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Ka Mua Ka Muri – Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Maori and Policies in Education: Identity construction as perceived by Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori, and the examination of strategies that support cultural development in the learning environment.

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Abstract

If culture is conducive to achieving positive educational outcomes for Māori, then nurturing and supporting culture and identity development in the learning environment is paramount. However, in order to effectively support culture, one must be able to understand the foundations or ‘ground zero’ formula of cultural construction and the ways in which identity is perceived by rangatahi Māori (Māori youth). This is absolutely necessary if educational institutions are to fully implement Ka Hikitia into their own school policies and teaching practices - that which are genuine and authentic. Moreover, understanding the cultural realities of tauira Māori (Māori students) provides the opportunity for schools to (re)view, adapt, transform, and evolve the learning environment in order to support positive identity development of Māori, as Māori.

Over the last 27 years, the number of residents identifying as Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand has increased. However, substantial increases in cultural identification are predominantly located in middle-late aged cohorts, whilst younger generations illustrate low to moderate increases. In addition, the number of Māori achieving National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) has also surged over the last decade. The combination of rising cultural identity and educational achievement of Māori situates educational institutions as key stakeholders in the development of Māori, as Maori. Hence, the formal learning environment must work in collaboration with whānau, hapū, and iwi to achieve positive outcomes for Māori, as Māori.

This research explores the identity construction and development as perceived by Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori enrolled in a bilingual kura (school), located in the lower North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. It further examines the strategies used by kaiako that enable mātauranga Māori and normalises culture in the learning environment.

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Glossary

Ākarana	Auckland
Fa’a Samoa	The Samoan way of life (doing things)
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe
Iwi	Tribe(s)
Kaiako	Teacher(s)
Kāinga	Home
Kapa haka	Māori performing arts/group
Karakia	Prayer(s)
Kaumātua	Elder(s)/Grandparents
Kaupapa	Platform/Agenda
Kawa	Māori protocol(s)
Kōrero	Conversation
Kōrero paki	Storytelling
Kura	School(s)
Kura Kaupapa	Primary school operating under Māori customs
Mana	Authority, power
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, care of others
Manuhiri	Visitor/Guest
Mātauranga	Knowledge
Matua	Father, parent, uncle
Ōtautahi	Christchurch
Pepeha	Tribal information
Rangatahi	Youth
Rangatiratanga	Right to exercise authority
Tamariki	Children
Tāne	Male(s)
Tāngata whenua	Indigenous people

Tapu	Sacred/sacredness
Tauira Māori	Māori student(s)
Taonga	Gifts/Treasures
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
Tikanga	Māori traditions, customs
Tino rangatiratanga	Sovereignty/self-determination
Tūpuna	Ancestor(s)
Tukutuku panel	Lattice work – decorative panels
Tūrangawaewae	Ancestral home
Wāhine	Female(s)
Waiata	Song(s)
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent
Whakawhanaungatanga	Establishing relationships
Whānau	Extended family/family group
Whanaunga	Relative/relation
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship
Whenua	Land

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TE WAHANGA TUATAHI / CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background: Māori identity and mainstream education in Aotearoa New Zealand

In 1991 an estimated 468,400 residents of Aotearoa New Zealand identified as Māori. In 2018, this number had increased by 59 per cent to 744,800 over a 28-year period (Statistics NZ). In viewing the statistics the differential increase of Māori identity between aged cohorts, for example, residents who identified as Māori and located in cohorts over 45 years, experienced increase rates of 100 per cent or more. Comparatively, cohorts aged 44 years or younger displayed low to moderate increases. In 1991, 68,600 residents aged 5 or under identified as Māori. This figure rose to 82,020 in 2018, representing a growth rate of 21 per cent. Residents identifying as Māori and aged between 5 and 9 years rose 40 per cent, whilst residents aged between 10 and 14 years and 15 and 19 years increased 34.6 per cent and 31.8 per cent respectively. Most notable is the increase in Māori identity for residents aged between 20 and 24 years, rising 48.7 per cent, whilst residents identifying as Māori aged between 40 and 44 years increased 72.7 per cent.

However, what the statistics do not reveal is why there has been an increase in residents identifying as Māori nor why some aged cohorts display greater increases in cultural identification than others. Critically, when one is connected to culture and therefore to one's identity as Māori, positive outcomes ensue (Durie, 2004; 2006). For Māori located in cohorts aged 10-19 years, whereby increase rates of identification experience minimal growth, who is responsible for ensuring positive cultural development, thus reinforcing positive identification of Māori, as Māori? More importantly, how do rangatahi Māori, as Māori, understand and develop their identity and what does this mean and look like in a formal learning environment?

Complicating the development of cultural identification is the influence of colonisation and the dominant political structures and systems that dismissed indigenous knowledge as irrelevant, resulting in the prioritisation and sustainment of western ideology and relegating Māori society to second-tier status (Milne, 2009; L.T. Smith, 2012). This relegation has had major negative impact for Māori in an education system that was never designed 'for, by or with' (L.T. Smith,

2012) Māori. For example, the intention of the early missionary schools was to align Māori with a more ‘civilised’ culture; the assimilation process introduced ‘superior’ values and beliefs by way of converting Māori to Christianity (Walker, 2016). Hence, missionary schools controlled the curriculum, thus the education of Māori. In addition, early legislation further subjugated Māori in educational settings whereby non-Māori controlled, not only financial delegation and curriculum design of educational establishments, but also the learning environment itself. Therefore, Māori, as Māori, were unable to equally participate in formal education – this, in effect, contributed to the cultural genocide of Māori. In contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori continue to battle the oppressive conditions upheld during the colonisation period, thus attempting to rebalance, restore, and reorganise mainstream educational settings to include Māori.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, mainstream educational institutions fall into two distinct classifications - English-medium or bilingual. English-medium learning structures are typically characterised by English as the dominant language of instruction whereas bilingual education is “where school subjects are taught in two languages and students become fluent speakers and writers in both languages by the end of their schooling” (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2006, p. 2). Outside of mainstream structures, other learning environs include full immersion in culture and language. Hence, the design and internal mechanics of educational settings are bound within the fabric of the operating and dominant culture. For Māori, kura kaupapa Māori environs, often referred to as Māori-medium educational sites, learning is completely immersed in te ao Māori - te reo me ōnā tikanga - language, traditions, and customs and is guided by a unique curriculum called Te Aho Mātua (Education Review Office, 2014). According to national statistics, there are currently 204,814 Māori enrolled in primary and secondary schooling across Aotearoa New Zealand (Education Counts). When examined more closely, there are (as at 1 July 2021) 23,161 students located in Māori-medium settings, and 208,885 students who receive less than 50 per cent of instruction in te reo Maori. Thus, the majority of Māori are situated in mainstream educational settings. Furthermore, in 2009, 7338 tauira Māori left school with an educational achievement of NCEA Level 1 or above, compared to 11,819 in 2019. In addition, Māori achieving NCEA Level 2 or higher increased from 5298 to 10,138 whilst Māori acquiring NCEA Level 3 or higher, also increased from 2214 to 5349 from 2009 to 2019. This is a 141.6 per cent increase over a decade.

Whilst both mainstream and bilingual education is governed by the Education Act 1989, each system approaches education with a significantly different lens. A critical question here is how does cultural identification contribute towards achieving positive educational outcomes and what does this really mean and look like in a learning environment? Moreover, given that the majority of Māori are located in mainstream education, how do ‘we’ as Māori ensure tamariki (children) located in this environment are fully supported and their identity as Māori is positively reinforced? How do ‘we’ strengthen their identity in order to promote and facilitate educational success of Māori, as Māori?

This project is influenced by the work completed as part of the Te Kotahitanga programme (see Bishop, Berryman & Wearmouth, 2014). It is further complemented by my personal reflections - reflections which have empowered and evolved my own identity and cultural development in te ao Māori. Hence, my Māori identity is something that I now embody rather than it being a mere product of familial consequence. It is continually being endorsed and added to, through the accumulation and application of mātauranga Māori, and being enculturated into the deeper notions of identity construction and te ao Māori. This (re)negotiation is explored in the following section.

