. Available from: http://hdl.handle.net/10179/13430

Appendix B: Survey administration

Information letter in English and te reo Māori

Massey University
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Private Bag 11 222,
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www.massey.ac.nz

1 August 2011

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter is to let you know about a nation-wide survey exploring **the experience of ethnic and national identities amongst Year 12 students**. We are very keen to ensure that any interested organisations know of this project in advance. This letter then is primarily for your information, but if you have any questions or comments to make about our plans and/or are interested in receiving a copy of the project report on completion, then please do get in touch.

We are a team of researchers at Massey University, with backgrounds in Anthropology, Education, Māori Studies and Sociology (see enclosed flier for more detail). Between us we have many years of experience of research in schools and in the field of identity.

This project has been funded by Massey University. It involves a **20-30 minute online survey** on issues of ethnic and national identity and relationships. We are keen to find out how young people in our society identify themselves and what issues of ethnicity and nationality mean to them. The survey will also ask them about their experiences cross-culturally and about the ways in which culture is 'lived' in their daily lives (via food, traditions, festivals etc). We are aiming for a broad and rich picture of what ethnic and national identity mean for this age group within New Zealand society. To facilitate this rich picture the survey includes sections for students born outside New Zealand and for those who identify as Māori and it will be **available in both English and te reo Māori**.

Every school in New Zealand with Year 12 students will be asked to make it available to their students in some way – either in class time, study time or merely by passing on the information to students to follow up in their own time. We realise that schools, teachers and students are extremely busy and to recognise the time taken to help us out with this project we have two prize draws that all participating schools and students will be entered into – two prizes of $1000 professional development money for participating schools and five prizes of iPod Touch MP3 players for participating students.

The survey will be available to schools from September 1-30, 2011. It is also our plan to follow up this survey with in-depth interviews with a small number of participants in 2012. Our plans will include interviews with survey participants who identify with two or more ethnic groups, to further explore the meanings and significance of ethnicity for these young people.

Thank you for your attention and interest.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Walshaw
Professor of Education
Massey University

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1 Akuhata 2011

E te rangatira, nei ra te mihi ki a koe i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wa.

He kupu whakamōhio atu tēnei ki a koe e pā ana ki tētahi rangahau uiuitanga ā-motu e tirohia ana **te tuakiri me ngā tini tikanga ā-iwi i waenga i te hunga tauira tau 12**. He hiahia ta mātou ki te mōhio koutou ngā pou o te hapori e pā ana ki tēnei kaupapa i mua i te tukunga. He reta whakamārama atu tēnei, engari mehemea he pātai āu, he kōrero, ki te hiahia rānei koe i tētahi kape o ngā tatauranga me ngā hua kua putu, tēnā whakapā mai.

He roopu rangahau mātou no Massey University, no ngā pūtahi Tikanga ā Iwi, Mātauranga, Tirohanga Māori me ngā Tirohanga Hapori (he puka whakamōhio ko wai mātou kua tapirihia). Kua roa te wā e mahi ana mātou i ngā rangahau pēnei, ae e tika ana he reka te kumara e kōrero ana!

Kua tukua mai e Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Massey University) he pūtea hai āwhina i tēnei rangahau. **He uiuitanga ma runga ipurangi** e pā ana ki ngā take tikanga ā-iwi, tuakiri ā motu, me ngā hononga, **20-30 miniti te roa** o te uiuitanga. He hiahia no mātou ki te mōhio he aha te ia o ngā take pēnei, ki te hunga rangatahi o Aotearoa. Ka uia atu e tēnei rangahau tēnei hunga he aha te whakatinanatanga o te tuakiri me ōna tikanga i roto i a rātou rā (he kai, he tikanga, he hui, me ērā atu mea). E piranga ana mātou ki te ruku whānui ngā whakaaro o tēnei hunga ki Aotearoa. He wāhanga i roto i te puka uiui mo rātou ngā tauiwi kua whānau mai ki waho o Aotearoa, mo te hunga rangatahi Māori, ara **he puka uiui reo Ingarihi reo Māori hoki** mo rātou e hiahia ana.

Ko tono atu mātou ki ngā kura katoa o te motu ki te whakawātea he wā mo ā rātou tauira tau 12 – ki ro karaehe, wā ako, te tuku atu rānei ki a rātou kia oti i a rātou i te wā i waho i te kura. E mōhio ana mātou kua pokea ngā kura, ngā kaiako me ngā tauira i te mahi, ā hei kīnaki ma koutou e whai wahi ana ki te whakautu tēnei uiuitanga, he tauwhāinga taonga – e rua ngā putea $1000 mo ngā kura, e rima ngā iPod Pā MP3 ma ngā tauira.