1.2 Taku tuakiri: My identity

In my youth, establishing my cultural identity was an enforced, isolating, and (dis)connecting experience. Raised in competing cultural environments, I spent most of my young childhood with my Māori mother in Ākarana (Auckland). At the age of 10, I moved to spend several years of early adolescence with my Samoan father. When I was 15 years old, and at the beginning of my 5th Form year at high school, I moved back to live with my mother who (by then) had relocated to Ōtautahi (Christchurch). Moving between parental homes and developing cultural identity in my youth became a manufactured construction that represented not only my immediate environment but also the influence of multiple sources from outside of the home - what I now refer to as the colonised world. The mixing of culture and developing the ‘self’ created an identity that was not of my making and left me feeling displaced and somewhat isolated from the identity that I craved - being Māori. For example, as a young adolescent, I engaged in activities that were informed by Samoan customs and traditions while living with my father, although still longed to be connected to my Māori whānau. I lived and operated in

the cultural space of Fa'a Samoa (Samoan way of life (doing things)), given that was my 'life' at that point in time. I spent weekends with my Samoan relatives, went to church every Sunday and joined the Samoan culture group at high school; such activities were cultural consequences of operating in culture as a subject. Outside of the home I did not have Samoan nor Māori friends; they were Pākehā (English, non-Māori). My friends at the West Auckland intermediate and high schools that I attended represented a life without culture. They did not have to attend church sermons or Sunday school, nor did they possess or adhere to customary practices and protocols familiar to me; they were, in effect, free from cultural norms. Yet they represented the dominant culture in which I operated and navigated through. Moreover, they were not subjected to the same challenges I faced as a developing youth, that is, having brown skin and physical characteristics that categorised me as an 'islander'.

As an object, I inherited negative social markers of 'fob', 'coconut', or 'over-stayer'. Due to a lack of fluency in Samoan language, I was further labelled as 'plastic' and sneered at by other Samoan youth. In addition, I was rejected by Māori students at my West Auckland high school as being Māori because I did not culturally operate in that space nor have direct connections with my whānau at that time. If asked who I was, my answer would be "I'm Samoan but my mum is Māori". Accordingly, my dominant culture, as I operated within it, preceded the lesser. Conversely, being reunited with my Māori mother and attending high school in Ōtautahi rekindled and reignited my development in te ao Māori. Thus activities, familial associations, and cultural development in education were cocooned in a Māori reality. If asked who I was, my answer would be "I'm Māori, but my Dad is Samoan". 'Who am I?' became conditionally responsive to my immediate psycho-social environment, thus did little to acknowledge who I am.

Whilst seemingly similar in construction, who am I? vs Who I am recognises the complex negotiations and interaction with one's social world. How one views oneself is further augmented by one's cultural knowledge and can have a profound effect on identity development. Who am I? As a growing adolescent, my response was dependent on where I was, and who I was with, thus situational and contextual. In truth, I had no idea. However, what I did know and what I did feel, was my longing to be and feel Māori; to be connected to everything and everyone Māori. As an adult, my response to cultural identity will always be, I am Māori. This response acknowledges my authentic and true identity of who I am and who I know myself to be. It further acknowledges the worldwide view that I operate in.

Acknowledging who I am is not determined or shaped by ignoring or rejecting my other cultural ancestors, rather highlights the dominant cultural paradigm which guides and nurtures self-development. Not so long ago, my father said to me: “You’ve always been Māori”. What my father said was not said in disappointment in that I did not function predominantly in Fa’a Samoa; rather it acknowledged my true identity of who I am as his daughter, as a woman, as a cultural being who is part of a much wider socio-cultural network. Who I am, is the culmination of whakapapa (genealogy), cultural knowledge and socio-cultural experiences. Much like a tukutuku panel, each thread of ‘my panel’ is a representation of weaving complex negotiations within and between culture, which has contributed to and defined the version of who I am today.

Were my experiences different from how other Māori develop their cultural identification, or are experiences similar? How do rangatahi Māori achieve that state of ‘knowing’ and ‘being’ Māori and what are the common markers which facilitate positive cultural identification? How does this challenge and position Māori in the learning environment? What are the cultural expectations placed on young Māori whilst navigating through the social space of Aotearoa New Zealand? How do they define cultural identity and what are their representations of identity? How much cultural knowledge must one have, and is this knowledge validated between Māori of what it is to be Māori? Moreover, how do educators and school policies foster positive cultural identification of Māori within their curriculum design? What strategies (if any) are implemented by schools, which extend the cultural development outside of the home environment into the learning space? These questions guide the agenda and justification for this thesis.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to understand the complexities of cultural identification, we must be able to dissect it, deconstruct, and unpack it so as to identify potential issues which may complicate development; to look at it from its basic components from within complex socio-political and cultural structures. Cultural identity is a fluid process that evolves through constant negotiation in the external environment. Understanding the ‘ground-zero’ formula of how cultural identification is perceived and achieved by Māori presents an opportunity to create and/or

(re)organise strategies that might have been previously overlooked. Accordingly, the critical questions for this research are:

- 1 In what ways do Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori construct and conceptualise their identity as Māori?
- 2 What aspects of mātauranga Māori are required to affirm cultural identification as perceived by Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori?
- 3 What knowledge is critical to enabling cultural membership and what does this comprise? What types of exposure to mātauranga Māori are required, and what is the required frequency to such knowledge, in order to foster positive cultural development?
- 4 Are there age and gender differences in determining cultural identity?
- 5 What are the tensions experienced by Year 7 and 8 Māori, who may have limited mātauranga Māori, and what does this mean in asserting cultural identification?
- 6 How do schools foster positive cultural identification? Is this written into their policies? If not, why not? If so, how are strategies applied practically?
- 7 Are school policies developed in consultation with national cultural policy as well as with Māori?

The research questions are fundamental to examining the praxis of cultural identification as it is perceived and experienced at a particular point in time. It provides a lens with which to view cultural identification when (de)constructed and (re)constructed by Māori as well as highlights the implications such perceptions might have on cultural development, and the relationship this has within the learning environment. Moreover, it provides the opportunity to review, challenge, and change educational policies that might hinder positive cultural identification in the learning environment.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter One provides a personal summary of my own challenges and conflicting environments that surround cultural identification as well as presenting a brief overview of the cultural and socio-political backdrop that is specific to Aotearoa New Zealand. It further defines the objective of the research as well as identifying critical research questions that frame this enquiry. Chapter Two examines the relevant research literature from three key positions: Cultural Identity, Cultural Politics, and Cultural Reform in

Education. Such positions allow the researcher to adopt a holistic approach to understanding cultural identity as being influenced by intersecting and interacting socio-economic-political systems. Chapter Three discusses the framework underpinning this research project. Having presented this framework it further examines traditional models versus contemporary paradigms, the population sample, what and how data will be collected, and the instruments used to analyse data. Finally, it discusses ethical considerations and the limitations of this research. Chapter Four presents the research findings whilst Chapter Five discusses the findings from data collection. The concluding chapter, Chapter Six, summaries the thesis and examines whether the research questions have been answered. It will also include recommendations to extend this research.

1.5 Chapter Conclusion

This research aims to deconstruct cultural identity; to examine how cultural identification is formulated by tauira Māori as well as examine the perceived levels of mātauranga Māori which might underpin cultural identity. If cultural identification is conducive to accomplishing positive psycho-social development (Durie, 1997) and contributes to positive educational outcomes (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003; Milne, 2016), then deconstructing cultural identification, in order to understand the tensions and complexities of cultural navigation, is absolutely necessary. More importantly, if educational institutions are to reorganise and transform their policies and teaching practices to embrace culture, then how do they understand and represent culture in their classroom? Is there, or has there, been collaboration and engagement with whānau, hapū and iwi when transforming the learning space?

“Nāku te rourou, nāu te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi.”

With your basket and my basket, the people will live.

The importance of this whakataukī (proverb), when applied to the context of this research, is the collaboration and culmination of knowledge. This knowledge will ensure that Māori are

given voices and are heard, and that they are able to contribute to te ao Māori, as Māori, for Māori.

TE WAHANGA TUARUA / CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter Introduction

In Aotearoa New Zealand, identifying as Māori is confronted by biased representations of what it means to be Māori. That is, Māori are framed by competing narratives, perceptions of which assume a particular kind of identity. Such perceptions create tensions to identity construction, whereby conflicting representations of what is and means ‘to be Māori’, may impact on an individual’s ability to negotiate and navigate successfully through socio-economic and political structures. For example, representations of Māori in national statistics, policy or mass media distribution, creates a source of truth which distorts reality (Penetito, 2010). National statistics provide a vacuum in which to classify Māori comparatively to other operating cultures within the social structure of Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, this vacuum suggests Māori as being incapable of achieving educational outcomes, thereby creating negative stereotypes which are accepted as the social norm between and within cultures. This is further highlighted and captured in research literature, which position Māori as deficient. Marie, Fergusson and Boden (2008) note “Maori are less likely to attend an early childhood educational facility are far less likely to leave school with upper-secondary-school qualifications, and are also less likely to possess formal or tertiary-level qualifications” (p. 183). Whilst it is acknowledged that national statistics are useful in illustrating trends across a population, and across time, national statistics are also based on and contained within parameters defined by Western frameworks. Moreover, national statistics do not attempt to examine nor explain the variances in the population thereby creating a distorted view of how a population operates and behaves within a social structure. For example, differences in educational outcomes of Māori compared to non-Māori is based on testing measures, standards and policies that are set by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and governed by the Education and Training Act 2020 (nzqa.govt.nz). Accordingly achieving ‘positive’ educational outcomes through the attainment of a National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is guided by westernised

structures and fails to incorporate Māori ways of ‘knowing’ and ‘doing’, thus restricting indigenous knowledge.