Ka tūwhera te puka uiui mo ngā kura i runga i te ipurangi mai i te ra 1 ki te 20 o Hepetema. He hiahia hoki nō mātou kia whai ēnei puka uiui i te uiuitanga ā-kanohi. He wāhanga tā ēnei uiuitanga ā-kānohi mo te hunga e rua ngā iwi, ki te ruku he aha te ia o te tuakiri me te tikanga tangata ki ēnei rangatahi.

Tēnā koe mo te pānui mai.

Nāku noa, nā

Margaret Walshaw
Professor of Education
Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Letter of invitation in English and te reo Māori

Massey University
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10 August 2011

Dear Principal and Board of Trustees

Re: National Identity and Cultural Diversity Survey

This letter is an invitation to your school to be involved in a nation-wide online survey exploring the experience of ethnic and national identities amongst **Year 12 students**. We would greatly appreciate your assistance with this significant and ground breaking research which has been funded by Massey University.

On completion of the research a summary of our overall findings will be provided to all participating schools. We realise that schools, teachers and students are extremely busy. As a token of our appreciation for involvement, we have organised **two prize draws** for participating schools and students to enter. Details may be found below.

To maximise the representativeness of our sample, we would appreciate, where possible, that arrangements are made for the **20-30 minute online survey** to be completed within class time, or study time. Alternatively, passing on the survey link to students to follow up in their own time would also be appreciated. To inform your decision, a copy of the survey is available for you to view on-line at: http://www.massey.ac.nz/~pjbutler/nzidentitysurvey.pdf.

Please find below further information about the project and an outline of participants' rights. We will contact you again within the next two weeks to follow up on this invitation.

The team: We are a team of researchers at Massey University, with backgrounds in Social Anthropology, Education, Māori Studies and Sociology (see enclosed flier for more details). Between us we have many years of research experience.

The project: This project aims to find out how young people in our society identify themselves and what issues of ethnicity and nationality mean to them. The survey will ask them about the ways in which culture is 'lived' in their daily lives. We are aiming for a broad and rich picture of what ethnic and national identity means for this age group within New Zealand society. To facilitate this rich picture the survey includes sections for students born outside New Zealand and for those who identify as Māori and it will be available in both English and te reo Māori.

How to participate: All New Zealand Year 12 students (aged 16 years & older) are invited via their schools to participate in our research by completing the survey. The survey will be live at: **https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/nzidentitysurvey** from **1-30 September, 2011.**

What does participation involve? Participating students will complete a confidential 20-30 minute online survey on issues of ethnic and national identity and relationships.

Students will be invited to provide their names and contact details if they wish to be interviewed in the second phase of the research during 2012. Separately they will be asked to provide their name and contact details to enter the prize draw.

Benefits of participation:
The prize draws:

- All students who complete the survey will be eligible to enter the student prize draw, consisting of five iPod Touch MP3 players.
- All schools who participate in the survey will be eligible to enter the school prize draw for one of two prizes of $1000 towards their professional development fund. Students will be asked to identify their school in the survey.

Use of survey findings:

- All participating schools will receive a copy of the report findings, which may be used in classes such as Social Studies, or for the teaching of subjects such as Statistics.
- It may also be possible to negotiate access to the raw statistical data for use in Maths/Stats teaching. (All such data would be completely anonymous.)

The use of survey data: The survey data will be analysed and the findings will be reported in a PhD thesis and in academic publications and will be presented at conferences. The data will also be used where possible to contribute to policy, community and youth development in the form of reports and presentations by members of the research team.

Protection of confidentiality: All data will be password-protected. All identifying information will be separated from the survey responses before data analysis commences. The confidentiality of participants will be preserved at all times.

The storage of survey data: At the conclusion of the survey we will delete the data from the website and store it on the password-protected computers of the research team members.

The rights of participants: Schools and individual students are under no obligation to accept this invitation to participate. Completion of the survey will constitute consent. If students decide to participate, they will have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question in the survey;
- ask any questions about the study between now and the end of 2011;
- provide information on the understanding that their name will not be used in the research and their confidentiality will be maintained;
- be given access to a summary of the findings via their school.