Operating two sides of the same coin simultaneously present Māori with complex negotiations when maneuvering between two very different and conflicting cultural spaces. On one side of the coin, Māori operate within culture that is specific to te ao Māori. On the other side of the coin is a socio-economic and multicultural space that is predominantly non-Māori - each space, or side of the coin, represents Māori operating from two polarising positions.

This chapter will examine the complexities of culture as an identity, cultural politics, the shifting political landscape of culture in education, and the impact this has on rangatahi Māori developing as Māori. It will further review the structural frameworks and dimensions which contribute to cultural identification.

2.2 Defining Cultural Identity

Identity construction as a byproduct of socio-cultural engineering is a phenomenon that continues to challenge researchers when attempting to define it as an operational construct. Definitions can vary amongst researchers and, in part, is formulated and informed by the discipline that a researcher subscribes to (Spencer-Oatey, 2007). It should be no surprise then that there is a “lack of consensus” (Kouhpaenejad & Gholaminejad, 2014, p. 199) amongst researchers as to what ‘identity’ actually means. For example, Stets and Burke (2000) suggest that identity is generated from complex cognitive negotiations with the external environment, thus is situated in schematic representations which is pulled from multiple sources during development. Hence identity is a biological process that is influenced by the immediate environment of an individual.

Kouhpaenejad and Gholaminejad (2014) suggest that identity is influenced by complex negotiations which are situational, conceptual and relevant to how one understands and moves within the environment. From within the boundaries of post-structuralism, the authors suggest that identity is a fluid state that is “socially organized, reorganized, constructed, co-constructed and continually reconstructed through language” (p. 200). Post-structuralism refers to the transformation of static objects and/or concepts. Hence, post-structuralism examines identity from a transformative space that is continuously evolving, and as suggested by Kouhpaenejad

and Gholaminejad (2014) is intangible. Xiaomei and Shimin (2014) refer to identity as the “sameness” that “lays particular stress on the group destiny of a people or ethnic group from which its members cannot withdraw” (p. 155). Paringatai (2014) suggests that identity is a “construct commonly used by individuals to describe who they view themselves to be, and how they fit with others in the social world” (p. 47). Whilst defining identity might be a source of frustration for researchers, understanding the diversity of identity construction is best understood utilising Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model.

Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model of development illustrates the complexity of identity formation as it evolves (chrono) and describes how sources from the immediate (micro/meso) and external (exo/macro) contribute to self-growth. Each system is useful for understanding the mechanics of identity as it interfaces, interacts and therefore influences and shapes the development of an individual. Furthermore, theories which posit identity, allow such theoretical models to be referenced to the five interacting systems. Hence, whilst researchers may differ in operational definition of what ‘identity is’, what can be drawn as a common thread, is the presence of shared ideologies. That is, identity is complex and dynamic, and constituted from overlapping systems, which formulate knowledge, thus constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing identity that is situational and contextualised by knowledge and behavior which are transmitted to an individual.

2.2.1 Ethnic Identity vs Cultural Identity

More often than not, research literature examines cultural and ethnic identity as travelling along the same axis. However, how each construct is defined in literature determines the operational framework (Linnekin, 1992; Milne, 2016). Statistics New Zealand uses the term ethnicity to refer to a body of people who identify as belonging to a culture, thus use culture and ethnicity to mean one and the same. From this position, ethnic identity is a structural paradigm to categorise and label individuals as belonging to a group, yet fails to recognise whether an individual actively operates as a member of that group despite holding ancestral connections. In addition, this typology assumes that individuals operate equally in the same socio-economic space as other cultural members. Critically, creating ‘typologies’ highlights the ways in which statistics might distort trends within a population. For example, in educational statistics, how are individuals represented if an individual identifies as belonging to more than one ethnic group? If an individual identifies as Māori and Chinese, are both ethnicities equally represented

for statistical analysis? Moreover, how do statistics represent the level of participation within a specific cultural group?

Milne (2016) suggests that “Cultural or ethnic identity refers to the degree to which a person feels connected with a racial or cultural group” (p. 48). Therefore, ethnic and cultural identity are identical and provide a framework, whereby concepts of whakapapa, tikanga and kawa are shared amongst its members, thus mobilising ethnic identity beyond genetic association in which to navigate identity. What is critical to note from Milne (2016) is that the definition of cultural and ethnic identity is intimately interwoven and therefore cannot exist outside of their own constructs as separate identities. From this perspective, ethnic identity becomes the catalyst to construct and assert cultural identity. For the purpose of this research project, ethnic identity is the association to culture by genetic disposition and cultural identity is the relationship and association to culture as a result of biological heritage. Consequently, cultural and ethnic identity are inextricably connected and cannot exist in isolation to one another.

2.2.2 Māori Identity - am I?

For Māori, being able to formulate identity as a cultural member is challenged by persistent issues of colonisation that position Māori as somehow being deficient, when measured against socio-economic indicators (Penetito, 2010). Penetito (2010) argues separation from traditional “land, language, cosmologies, economies, sources of power and authority, knowledge and customs, food supplies” (p. 37) contribute to problems of identity for Māori. Furthermore, Penetito (2010) suggests that acknowledging identity as Māori is far more complex when coupled with competing expectations of the socio-cultural environment noting that “It is far more difficult choosing to be Māori even when you are Māori, but if you do not look as though you are Māori, for example, if you have fair skin, then choosing to be Māori has to be deliberately demonstrated publicly, even among Māori” (p. 26). The author raises the interesting notion of whether identity and being able to successfully formulate cultural identity as Māori, is indeed a problem. If so, what are some of the problems experienced by rangatahi Māori in developing one’s identity? How is identity negotiated by rangatahi Māori when operating within conflicting socio-economic and cultural spaces? More importantly, who determines whether identity as Māori has been successfully achieved and what criteria must be met in order to claim identity as Māori? Is this a self-fulfilling perception we set as individuals or are there certain expectations and/or requirements that must be met, in order to be Māori? Is

there a template or model to which all Māori subscribe and are assumed to use? What does this look like and what does this mean for rangatahi Māori?

Van Meijl's (2006) examination into the multiple identities of rangatahi Māori suggest conflicting identities and fragmented identification construction, produce a "clash of identities" (p. 922). Moreover, Van Meijl (2006) acknowledges that realities of identity are dialogical in that identity is framed by how models are perceived, projected on to and absorbed as part of the self. For example, being Māori for some participants meant growing up and being poor and/or on State welfare. Van Meijl (2006) argues that the mass migration of Māori to urban areas has had a significant impact on rangatahi Māori in being able to identify as Māori, due to the lack of access and exposure to mātauranga Māori, tikanga, and kawa. Thus, "For that reason, too, many Maori youngsters, particularly in urban areas, feel alienated from traditional culture" (p. 919). What is interesting to note from this research is how participants viewed traditional models of identity and shared beliefs of relevancy, specifically, how will learning about culture provide employment? The notion of culture as irrelevant, as perceived by some participants, highlights the social dysphoria of identity, hence formulating cultural identity as a mirror to social conditions.

Complimenting Van Meijl (2006), Marie, Fergusson and Boden (2008) examined the role of cultural identity and its correlation to socio-economic status and educational outcomes. Marie et al (2008) argue two schools of thought that contribute to disparate educational outcomes between Māori and non-Māori. The first argument suggests a lack of cultural pedagogies impede the development of Māori in the learning environment. The second argument submits that, regardless of one's learning environment, disparate educational outcomes is ascribed to one's ability to access educational resources, which bring about "better educational outcomes" (p. 185). Research findings collected over a 25-year period, from 984 participants, supported the authors' second school of thought, suggesting that differences in educational achievement between Māori and non-Māori is largely attributed to socio-economic factors rather than one's cultural identity. An interesting feature of this research is the point when cultural identity was established. That is, "At the age of 21, respondents were asked about their ancestry, cultural identification and level of participation in Maori cultural domains and proficiency in the Maori language" (p. 186). Why at the age of 21 years? Why is identity captured at this age and not any other during the years of development in education? This somewhat distorts the data in that cultural identification at age 21 is associated with previous educational achievement, thus

suggesting that cultural identity is a static feature incapable of evolution. Moreover, Marie et al (2008) did not capture the educational institute attended by participants. Hence, this poses several critical questions. Firstly, if a respondent culturally identified as ‘sole-Māori’ or ‘Māori-other’, would this have also been true during the respondent’s educational years? Secondly, in what ways did cultural markers influence and strengthen cultural identification? How did respondents ‘make sense’ of their identity, thus affirm their identity as Māori? Thirdly, did the school attended by ‘sole-Māori’ and ‘Māori-other’ influence educational outcomes by supporting cultural identity and development? Finally, for respondents who identified as ‘sole-Māori’ and ‘Māori-other’, is mātauranga Māori used in the same way in which to affirm identity as Māori? Whilst it is acknowledged that Marie et al (2008) highlight the impact of socio-economic status on achieving educational outcomes, the authors fail to capture the complexity of culture as a dynamic and evolving construction and the ways in which mātauranga Māori might underpin and support cultural identity development or how schools might influence such development, thereby enhancing social mobility vis à vis educational achievement.

Fairclough, Hynds, Jacob, Green and Thompson (2016) investigated the multiple identities of rangatahi Māori as a marginalised group from two key positions: being deaf and being Māori. Fairclough et al (2016) suggest that accessing mātauranga Māori and formulating identity not only as Māori but as a member of the deaf community, is compounded by one’s ability to access translators who are not only knowledgeable in sign language but also te ao Māori, noting that “Access to such individuals helps to ensure these youth are exposed to strong role models and community members from the hearing world as well as the Deaf world” (p. 375). Fairclough et al (2016) highlight the complexities of developing identity from socio-cultural deficiencies. This raises an interesting question of how mātauranga Māori is transmitted, particularly if resources are limited. Moreover, like much domestic research, what models do researchers rely on to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct identity and how does this compare with perceived realities of those experiencing cultural development as Māori?

Durie’s (1995) Te Hoe Nuku Roa framework sets out to measure Māori identity, thus attempting to “link a variety of cultural and ethnic measures with other indicators so that a more comprehensive profile of Māori might be obtained” (p. 464). Te Hoe Nuku Roa is built on the presumption of four key dimensions that constantly interact with Māori, thus capturing identity as relational and situational: *Human relationships, Māori culture and identity, Socio-*

economic circumstances, and *Change over time*. Each dimension is positioned on an axis, interacting with several indicators, thus allowing and capturing multi-axis integration and the level of perceived reality to be viewed simultaneously. The table below illustrates Durie's proposition of multi axis integration (Durie, 1995, p. 466).

Table 3 Axes and Indicators

<i>Ngā Waitohu</i>	Axis 1 <i>Paihere Tangata</i>	Axis 2 <i>Te Ao Māori</i>	Axis 3 <i>Ngā Ahuatanga noho-ā-tangata</i>	Axis 4 <i>Ngā Whakanekeketanga</i>
Indicators	Human relationships	Māori culture and identity	Socio-economic circumstances	Change over time
Choice				
Access				
Participation				
Satisfaction				
Information & knowledge				
Aspirations				

Durie (1995) argues that “it is necessary to emphasise the range of circumstances which not only shape cultural expression but also permit or inhibit cultural identification and practice” (p. 469) so as not to create a typology of acceptance or rejection of what it means to be Māori. This is critical, given that Māori operate across different socio-economic and political spaces. How contemporary Māori might access and associate value to certain aspects of culture will likely vary across the population. Hence, this may create different expectations of what it means to be and feel Māori that do not necessarily conform to traditional standards; as such, this may create tensions in asserting membership that could be detrimental to the well-being of Māori. Moreover, it lends weight to creating division within culture if a “single dimension stressing links with traditional knowledge and skills” (p. 469) is used to position all Māori in the same space of achieving cultural identity. Hence, Te Hoe Nuku Roa represents a holistic model that is fluid and evolving rather than a static feature in which identity is formed, framed, and projected by Māori. Houkamau and Sibley (2010) have adopted a similar construction of measuring cultural identification of Māori.

Houkamau and Sibley's (2010) hierarchical self-report sought to measure cultural identity and engagement from six key markers, thus conceptualising Māori identity from the position of: *Group Membership, Socio-Political Consciousness, Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity*

Engagement, Spirituality, Interdependent Self-Concept, and Authenticity Beliefs. The 47-item report not only evaluated the perceptions of 270 participants who identified as Māori and/or acknowledged having Māori ancestry but also further deconstructed identity by conceptualising identity as it is perceived from within set dimensions. The authors created the aforementioned dimensions based on previous international research literature which examined health and well-being, thus critically examining scales that had been “extensively tested in numerous nations” (p. 383). Accordingly, Houkamau and Sibley (2010) argue that the Multi-Dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) provides a “culturally sensitive, valid and reliable self-report measure of subjective identification as Māori” (p. 8). The MMM-ICE is fundamental in understanding the perceived realities of Māori identity at a particular point in time and space. However, it does not capture the perceived levels of mātauranga Māori required in order to develop one’s cultural identification. Rather, it records the strengths and weaknesses one might feel in their identity as Māori. Hence, critical questions are, what dimensions are absolutely necessary to affirm cultural identity, and are these dimensions similarly shared amongst rangatahi Māori? Moreover, at what point is mātauranga Māori a vehicle for constructing identity? What aspects of mātauranga Māori are critical and what does this look like and mean for rangatahi Māori?

2.3 Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori literally translates to Māori knowledge which is transmitted through time biologically, through whakapapa, and reproduced orally through kōrero (conversation), waiata (song), and kōrero paki (story-telling). Hence, transmission of mātauranga Māori allows a member of whānau, hapū, and iwi to connect with and develop relationships within te ao Māori (Hikuroa, 2017). Kia Eke Panuku describes mātauranga Māori as “a Māori way of being and engaging in the world - in its simplest form, it uses kawa (cultural practices) and tikanga (cultural principles) to critique, examine, analyse and understand the world” (www.kep.org.nz). The Māori Dictionary defines mātauranga Māori as “the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural spaces” (Māori Dictionary, 2020). In addition, Broughton and McBreen (2015) refer to mātauranga Māori as “Māori knowledge and all that underpins it, as well as Māori ways of knowing” (p. 83). Hence, the common thread shared between definitions is the

amalgamation of pre-colonised knowledge which exemplifies Māori through tikanga, kawa, and te reo Māori. Conceptually, it provides a repository of markers that act as pre-requisites to formulate cultural identity, thus allowing one to navigate, negotiate, and interact in te ao Māori. In a very real sense, mātauranga Māori facilitates a deeper connection to one's ancestry that is both tangible and spiritual. Moreover, mātauranga Māori is critical to "sources of identity and contribute to learning, development, and the realisation of potential" (Durie, 2006, p. 7).

Hence, within the parameters of this research, the critical questions are: in what ways does mātauranga Māori inform one's cultural reality? What branches of mātauranga Māori are being accessed and how is this knowledge used to formulate and construct identity? What is the 'baseline' or 'ground zero' formula required to affirm cultural identity and is this baseline formula similarly shared between tauira Māori? What are some of the tensions experienced by Māori who might lack specific cultural knowledge? Is there a perceived level of knowledge required in order to be and feel Māori? As Paringatai (2014) suggests

"When someone openly identifies as being of Māori descent, there is an expectation that they know how to operate within a Māori paradigm according to tikanga Māori (Māori cultural values) and have a degree of linguistic ability. This is not always the case. The person's upbringing, their physical location, the community they grew up in and their interaction with their tribal area may not have been conducive to the acquisition of such knowledge" (p. 47).

Paringatai (2014) examined the development of Māori identity outside of tribal areas, focusing on first-generation urban Māori in Southland. In her research, Paringatai highlights the tensions experienced by Māori when identifying as Māori; social expectations of what it means to be Māori led Māori to feel "stigmatised by society and trapped into socially predetermined roles based on their ethnic group membership" (p. 49). Whether consciously aware or not, communal and/or national expectations of cultural identity position Māori as deficient if failing to meet specific criteria, thus leaving Māori to deal with "feelings of inferiority and embarrassment that inhibited their ability to feel pride in their Māori ethnicity" (p. 51). However, it is critical to note that Māori who engaged in cultural activities, such as learning te reo Māori, created a space in which culture and the self are able to be reconciled. Critically, this research illustrates culture as heterogeneous, thus recognising divergent Māori realities and the ways in which identity is augmented at an individual level. This raises two interesting questions. First, what

levels of exposure, thus frequency to mātauranga Māori is required in order to reconcile the self with culture? Second, are these tensions similarly shared between Māori? Broughton and McBreen (2015) encapsulated mātauranga Māori as being of critical value to Māori when they noted that “The rationale for mātauranga revitalisation arises from tino rangatiratanga and the need for mātauranga to flourish if Māori are to survive as Māori”; moreover, “mātauranga is the key to Māori living and developing as Māori” (p. 84).