Yours sincerely,

M.A.Walshaw
Massey University

Contact details
For further information, or to discuss any aspect of this project, please contact
Professor Margaret Walshaw
Email: [redacted]
Phone: [redacted]

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committee. The researchers named are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.
If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researchers, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Massey University
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Te Kupenga o Te Mātauranga

SCHOOL OF CURRICULUM & PEDAGOGY
Private Bag 11 222,
Palmerston North,
New Zealand
T 64 6 356 9099
F 64 6 351 3472
www.massey.ac.nz

10 Akuhata 2011

E aku rangatira, te Tūmuaki me koutou o te Poari, nei rā te mihi ki a koutou i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

E pā ana ki: He Tirohanga ki te Tuakiri me ngā Tini Tikanga ā-Iwi i Aotearoa

He tono tēnei ki a koutou o to kura ki te uru mai ki tētahi uiuinga ā-motu i runga ipurangi e pā ana ki ngā tuakiri me ngā tini tikanga ā-iwi o ngā **tauira tau 12** i Aotearoa nei. He rangahau e whakahaeretia ana e te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Massey University), ara he rangahau hirahira, kia mārama tātou i ēnei āhuatanga ā o tātou rangatahi. Tēnā, tautoko mai!

Hei te otinga o tēnei kaupapa rangahau ka tuku mātou i ngā whakarāpopotonga kōrero ki a koutou. E mōhio ana mātou he nui a koutou mahi. Heoi, **e rua ngā tauwhāinga taonga** kua whakaritea ma koutou ngā kura me ngā tauira e whai wahi ana ki tēnei rangahau.

Kia tika tā mātou rangahau, he pai mehemea ka taea e ngā tauira te whakaoti i te puka uiui i runga i te ipurangi ki rō karehe, wā ako rānei, **20-30 ngā miniti te mahinga**. He pai hoki te tuku ki ngā tauira te pae ipurangi hei whakaotinga i tā rātou wa ki waho o te kura. Hei tirohanga mahau, kei runga i te ipurangi tētahi kape, arā: http://www.massey.ac.nz/~pjbutler/nzidentitysurvey.pdf.

Whai muri nei he kōrero e pa ana ki te rangahau me ngā tikanga tangata rangahau. Hei te rua wiki, ka wāea atu mātou ki a koutou ki te whakawhiti kōrero, whakautu pātai, e pā ana ki te rangahau nei.

Te roopu rangahau: He roopu rangahau mātou no Massey University, no ngā pūtahi Tikanga ā Iwi, Mātauranga, Tirohanga Māori me ngā Tirohanga Hapori (he puka whakamōhio atu ko wai mātau kua tapirihia). Kua roa te wā e mahi ana mātou i ngā rangahau pēnei, ae e tika ana he reka te kumara e kōrero ana!

Te kaupapa rangahau: He rangahau tēnei kia tirohia he aha te ia o te tuakiri ā-motu me te tikanga ā-iwi ki te hunga rangatahi i Aotearoa nei i ēnei rā. Ka uiui atu te rangahau ki tēnei hunga he aha te whakatinanatanga o te tuakiri me ōna tikanga i roto i a rātou rā. E piranga ana mātou ki te ruku whānuitia ngā whakaaro o tēnei hunga. He wāhanga i roto i te puka uiui mo rātou ngā tauiwi kua whānau mai ki waho o Aotearoa, mo te hunga rangatahi Māori, ara he puka uiui reo Ingarihi reo Māori hoki mo rātou e hiahia nei ki tēnei kaupapa.

Me pēhea te whai wahitanga: He tono tēnei ki ngā tauira tau 12 katoa o te motu (16 te pakeke) i roto i ngā kura kia oti tēnei uiuitanga ma runga ipurangi. Ka tūwhera te puka uiui i te ipurangi i **https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/nzidentitysurvey** mai i te 1 ki te 30 of Hepetema.

He aha te whai wāhitanga? He whakaotinga puka uiui (he ingoa-huna) e pa ana ki te tuakiri ā motu me ngā tini tikanga ā-iwi i Aotearoa, 20-30 miniti te roa uiuitanga ki runga i te ipurangi.

Ka tono atu ki ngā tauira kia tuku a rātou ingoa me ngā nama wāea mo te tauwhāinga taonga. He wāhi ano hoki, mehemea e whakaae ana rātou mo mātou ki te hoki ki a rātou mo tētahi uiuitanga ā kanohi.

Ngā painga:
Te Tauwhainga taonga:

- Mo ngā tauira e whakautu ana i tēnei puka uiui, ka uru rātou ki te tauwhāinga taonga, e rima ngā taonga iPod Pā MP3.
- Mo ngā kura, e rua ngā tauwhāinga putea $1000 mo te whakapakari pūkenga kaiako. Ka uiuitia ngā tauira e te puka uiui ko wai to rātou kura.