At this point in time, research in Aotearoa New Zealand on the ways in which mātauranga Māori interacts with and is conceptually perceived and/or applied by rangatahi Māori in constructing identity, is non-existent. As such, it is difficult to determine how cultural identification develops and the ways in which traditional models interact with contemporary knowledge, thus formulating current perceptions. Moreover, in what ways do perceptions change over the course of time which might shift cultural identification? How much knowledge and what type(s) of knowledge is enough knowledge to assert cultural identification as Māori? Are Māori at more risk of becoming isolated from whānau, hapū and iwi due to a lack of mātauranga Māori transmission and/or access to resources, thus choosing not to identify as Māori? Are we failing our rangatahi by not understanding their complex perceptions and do we, unknowingly and indirectly, contribute to negative psycho-social and economic outcomes of Māori on a much broader level?

2.4 Cultural Identity Politics: Challenging the status quo

As a pre-colonised culture, images of ancestors and chiefs adorned with mataora, moko kauae, traditional marae, waka and clothing, and shared mythologies flood the consciousness. It resonates with an identity that is uncontrolled by Western paradigms, thus is saturated in tikanga, kawa, and te reo and highlights concepts such as whanaungatanga (relationships/kinship), mana (authority/power), manaakitanga (hospitality/care of others), and rangatiratanga (right to exercise authority). Forced to submit to British rule, land wars, land confiscation, economic-educational disparities, social rejection, racism and political activism ensued from a destructive period of Aotearoa New Zealand’s history (Walker, 1990, 1996). In postmodern Aotearoa New Zealand, the mobilisation of Māori in the political arena has helped to give Māori a political identity - a “political consciousness” (Bishop, 1999, p. 2). From an essentialist perspective, this ‘political’ identity is attributed to the collective body of Māori

operating as a single vehicle in which to steer political reform, thus challenging government policies in an attempt to (re)organise political power and to be emancipated from an oppressive system. The Māori renaissance has contributed significantly to shifting perceptions of the political landscape by reigniting and strengthening one's identity through enculturation (Tangaere, 2006). Sitting front and centre to Māori, as a political identity, thus informing political discourse, is Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) (Tomlins-Jahnke & Warren, 2011; Walker, 1996).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand between tāngata whenua (indigenous people) and the British Crown. Signed in 1840, the First Article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was “purported to convey the sovereignty of the chiefs of New Zealand to the British Crown” (Walker, 1996, p. 52). Whilst the English version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi differs from its Māori counterpart, the signing of the Treaty supported socio-economic and political dominance by Crown representatives during the colonisation period. In contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, the Treaty has become a stronghold for Māori in which to challenge the Government and its representatives for historical injustices as well as attempting to reframe policy which have long held Māori in a submissive and subjugated state. Hence, Te Tiriti o Waitangi becomes a political instrument by which to ‘close the gap’ on socio-economic and political issues that have contributed to, and continue to disadvantage Māori (Humpage & Fleras, 2001).

Humpage and Fleras’ (2001) examination of the public policy ‘Closing the Gaps’ highlighted the models used to politically inform social justice policy (re)formation. The models are *Distributive*, *Retributive*, and *Recognitive*. Each model assesses, thus approaches, social justice from a particular standpoint. Ergo, one’s political position would conform to adopting a set model that is ‘politically correct’. Moreover, that adopting a prescribed model is bound to create tensions between Māori and Crown representatives, particularly when Māori are seen to be the ‘problem’. As such, policy reform becomes a battleground of “intersecting rationales” (p. 37), with both the State and Māori attempting to address social justice from within contrasting dimensions. What is critical to note from Humpage and Fleras (2001) is the discursive analysis involving the Treaty. That is, interpretation of the Treaty as a whole or as separate articles creates a space in which to manipulate the rhetoric of social justice from within a political agenda. In addition, Humpage and Fleras (2001) highlight how Māori and Crown might engage in orchestrated change through political reform at a national level, thus

(re)constructing policy which attempts to reinforce and support Māori development at a more localised level. Hence, the Treaty is instrumental in holding the Government accountable for outcomes that affect Māori (Kawharu & Henare, 2001).

Kawharu and Henare (2001) examined how identity interacts and informs policy, noting that “Recognition of the Treaty in statute, common law and central and local government policies is an essential prerequisite for Māori to exercise rangatiratanga. Without recognition, opportunity to apply rangatiratanga may be limited” (p. 3). Furthermore, statistically based ‘gaps’ are not necessarily viewed as congruent between Māori and Crown; rather they are systematic, euro-centric measures that condense assimilated ideologies for the sake of fitting into a category that can be measured easily. What is ‘good for the goose’ is not necessarily ‘good for the gander’! More importantly, Māori are not a homogeneous group. Thus, Kawharu and Henare (2001), highlight how each whānau, hapū, and iwi might (re)prioritise development at any point in time. These developments may not necessarily be in unison with other operating iwi, nor the Crown for that matter. What is worth noting is that whilst whānau, hapū, and iwi may operate on different frequencies, the synergy of Māori in the political arena, as a political identity, attempts to address and redress legislative changes and national policy that might otherwise continue to marginalise Māori, thus becoming a part of the very system that attempts to suppress and organise Māori. Moreover, as Māori continue to engage in political discourse, such activity is fundamentally driven from the need to be liberated from the fractured system of White Aotearoa New Zealand and, as noted by Freire (2000), “those who recognise, or begin to recognise, themselves as oppressed must be among the developers of this pedagogy” (pp. 55-56). This statement highlights the importance of Māori being connected to a system of control in which to assert rangatiratanga and offer up a substituted reality that is entrenched in culture. Hence, this begs the question of how policy is organised, framed, and (re)presented for distribution. More importantly, how is policy applied by local governments, institutions and businesses, thus applied in the ‘real world’? Who is responsible for constructing policies and are policy writers capturing ‘both sides of the fence’? In education, how is legislation and policy developed alongside Te Tiriti o Waitangi, thus in consultation with Māori?

2.5 Policy in Education: From the depths of darkness into the light

Historically, educational legislation and policy in Aotearoa New Zealand has been dictated from a position of British imperialism (Lee & Lee, 1995; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Simon, 2000; Walker, 1996, 2016) with no regard to Māori other than to indoctrinate Māori into a ‘white’ civilized world. For example, Lee and Lee (1995) note that the purpose of early schooling of Māori in missionary schools had the sole intent to “proselytise the natives” (p. 96), thus served two key functions: firstly, to integrate Māori into western culture that would become the ‘new New Zealand’ and, secondly, to convert Māori to Christianity. In their examination of ‘Politics of Māori Education: History, Policies, Conflicts and Compromises’, Lee and Lee (1995) illustrate legitimacy of power and knowledge through education legislation (Education Ordinance 1847, Native Schools Act, 1858, Native Schools Act 1857, and the Education Act 1877) and its intent to reorganise the new social structure of Aotearoa New Zealand. Accordingly, not only did education legislation divide and conquer Māori through the assimilation process but it also associated economic transactions “to establish and maintain schools, provided always that those schools taught English” (p. 99). Thus, the authors highlight the ways in which political dogma constructed and laid the foundations for education in Aotearoa New Zealand, foundations that are plagued by racism and prejudice, thereby promoting outcomes that sought to benefit those who are ‘white’ privileged and/or those who are content to relinquish power (Gillborn, 2005).

Gillborn (2005) describes such policy as being the “most dangerous form of ‘white supremacy’” when it takes for granted “routine privileging of white interests that goes unremarked in the political mainstream” (p. 485). Critically, the author identifies how policy might be accepted as acts of normality, when they are taken at face value and left unchallenged, stating “policy-makers (and many educationalist) tend to imagine education policy as evolving over time ... such an approach is contrary to the reality of race and politics in England where virtually every major public policy meant to improve race equity has arisen *directly* from resistance and protest by Black and other minoritized communities” (p. 486). From this viewpoint, democratic policy enables and/or maintains inequity and inequality when unobstructed. Those who seek to challenge conforming to ‘white supremacy’ become vilified and thus rejected as being worthy recipients of socio-economic benefits. Critically, the majority that is responsible for reproducing this strategy stays the course of oppression through marginalisation. Gillborn (2005) argues that oppression and marginalisation must be viewed

from a position of critical race theory, in order to examine the deficiencies within policy and the influence this has in maintaining the longevity of racial inequality in education. Whilst Gillborn (2005) focuses on educational policy in England, it mirrors the political structure and social backdrop of Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, it highlights the political opposition of minority cultures when challenging policies that continue to ignore the importance of cultural diversity and inclusion in educational settings. Thus a critical question is, how can policy be constructed when key players are at odds with one another? Who does policy serve and how has this been captured in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand? More importantly, can national policy be constructed in collaboration and cooperation with Māori, thus creating bicultural policy?

In her article 'Bicultural education policy in New Zealand' Lourie (2016) recognises that the first wave of bicultural policies stemmed from the Fourth Labour Government elected in 1984. The bicultural policies were drafted to respond to "the historical injustices suffered by Māori people as a consequence of colonisation" (p. 638) and the longevity of "social and economic disadvantage of Māori" (p. 640) in Aotearoa New Zealand. More to the point, the space and time that led the Government to develop bicultural policies stemmed from being unable to ignore the protests of Māori, thus threatening social cohesion. Hence, the shift in political discourse sought to replace monocultural policies with a bicultural framework that gave particular recognition to Te Tiriti o Waitangi; a Treaty that had long been ignored by successive governments until the 1970s. What is critical to note from Lourie (2016) is that while there have been attempts to (re)construct policy, such efforts have been consistently concerned with addressing cultural deficiencies-cultural differences rather than acknowledging culture as critical to Māori development. Moreover, primary legislation that governs education in Aotearoa New Zealand remains intact, whilst cultural policy has been 'tacked on' to "symbolise fairness" (p. 640), for example, Education Act 1989 v Ka Hikitia.

The Education Act 1989 prescribes the legal requirements of primary and secondary educational institutions operating in Aotearoa New Zealand whilst Ka Hikitia is a cultural strategy operating under the umbrella of the Act. Both instruments are administered by the Ministry of Education (MoE). Ka Hikitia was developed in collaboration with Te Puni Kōkiri and acts as a cultural blueprint in which to enhance educational outcomes of Māori. According to Berryman, Kerr, Macfarlane, Penetito and Smith (2013), Ka Hikitia drew upon

Māori research and community views and experiences ... that Ka Hikitia appears soundly based and respected. In preparing its strategy, the Ministry drew on internationally recognised research evidence to identify issues with Māori students' educational achievement and how to address those issues. This research included the Ministry's Iterative Best Evidence Synthesis research, 14 PISA reports, and other information indicating poor educational outcomes for Māori students. Research by Māori was also important in shaping Ka Hikitia (p. 21).

Launched in 1999, Ka Hikitia was the first policy of its kind to support educational achievement of taurira Māori, thus focused on achieving three key goals: 1. “to raise the quality of English-medium education for Māori”; 2. “to support the growth of high-quality kaupapa Māori education” and, 3. “to support greater Māori involvement and authority in education” (Berryman & Eley, 2017, pp. 94-95). Further reviews and audits saw the release and updates of cultural strategies under the blanket of Ka Hikitia: *Managing Success 2008-2012* and *Accelerating Success 2013-2017*, with each strategy focusing on key areas to support Māori in education. In addition, the release of *Tātaiako: cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners* (Ministry of Education, 2011), sought to provide educationalists of Māori learners, with prescribed competencies by which to navigate and apply Ka Hikitia to their own teaching practices. The competencies listed in Tātaiako include (but are not limited to) *Wānanga*, *Whanaungatanga*, *Manaakitanga*, *Tāngata Whenuatanga*, and *Ako*. Moreover, cultural competencies are paired to behavioural indicators that are linked directly to the Graduating Teacher Standards and the Educational Council’s Practising Teacher Criteria.

Coincidentally, during the consultation and drafting of Ka Hikitia, the MoE were further engaged in reviewing project and research funding that contributed to the development of Māori in education. One such project that received substantial funding from the MoE, was Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, Berryman & Wearmouth, 2014). Te Kotahitanga sought to provide a deeper understanding of the mechanics of culture and how cultural construction and co-construction might affect change within the hegemonic structure of education. More importantly, it illustrated how culture can contribute to, and transform the learning environment by focusing on enhancing teacher-student relationships, with culture as an active agent in educational settings.

2.6 Cultural Reform in Education: Changing the narrative

Highlighting educational disparities between Māori and non-Māori is consistently positioned within a model of deficit theorising, thus creating a space wherein negative perceptions and expectations occur in the learning environment for both teachers and students (Bishop, Berryman & Wearmouth, 2014; Bishop, Ladwig, Berryman, 2014; Hynds, Sleeter, Hindle, Savage, Penetito & Meyer, 2011; Milne, 2016). Focusing on superficial ideologies of Māori as being incapable of achieving educational success strangles the potential of Māori, thereby creating a perpetual cycle of socio-economic disadvantage by marginalising Māori in the learning environment. Changing the narrative to highlight culture as fundamentally critical to educational success requires teachers to adjust their teaching practices and therefore their relationship with Māori learners (Bishop et al, 2012).

Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth and Peter (2012) emphasise the need to “reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining Māori students’ low educational achievement levels” (p. 51). According to Bishop et al (2012), deficit theorising lies at the heart of negative educational outcomes for Māori students because it fails to recognise any other source of influence as contributing towards negative educational outcomes of Māori. Hence the authors’ emphasise (re)viewing and (re)constructing one’s teaching practices which might suppress learning; thus, Te Kotahitanga highlighted the potential of increasing Māori educational outcomes through the implementation of the Effective Teacher Profile (ETP). Bishop et al (2012) argue the ETP is a vital instrument in which to unpack teaching practices and review them from an “agentic discursive” (p. 51) position, thereby creating an opportunity to renegotiate the learning environment that acknowledges and engages culture as co-contributors to the learning process. Furthermore, the authors suggest that when ETP is effectively installed in the learning environment positive relationships are formed between teacher and student, and increases in Māori educational outcomes ensue. Hence, changing the narrative from ‘deficient’ to ‘potential’ influences positive outcomes in education “where power is shared between self-determining individuals ... where culture counts, learning is interactive, dialogic, and spirals, and participants are connected and committed to one another” (p. 50). A critical question arising from the success of the project is why might some teachers continue to operate in a space that rejects challenging their own teaching practices, their own prejudices, and embracing a collaborative relationship with Māori in education? In addition, how might ETP capture the

development of rangatahi Māori in their own identity? In what ways might educationalists support positive identity development of Māori as Māori in mainstream education?

Milne (2016) argues that “the development of a cohesive cultural identity is severely challenged in the school environment ... when your norms and values are not those of the dominant culture” (p. 1). As such the development of Māori and other ethnic cultures suffer at the hands of a ‘white’ system that proliferates negative outcomes for indigenous students. In her review of cultural pedagogy, Milne challenges the “whitestream” (p. 3) structures - the “white spaces in New Zealand” (p. 4) that are constant sources sustaining the assimilation ideology. The approach used by Milne to structurally redevelop the learning environment focused on the identity of the student, thus reorganising strategies and teaching to match the student. At Kia Aroha College, students and whānau are co-constructionists to the learning environment, thus becoming critical and active participants to education rather than subservient to forced conditions. Milne refers to this process as “Critical Pedagogy of Whānau” (p. 4); meaning that whānau contribute to and reinforce positive development of taurira in the learning environment. What is critical to note is that the concept of whānau extends beyond the immediate family to include the principal, teachers, other parents and other students, thus interacting and operating as a collective unit - as a whānau. Milne (2016) exemplifies cultural integration in mainstream education, essentially breaking the mold of ‘white’ structuralism in Aotearoa New Zealand. A critical question here is, how do students articulate their level of cultural identity and in what ways do Māori contribute to constructing the cultural reality which becomes the ‘new’ learning environment? What does it mean for Māori to be “secure in their own cultural identity, competent in all aspects of their own cultural world” (p. 6)? What does this look like and how does this reality shift during the course of education instruction? More importantly, for Māori who are located in culturally deprived educational settings, is their ability to develop and learn in their ‘own skin’ obstructed, thus impacting on positive educational outcomes?

2.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has focused on literature which supports the foundations of this research. It has examined the issues that complicate identity, how cultural identity might be formulated by Māori, the instruments used to measure Māori identity, and the ways in which cultural identity

has informed political discourse. It has further acknowledged the political space in which Māori challenge Government policies, thus shifting the political landscape, and narratives for Māori in education as well as recognising the importance of culture when it is activated in the learning environment. What remains unexamined in cultural research is the ways in which Māori use mātauranga Māori to determine cultural identity. How do rangatahi Māori assign relevance and importance to conceptual symbols of mātauranga Māori, thus emphasising the mana (authority/prestige) of identity? In the last 27 years, the percentage of the population identifying as Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand has increased markedly across most aged cohorts. Where identification rates are visibly lower than others are in aged cohorts 19 years or younger. Thus, what might be some possible explanations for the minimal growth in identification? More importantly, what might be some of the challenges rangatahi Māori encounter when formulating identity? If culture acts as a conduit to achieving positive educational outcomes, how might we better understand identity construction of rangatahi Māori, and thus create a space to develop strategies in order to nurture such development? In education, how might teachers support and assist positive identification of Māori as Māori? Furthermore, one must look at the methodologies that attempt to examine Māori within the context of their own epistemological paradigm rather than Western models. Continued use of traditional research models perpetuate “colonial values, thereby undervaluing and belittling Maori knowledge and learning practices” (Bishop, 1999, p. 1) thus confine Māori within a framework that is not culturally appropriate and maintains control over Māori simply by application. Researchers who seek to conduct research on Māori must do so within an epistemological structure that is culturally empowering for Māori, decolonises the process and approach to performing research (L.T. Smith, 2012), and installs a framework that is designed by Māori for Māori without being attached to Western traditions and notions of culture.