Ngā hua:

- Ka tuku ki ngā kura te ripoata o ngā kōrero, ngā hua kua puta, hei whakamahi i roto i ngā karaehe pērā ki Te Tikanga-ā-Iwi, Mahi Pāngarau rānei.
- Tērā pea ka taea hoki te tuku i ngā tatauranga hei tirohanga i ro karaehe Pāngarau (he ingoa-huna ngā tatauranga).

Te whakamahia: Ka whakamahia e mātou ngā tatauranga me ngā kōrero kua puta i roto i tētahi tuhinga kairangi (tā Philippa), ngā tuhinga me ngā hui whare wānanga. Ka whai hoki mātou ki te tuku ngā hua ki te tautoko i te whanaketanga o ngā kaupapa tōrangapu hapori, tōrangapu rangatahi hoki, i roto i ngā ripoata me ngā kauhau a te roopu rangahau nei.

Te Tiaki kia noho tapu ngā kōrero, ngā īngoa-huna: He kupu whakataha mo ngā korero. Ka whakawehe hoki mātou ngā ingoa mai i ngā whakautu. Ka tiaki mātou i te ingoa-huna o te tauira i ngā wā katoa.

Te pupuri puka uiui: Hei te whakaotinga o te uiuitanga ka tango mātou i ngā kōrero mai i te ipurangai, a ka pupuri i ngā rorohiko o te roopu rangahau (me he kupu whakataha).

Ngā tikanga kaiuru rangahau: Kāore he pēhi ki tā ngā kura me a koutou tauira ki te whakaae ki te uru ki roto i tēnei rangahau. Ko te whakaotinga i te puka uiui te whakaaetanga. Ki te hiahia te tauira ki te uru mai, kei a rātou te tikanga ki te:

- waiho ngā patai kāore rātou e hiahia ana te whakautu;
- tukuna he patai e pā ana ki te rangahau (mai i nāianei tae atu ki te mutunga o 2011);
- tukuna a rātou kōrero i runga i te mōhio ka noho tapu o rātou ingoa, he ingoa-huna, a ka tiaki mātou i aua kōrero katoa;
- whiwhi i ngā tatauranga, hua me ngā kōrero kua puta, mai i to rātou kura.

Nāku noa, nā

M.A.Walshaw
Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Nama whāinga
Mo ētahi atu kōrero, a, ki te pirangi koe ki te kōrero e pa ana ki tētahi āhuatanga o te rangahau nei, whakapā atu ki a
Professor Margaret Walshaw
Imera: [redacted]
Waea: [redacted]

Kua matauria tēnei kaupapa rangahau i te tirohanga hoamahi, me te whakahau he kaupapa kore ngangara. Heoi, kāore te Ethics Committee o te Whare Wananga e tirohia. Kei ngā kairangahau te kawenga tikanga tiaki tangata.
Me he mea he āwangawanga tau e pā ana ki te whakamahi o te rangahau nei, a e piranga ana ki te kōrero ki tētahi tangata i waho atu i ngā kairangahau, whakapā atu ki a Professor John O'Neil, Kaiwhakahaere (Research Ethics), waea 063505249, imera humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Poster in English and te reo Māori

Win an iPod Touch

Attention:

YEAR 12 STUDENTS

Be in the draw by completing a survey.

This will investigate:

- ★ National identity, biculturalism and multiculturalism
- ★ Ethnic relationships and identities
- ★ Social networks and communications

Would you like to win an iPod Touch?

See your teacher for survey details or go to https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/nzidentitysurvey

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

E riro ai i a koe he iPod Pā

Ē aro mai Tauira Tau 12 mā!

Whakaotia te puka uiui nei kia uru ai koe ki roto i te tauwhāinga.

Ka uiuitia:

- ★ To tuakiri ā-motu (Aotearoa whānui)
- ★ Ngā āhuatanga tikanga rua me ngā tikanga maha ā-iwi
- ★ Ngā momo honohononga me to tuakiri
- ★ Ngā tūhonohono me ngā tau whakawhiti kōrero

Kei te hiahia koe kia riro tētahi IPod Pā?