TE WAHANGA TUATORU: CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter Introduction

“What happens to research when the researched become the researchers? ... Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories that have dehumanized Maori and in practices that have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Maori of Maori knowledge, language and culture” (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 185). This statement not only highlights the power and control of knowledge from the ‘West’ but also positions indigenous knowledge as irrelevant, and therefore ignored as a valid epistemology. The systemic and systematic use of traditional methodologies in cultural research creates a space whereby researchers might be blinded to knowledge systems outside of its own mainframe. It is not my contention that traditional models create this system of control and power; rather, that the application and creation of knowledge through the instrumentation of traditional frameworks employed by a researcher may inadvertently create tensions in power. Hence, researchers become responsible for the ways in which knowledge is validated and circulated amongst socio-political and economic communities - domestically and globally. As such, researchers have a responsibility to critically evaluate, challenge, and transform existing frameworks which contribute to power distribution. Thus, according to Foucault (1980), “it’s not so much of knowing what external power imposes itself on science, as of what effects of power circulate among scientific statements, what constitutes, as it were, their internal regime of power, and how and why at certain moments that regime undergoes a global modification” (pp. 112-113).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, research on Māori has typically been met with skepticism and a weariness to participate in cultural research, particularly if Māori perceive such research as not being in their best interests nor attempt to serve Māori as a collective consciousness (Lee-Penehira, 2016; Mahuika, 2008; L.T. Smith, 2012). In her book ‘Decolonizing Methodologies’, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that traditional methodologies must be viewed from a position that seeks to decolonise research approaches in order to (re)organise frameworks

thereby promoting cultural inclusiveness rather than exclusion. Whilst “colonization can be viewed as stripping away mana” (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 175), the ways in which a researcher approaches one’s methodology can restore mana through cultural application. In addition, L.T. Smith (2015) argues Māori need not ‘fit’ within traditional models, and that critical questions need to be asked prior to engaging in research exploration that involve Māori. These questions include:

- (i) What research do we want to carry out?
- (ii) Who is that research for?
- (iii) What difference will it make?
- (iv) Who will carry out this research?
- (v) How do we want the research to be done?
- (vi) How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?
- (vii) Who will own the research?
- (viii) Who will benefit? (L.T. Smith, 2015, p. 48).

Hence, one’s approach to research requires a researcher to critically evaluate the framework to ensure that it aligns with cultural principles, and moreover, that these principles ground the research entirely, such that it is guided by Māori, with Māori, for Māori.

3.2 The framework: Integrating traditional within cultural architecture

The theory of social constructivism claims that individual realities are built on knowledge which are drawn from interacting with one’s external environment, thus creating a valid repository of cognitive representations in how one views themselves and the world in which one operates (Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Chapter Two of this thesis captured social constructivism when referencing identity as a construction of dynamic and complex negotiations with one’s environment that is best understood utilising Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model of development. According to Stetsenko and Arievitch (1997) social constructivism assumes “three ideas ... relevant for the issues of agentic self and human development” (p. 160). First, social constructivism is an active process. That is, development through the accumulation of knowledge requires an individual to actively participate in one’s environment, thereby contributing to one’s view of the world. The second assumption is that social constructivism

requires cooperation with other individuals, thus providing information which is contextualised and situated within particular events. One does not develop in isolation to others, rather relies on “mutuality, cooperation, communication and social embeddedness of the self” (p. 161). Finally, the third assumption presupposes that language is a “cultural mediator of individual development” (p. 161). Without language, transferring knowledge becomes impossible. What is critical to note in Stetsenko and Arievitch’s (1997) article is the implication of applying social constructivism as a theoretical model for empirical research. The authors highlight discourse and discursive practices as being problematic because they assume a common understanding of language use, meaning, and application between both researcher and research participants. Hence, conceptual realities risk being incorrectly coded by a researcher, through their own discursive practices, thus becoming “another form of reductionism” (p. 164). This is a major disadvantage of applying social constructivism as a theoretical model. A critical question here is how do I ensure I do not reduce the realities of Māori? How do I put my own discursive practices to the side, in order to capture the rich realities of taurira Māori? How do I ensure the representations of realities are not ‘lost in translation’? The answer, in part, involves integrating and binding traditional theory within a cultural framework.

3.3 Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory is the fundamental framework that supports the context of Kaupapa Māori as a platform and, as Smith (1997) suggests, transforms Kaupapa Māori in that “it is the ‘praxis’ dimension of ‘Kaupapa Māori’” (p. 67). According to Smith (1997), Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory are separate constructs that are inextricably entwined. As such, it is necessary to define each construct in order to clarify its position within the scope of this research project.

Kaupapa is defined by the Māori dictionary as “level surface, floor, stage, platform, layer” or “topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, propose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative”. Adding ‘Māori’ provides the ‘platform’ with a cultural location and by blending two architectures that is ‘Kaupapa Māori’, a cultural philosophy is created wherein epistemology is consequential (Bishop, Ladwig & Berryman, 2014). Henry and Pene (2001) define Kaupapa Māori as “the *Maori* way or agenda, a term used to describe traditional *Maori* ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in a *Maori* world view or

cosmology” (p. 235). Eketone (2008) suggests that Kaupapa Māori is “the philosophy and practice of being Māori” (p. 2) whilst Durie (2012) acknowledges Kaupapa Māori as an “*approach*” (p. 23) to challenging dominant structures that continue to oppress, marginalise and maintain socio-economic inequality for Māori. Each definition therefore positions Kaupapa Māori as ‘a way of doing’. Kerr (2012) suggests that Kaupapa Māori has historical origins in pre-colonised Aotearoa New Zealand, thus it is not a contemporary concept. However, what is ‘new’ and ‘modern’ is the application of Kaupapa Māori in a socio-political and economic context of the colonised world. This research situates Kaupapa Māori as an agenda as well as a platform. As an agenda, this thesis attempts to contribute to the politics of culture by deconstructing identity and examining key markers that might be useful to understanding the construction of cultural identity. As a platform, how will this research contribute to challenging the status quo? That is, how will this research contribute to the transformation of not only educational institutions and teaching practices contained therein but also educational policies at both local and State level? Hence, the kaupapa of this research is to inform and thereby highlight the foundations of culture which are seen to be critical in constructing identity. Examining identity from the ‘ground-up’ highlights the need to transform the learning environment to ensure identity development is not obstructed, and that cultural endorsement is normalised, thus contributing to the success of Māori, as Māori. Moreover, this research attempts to contribute to the praxis of policy by providing a pathway for reframing and reorganising the structural settings of the learning environment.

Kerr (2012) argues that Kaupapa Māori theory is a contemporary concept that is situated alongside “critical theory within a constructivist epistemology” (p. 7) that has led Māori to challenge and transform the socio-political terrain, particularly in the field of education (Smith, 2000). Complimenting this perspective, Smith (1997) positions Kaupapa Māori theory as “primarily an educational strategy, which has evolved out of Maori communities as a deliberate means to comprehend, resist and transform the crises related to the dual concerns of schooling underachievement of Maori students and the ongoing erosion of Maori language, knowledge and culture as a result of colonisation” (p. 27).

Resistance by Māori accepting non-Māori contexts in the socio-economic and political arena has led to the transformation and (re)formation of policies, not only in the education sector but also in industries where Māori are negatively over-represented in producing positive outcomes compared with non-Māori (Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004; Ritchie, 2016; Walker, Eketone

& Gibbs, 2006). For example, the implementation of Māori wards across local governments in Aotearoa was introduced by Parliament under the Local Government Act 2002, in order to provide Māori with the opportunity and the ability to engage meaningfully in “local authority decision-making processes” (pncc.govt.nz). Recent protest action by Māori and non-Māori in Papaioea (Palmerston North) led to Council making amendments under the Local Electoral (Māori Wards and Māori Constituencies) Amendment Act 2021, to remove poll requirements (pncc.govt.nz) thereby allowing Māori ward(s) to be implemented. At a national level, the establishment of the Māori Health Authority in Aotearoa is yet another example of political transformation and (re)formation of policies. In a very real sense then Kaupapa Māori theory is the application of Kaupapa Māori in challenging dominant discourse, political rhetoric and agenda, as well as hegemonic structures which maintain inequality and inequity for Māori.