Patai atu ki to kaiako, tirotiro rānei ki te whārangi ipurangi https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/nzidentitysurvey

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

Team profile

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

A research project that will tell us what Year 12 students say about identity in New Zealand

The survey will investigate:

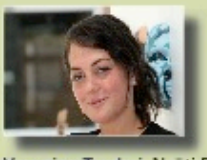
- ★ National identity, biculturalism and multiculturalism
- ★ Ethnic relationships and identities
- ★ Social networks and communications

The Research Team:

Dr Robyn Andrews is a social anthropologist whose particular interest with this project is migrants' experience of identity.

Dr Avril Bell is a sociologist interested in New Zealand national identity, Pākehā identities, Māori-Pākehā relations and intercultural relationships.

Philippa Butler (doctoral student) is a social anthropologist whose focus is on ethnic identities and relationships in New Zealand.



Veronica Tawhai, Ngāti Porou (doctoral student) has an interest in Māori development with a particular focus on citizenship and rangatahi participation.

Professor Margaret Walshaw is an educational sociologist with a specific interest in understanding how technology shapes young people's identities.

For more information contact Margaret Walshaw: email m.a.walshaw@massey.ac.nz or 06 356 9099 ext 8782.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Appendix C: Letter requesting access to fieldwork site

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

21 May 2012

The Principal and Board of Trustees
Kia Aroha College
[redacted]
Auckland 2023

Dear Principal and Board of Trustees,

My name is Philippa Butler and I am a PhD student in Social Anthropology at Massey University. This letter is a formal invitation to your school to be involved in my research on the ethnic identities of Year 13 students.

Project description
My research focuses on the experiences of young people who identify with multiple ethnicities. There are two parts to this research. The first was an online survey about ethnic and national identity that Year 12 students from Kia Aroha College completed in September 2011. The second part takes place in 2012 and would involve participant observation with the Year 13 students. Some students who identify with more than one ethnicity would be asked to take part in interviews.

Participant observation
I would be inviting all of the Year 13 students at Kia Aroha College to be part of my research. If they choose to take part, I would like to spend time with them in their classes. I might also spend time with groups of students during break times and at other school activities. I would be taking notes of things that show ethnic identities at the school. With your permission, I would also like to take photos of events or activities at the school. These photos would supplement my notes and I would not use them in my thesis or other work resulting from my research.

If students do not choose to take part, then I would not be taking any photos or notes about them. My presence in classes would not disrupt any teaching or learning activities.

In order to conduct my research, I would be making five or six visits to your school over Terms 2, 3 and 4, 2012. Each visit would last for one week.

Interviews
Later in the year, I would be asking some students if they would like to take part in some interviews. These interviews would be with those students who identify with more than one ethnicity.

There would be two or three interviews that would each take 60-90 minutes. The interviews would take place outside of class time, at a time and place that suits the student. I would be asking about their experiences and opinions about identifying with more than one ethnic group.

Benefits and risks of involvement
Participating in the research would give the students the opportunity to reflect on their multiple ethnic identities, to talk about how their identities are expressed in their everyday lives, and to talk about the meaning and significance of their ethnic identities. The school may benefit from the findings from the research, as it may contribute to understandings of the complexities of students' identities and the relationship between student identities and school structures and practices.

School of People, Environment and Planning
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There would be the potential for the school and for individual students to be identifiable in the thesis or any subsequent publications resulting from the research. I would discuss the use of the school's name or a pseudonym with the principal. The students that participate in the participant observation and the interviews would be asked whether they would like to use their real name or use a pseudonym. Whether or not the students choose to be named, it would have no impact on their schooling, as the thesis would not be completed until after they have finished Year 13.

The focus of the research would be on the students' understandings of multiple ethnic identities, not on the school's practices. However, the school's practices and structure would provide the context in which the research is taking place so they would be discussed in the thesis.

Data management
The data I collect would be used in my doctoral thesis and in any other presentations or publications I make about my work. All data would be kept safe and only I, or my supervisors at Massey University, would see it. At the end of the research, I would store the data securely. If the students allow, I would archive the data for use in future research projects (after removing all identifying information). If they do not give permission, I would destroy the data after 7 years. Any photographs will be destroyed after 7 years.

Once my research is finished, I would send the school a summary of my findings. I could also make an oral presentation if that would be appropriate. No individuals would be able to be identified in this summary.

Participant rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation for your school. Likewise, the students are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If they decide to participate, they have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time during 2012;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- Provide information on the understanding that their names will not be used unless they give permission to the researcher;
- Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Project contacts
If you have any questions about my research, please contact me or my supervisor:

Philippa Butler

PhD Student
School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
[redacted]

Dr Robyn Andrews

Supervisor
School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
[redacted]

Many thanks,

Philippa Butler

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 12/15. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact A/Prof Hugh Morton, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, telephone 06 350 5799 x 4265, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz

Appendix D: Informed consent process

Student information sheet

Multiple ethnic identities in senior secondary school students in New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET – STUDENTS

Hi,

My name is Philippa Butler and I am a doctoral student at Massey University. My research at Kia Aroha College will go towards my PhD in Social Anthropology.

Project description
My research focuses on the experiences of young people who identify with multiple ethnicities. There are two parts to this research. The first was an online survey about ethnic and national identity that you might have completed in September 2011. This information sheet relates to the second part, which involves your school.

Your principal and teachers have given me permission to spend time in your classes and during other school activities. I will be taking notes and photos of things that show ethnic identities at the school, such as classroom activities, discussions, cultural events and groups. Any photos that I take will be used to help me remember what I see in your school, but will not be used in my thesis or other work resulting from my research.

I will also be having informal conversations with your teachers and other staff members in the school. These conversations will be about school structures and practices, not about individual students.

Invitation to participate
I am interested in interviewing some students who identify with more than one ethnicity. Since you fall into this category, ***I am inviting you to take part in the interviews***. I will be visiting Kia Aroha again from 3-5 September 2012 and I would like to do the first interview then. If you are happy to participate, I will ask you to fill out the consent form then. You do not have to participate if you don't want to. Please feel free to take this information sheet home and talk about it with your family.

Interviews
There will be two or three interviews that will each take about 60 minutes. The interviews will take place during school time, at a time that suits you. In the first interview, I will be asking about your experiences and opinions about identifying with more than one ethnic group. Then I will give you a disposable camera to take photos of things at home, in the community or at school that represent your ethnic identities. The next time I visit, I will develop the photos and we will talk about them in the second interview. You will get to keep the photos. A third interview will take place if I still have questions I would like to ask you about your ethnic identities.

I will ask you if I can audio record each interview. After the interviews, I will transcribe them and send you a copy to check. If I would like to use copies of any of the photos in my work, I will ask you for your permission. I will not be using photos that show people's faces.

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Benefits of involvement
Participating in the research will give you the opportunity to reflect on your ethnic identities, to talk about how your identities are expressed in your everyday life, and to talk about the meaning and significance of your ethnic identities.

Data management
Data from the interviews and my observations at the school will be reported in my PhD thesis. There is potential for you to be identifiable in the thesis or any subsequent publications resulting from the research. If you choose to participate, I will ask you if you would like to use your real name or a pseudonym. You don't have to decide this now. It is something I will ask you later in the year.

I will keep the interview and observation data safe and only I, or my supervisors, will see it. At the end of the research, I will store the data securely. If you allow, I will archive the data for use in my future research (after removing all identifying information). If you do not give permission, I will destroy the data after 7 years. Any photographs will not be archived, but will be destroyed after 7 years.

Once my research is finished, I will email or post you a summary of my findings. There is space to put your contact details on the consent form. The school will also receive a copy of the summary. No individuals will be able to be identified in this summary.

Your rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time during 2012;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher.

Project contacts
If you or your family have any questions about my research, please contact me or my supervisor:

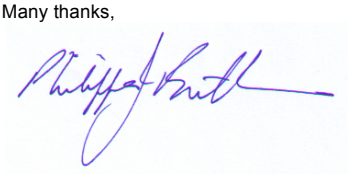
Philippa Butler

PhD Student
School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
[redacted]

Dr Robyn Andrews

Supervisor
School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
[redacted]

Many thanks,



Philippa Butler

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 12/15. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact A/Prof Hugh Morton, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, telephone 06 350 5799 x 4265, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz

Student consent form

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Multiple ethnic identities in senior secondary school students in New Zealand

STUDENT CONSENT FORM – INTERVIEW

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 to being interviewed by Philippa as part of her research.

☐ I agree to the interview being sound recorded.

☐ I agree to the interview data being archived by Philippa for her future research.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name – printed: .....

Valid email and postal address for 2013 (to receive the summary of findings):

Email: .....

Address: .....

.....

School of People, Environment and Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand | T +64 6 356 9099 | www.massey.ac.nz

Appendix E: Interview one questions

Introduction

I do lots of surveys for my job, and those surveys always include a question about people's ethnicity. I've always been interested in how people answer that question, why they give certain answers, and how they feel about ethnicity when they have two or more ethnicities. I think ethnicity is a very complicated idea, so that's why I'm doing my research on it.

I'd like to ask you some questions about your ethnicities or your cultures—how you identify yourself and how you feel about it. You might belong to a culture because you were born into it, or you might belong because of the experiences you've had over your life. There is no wrong answer to any of my questions—you are the expert, not me. I would like to know about what's important to you—your story.

I'm going to start with some questions about you and your family.

Family

- Who lives with you? (Who's in your immediate family?)
- Where do you come in the family? Are you the eldest, youngest, etc.?
- Are you close to your wider family? Anyone in particular?
- When people ask you for your ethnicity or your culture, what do you tell them?
- Why do you say that?
- What about your parents? What would they say?
- What would your brothers and/or sisters say?
- Do you talk about your culture in your family? What sorts of things do you talk about?
- Do you do things together related to your culture? At home? Do you go places, attend events?
- Is there a difference between what older people in your family do and expect, and younger people like you? Do you think you have more or less freedoms than they had? How have things changed since they were young? Can you give me an example?

Special occasions

- How do you celebrate special occasions in your family? e.g. birthdays, weddings, funerals, new babies, Christmas, holidays, religious festivals, etc. Can you tell me about a recent celebration?
- What do you think of these occasions?
- What happens? How do you fit in?

Language

- What language/s can you speak? What do you speak at home?
- What language do you use more often? Why?
- What do you like about [language A]? What do you like about [language B]? Why?
- Is it important for [culture A] people to be able to speak their language? [Culture B]?

Pasifika only

- When did your family first come to NZ? Why?
- Do you have links to [country A] or [country B]? Do you have family or friends there?
- Do they ever come to NZ to visit you?
- Do you go there?
- Would you ever like to live in [country A] or [country B]?
- Which country feels like home to you? (NZ/Country A/Country B …) Why?

Māori only

- Do you know your iwi?
- Do you visit your home marae? When do you go there? What for? How often?
- Do you have any family who live there?
- Do you belong to any urban marae or urban Māori groups in Auckland? Apart from Kia Aroha …

Identification

- When or where is ethnicity or culture important to you?
- At different times in our lives, we are more aware of being from a certain culture. When do you particularly feel [A]? Or particularly feel [B]? (Home, school, with friends…)
- Do you ever change what you say about yourself, depending on the group of people you're with? How? Why?
- Are there ever times when people see you differently from the way you see yourself? Can you give me an example?
- Why do you think that happens?
- There are always stereotypes about cultures – do people ever make assumptions about you based on these ideas? Can you give me an example? How did you feel about it?
- Are other identities more important to you than culture? e.g. being a woman/man, being a member of a group like church or a sports team, being a school student, etc.

Changes over time

- Has the way you describe your ethnicity changed since you were young? How?
- If yes, why has it changed?

Notes and prompts:

- *'Is there a word or a phrase in [language A] or [language B] that explains this concept?'*
- *'Can you unpack that for me?'*
- *'How do you spell that?'*
- *'Tell me how you understand it'*
- *'What do you really think?'*
- *'Can you give me an example?'*

Appendix F: Interview two questions

PHOTO ELICITATION INTERVIEW

- *For each photo …*
    - What's going on in this photo?
    - Why did you choose to take it?
    - What does it mean for you?
    - What culture does it represent?
- Were there other things you would have liked to photograph, but couldn't, or you ran out of film? What were they?
- Now that we've talked, what would you change about your photos?
- *If the photos only focus on one culture …*
    - How would you have taken photos of Culture B?

EXPANDING ON THE FIRST INTERVIEW

Being [Ethnicity A] and [Ethnicity B]

- In the first interview, you told me you were [Ethnicity A] and [Ethnicity B].
- Do you like being A and B? What do you like about each?
- Do you try and find out information about your ethnicities? How? What?
- Are you interested in both your ethnicities equally? Or one more than the other? Why?
- How do you feel when you spend time with people who are [ethnicity A]? [Ethnicity B]? Do you feel like you fit in?
- How do the different groups perceive one another?
- Is being a member of two different cultures ever a problem for you? Is it awkward?
- Do you ever get pressured to be one thing and not another?
- Do you think a lot of young people today have more than one ethnicity? Is it common, or normal, to have more than one?
- Who or what has had the biggest influence on you in being A? B?

Values

- What values are important in each culture?
- Are there ever times when there are clashes between A and B values—between what's appropriate at a place or a special event? What happens?
- Do you have any role models? People you admire? People you look up to in your community? What is it about them that appeals to you? What do you admire about them?

School

- Why did you come to Kia Aroha? Did your parents decide? Or you? Why? How long have you been here?
- What subjects are you taking NCEA standards in? What levels are they? Are you doing any external standards?
- How do you learn at this school? Can you talk me through a typical day? Where do you sit, what do your teachers talk about, how do you learn the different subjects, etc.?
- What about last year? Were you in Tupuranga or a different unit? What was that like?
- What do you think is different or special about how or what you learn here? (*e.g. whānau structure, kapa haka and other performance arts, mau rākau, carving, having a marae at school, etc.*)
- Spending time at Kia Aroha, it strikes me that the students here know a lot about their cultural identity. Do you think that's right? Why do you think you know so much about your identity? Do you think that would be the same for students at other schools?
- How does Kia Aroha support your different ethnicities? Where do you learn about your cultures? (*Through things you learn in class, by talking to your teachers, talking to other students, activities or groups like kapa haka, etc.?*) What sorts of things do you learn?
- What about other schools that you've been to before Kia Aroha? (*Kohanga Reo, early childhood centre, primary, kura kaupapa Māori, intermediate, other high schools, etc.*) What was it like there? Did you learn similar things? How was it different?
- Do you belong to different groups at school (*e.g. kapa haka*)? What does that mean to you?
- I've heard Nanny Ann say that it's important for "Māori to learn as Māori", or "Tongan to learn as Tongan". What do you think she means? Do you think they do that well here?

Appendix G: Ethics letters

Low risk notification for survey phase

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

20 June 2011

Philippa Butler
[redacted]
PALMERSTON NORTH 4410

Dear Philippa

Re: Multiple Ethnic Identities in Year 12 Students in New Zealand

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 8 June 2011.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

> *"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.*
>
> *If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".*

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

J. O'Neill

John G O'Neill (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)

cc
Dr Robyn Andrews
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Dr Avril Bell
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Mrs Mary Roberts, HoS Secretary
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Prof Margaret Walshaw
School of Curriculum and Pedagogy
PN900

Dr Alison Kearney, HoS
School of Curriculum and Pedagogy
PN900

Mrs Roseanne MacGillivray
Graduate School of Education
PN900

Full ethics application for fieldwork phase

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

15 May 2012

Philippa Butler
[redacted]
PALMERSTON NORTH

Dear Philippa

Re: HEC: Southern A Application – 12/15
Multiple ethnic identities in senior secondary school students in New Zealand – Fieldwork phase

Thank you for your letter dated 15 May 2012.

On behalf of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are now approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

A/Prof Hugh Morton, Chair
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A

cc Dr Robyn Andrews
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331

Dr Avril Bell
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331

Dr Margaret Walshaw
School of Curriculum & Pedagogy
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Mrs Mary Roberts, HoS Secretary
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Appendix H: Letter to students

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

1 May 2013

Research on ethnic identities from 2012 at Kia Aroha College

Hi [redacted],

I hope 2013 is going well for you. I thought I'd send you a bit of an update on my research so you know what's going on.

I've finished transcribing all the interviews and I'm going to start analysing them soon. My research is about multiple ethnic identities, so I'm going to be looking for examples of where your ethnicities come from (through your ancestry or your experiences of other cultures), how you express your cultures in your everyday life, what values are important to you, what it all means to you, and other things like that. Not everything in the transcripts will be useful, but lots of it will be. I'll be describing the things you talked about and using some quotes to make sure your voice is heard.

Before I go any further, I need to know if there are any mistakes in the transcripts. Included with this letter are a copy of your first interview and a copy of the second interview with all the photos. At the moment, every little bit is in the transcripts – all the 'umms' and 'ahhs' and repetitions. If I quote you, I'll take all that extra stuff out before I use it. If I decide to use one of your photos in my work, I'll write to you again and ask for permission to use that particular photo. I'll try and avoid using any photos that have people's faces in them, but I've also blurred out people's faces just in case.

When you look at the transcripts, if you notice any mistakes, or anything that you want to change, or anything that you want to delete, then could you please let me know? You could either write it on the transcript and send it back to me in the freepost envelope, or you could email me at [redacted]. Just say something like: "on page 3, paragraph 1 there's a mistake. It should be xxxxx". If I don't hear from you, I'll assume that you're happy with the transcripts as they are.

When we last talked, you said you were happy for me to use your first name in my work. If you've changed your mind about that, please let me know.

All the very best for the rest of 2013,

Philippa

PS: My contact details are:

Philippa Butler
Institute of Education
Massey University
Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North
[redacted]