Over the last few decades Māori have focused on “improving Māori people’s own social justice interests and concerns, while at the same time deconstructing hegemonic theorizing about the status and competence of Māori” (Berryman, Egan & Ford, 2017, p. 527). Furthermore, the use of cultural principles to reinforce *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty/self-determination) and *mana motuhake* (autonomy/self-determination) (Pihama, 2016) continues to promote Māori and the “revitalization of Māori cultural aspirations, understandings, preferences and practices as a philosophical and political, as well as educational stance” (Bishop, 2012, p. 39). Accordingly, Smith (2003) argues that Kaupapa Māori theory is fundamentally guided by several principles and as such are regarded as a “core set of ‘change’ factors” (Smith, 2003, p. 8). These principles are further captured by researchers who review Kaupapa Māori theory as being critical to Kaupapa Māori research (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004). The six principles are: *Tino Rangatiranga* - the principle of self-determination; *taonga tuku iho* - the principle of cultural aspiration; *ako Māori* - the principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy; *kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga* - the principle of socio-economic mediation; *whānau* - the principle of the extended family; and *kaupapa* - the principle of collective vision/philosophy.

Applied to research, each principle highlights the necessity for a Māori researcher to be connected to culture on a much deeper level, thereby drawing upon “fundamental Māori values, experiences and worldviews” (Pihama, 2001, p. 102 in Jones, 2012). Moreover, Kaupapa Māori theory enables traditional methodologies to be regarded from within a cultural structure, rather than from a position of Western positivism (Foucault, 1980).

3.4 The role of the Māori researcher

My position and role as a Māori researcher is complicated by being an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’ simultaneously, because the dynamics of being Māori and in a location outside of my tūrangawaewae (ancestral home) present confronting issues of what one ‘knows’ versus what one ‘doesn’t know’. An example of this is tikanga. What ‘I know’ as tikanga from within my own tribal area as mana whenua (authority/jurisdiction over land/territory), may be different to tikanga of other operating iwi and where my role holds a status of manuhiri (visitor/guest). In that space, it is crucial to be guided by kaumātua of my own iwi and that of the regional area that I enter. Consulting with kaumātua ensures “cultural ethics” (Smith, L.T, 2015, p. 51) are situated from a holistic perspective that engages the concept of whanaungatanga, in order to protect and serve Māori, as Māori, with Māori, for Māori. Therefore, the principles that underpin Kaupapa Māori theory cannot be understated in its importance in ensuring cultural appropriateness and behaviour as a Māori researcher. Fundamentally, these principles overlap the *Ethical Considerations* which are discussed later in this chapter.

3.4.1 Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-determination)

Tino Rangatiratanga relates to one’s assertion of control by way of being and doing within a cultural space that enables self-determination (Smith, 2003). Hence, my responsibility as a researcher is to ensure that Māori are provided with all information pertaining to the research, including why the research is being conducted and who will benefit from the research. It further enables self-determination in that Māori control the conditions for which knowledge is released through the interview process - individually or in a group; on a marae, at home, or on school grounds. Moreover, all information, interviews and questionnaires are provided in te reo Māori and in English. Because Māori are the regulators, they determine the conditions in which knowledge is released (if at all).

3.4.2 Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspiration)

Taonga Tuku Iho refers to the legitimacy of culture and identity of Māori, as Māori, that is validated through the use and observation of te reo Māori, tikanga, kawa, and mātauranga Māori (Smith, 2003). Hence, taonga (gifts/treasures) of te reo, tikanga, kawa, and mātauranga Māori not only provide a gateway to exploring and strengthening one’s identity as Māori but

also they are conduits in which to validate and authenticate one's membership as Māori, and what it means to be Māori. My role as a Māori researcher is to ensure that I do not interfere with nor influence the cultural realities experienced by tauira Māori. Moreover, this involves facilitating cultural practices where cultural knowledge might be fragile thereby further enabling cultural applications, such as karakia (prayer), in order to neutralise the environment prior to conducting interviews with Māori, thus embedding cultural concepts of tapu (sacredness) and noa (free from tapu). It further requires seeking input and guidance of not only my kaumātua, but also kaumātua and/or rangatira (of high rank) who represent the local iwi for the region as well as engaging with whānau, hapū, and iwi of tauira Māori.

3.4.3 Ako (Culturally Preferred Pedagogy)

Ako focuses on accessing cultural practices of Māori in the learning environment (Smith, 2003), thereby recognising the ways in which Māori discharge, thus transmit knowledge through cultural application. It further recognises co-construction and reciprocity in creating meaningful relationships that are “unique to Tikanga Māori” (Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002, p. 37). My role as a Māori researcher involves both acknowledging my position as the *learner* and tauira Māori as my *teachers* and establishing relationships through tikanga. More importantly, the environment in which learning occurs must remain unobstructed from western research practices that might interfere with and reduce the mana of Māori during the data collection phase. This includes not imposing time restrictions on interviews and allowing Māori to control when and how knowledge is released. There is a common phrase used at hui (gatherings/meetings), that everything runs on ‘Māori time’, meaning nothing is controlled. Everything happens when it is meant to happen; everything begins at the time it is meant to - where it is meant to - and that observances to tikanga remain central to all things Māori.

3.4.4 Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga (Socio-Economic Mediation)

This principle examines how cultural capital can contribute to the socio-economic development and landscape of Māori (Smith, 2003) in positive and meaningful ways. Hence, the role of a researcher is to ensure enquiries that involve Māori are performed in constant consultation with Māori. Consultation with kaumātua and whānau attempt to reduce the potential of negative effects that might otherwise add to socio-economic and political disadvantages already experienced by Māori. It includes constantly reviewing one's own beliefs, values, and systems of power and knowledge, thus cultural practices, to ensure that mana is maintained and upheld

throughout the project. More importantly, the information that is collected must not be distorted through the translation process of thematic analysis nor lost in richness when translated from Māori to English (if te reo Māori is used as a medium of communication).

3.4.5 Whānau (Extended Family)

Whānau is a central element of being Māori, thus capturing multiple layers of relationships and interaction with the external environment. It holds dominion over domestic and extended relationships through whanaunga (relative/relation) and whanaungatanga, thus connecting Māori through whakapapa. Utilising this principle, my role as a researcher is to develop and nurture relationships through the observance of whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships) with whānau, hapū, and iwi.

3.4.6 Kaupapa (Collective Philosophy)

Kaupapa refers to the collective vision and determination of Māori operating in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, thus refers to Māori and their power to “articulate and connect with Maori aspirations, politically, socially, economically, and culturally” (Smith, 2003, p. 10). Therefore, the role and responsibility of a Māori researcher is grounded by aspirations of advancing Māori in positive and meaningful ways. The objective of this research enquiry is to benefit Māori as a collective consciousness. A collective conscience by understanding Māori identity within our own network and context. Doing so will provide an opportunity to look deeper into the mechanics of cultural identity of tauira Māori and how this might interact with and enhance positive educational outcomes. Understanding complex issues of cultural identity and how mātauranga Māori might facilitate identity and cultural development will allow Māori to develop cultural strategies that further challenge the position of school policy and practices in mainstream education.

3.5 Participants: Ngā kura me ōna tāngata

How does identity interact with educational achievement of Māori and what does this look like before tauira commence secondary school? This research investigates the cultural identification of tauira Māori who are enrolled in Year 7 and 8 in a mainstream kura with an attached bilingual unit - it therefore constitutes a single case study. It further examines strategies used by the kaiako (teacher/s) of the kura, in order to foster positive cultural identity

of Māori, as Māori as well as examining cultural policy application. Accordingly the sample is purposive in that it is “chosen for a specific purpose” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p. 103). Because this project examines a sub-set of the population, generalisations from the research findings cannot be made to the wider population and remain contained within the parameters of this enquiry. The research sample has two distinct features; one is organisational while the other is biological. The organisational component is represented by the structural composition of the kura (school) and policies which guide operations. The biological element are contributions made by tauira Māori, kaiako as well as whānau members.

3.6 Data Collection

This research integrates both quantitative and qualitative measures in its design, thus adopting a mixed method approach with which to explore identity of Māori as Māori and the ways in which mātauranga Māori informs (or not) such construction. In Aotearoa New Zealand, research examining Māori identity in education tends to integrate qualitative measures (Fairclough, Hynds, Jacob, Green & Thompson, 2016; Taiaroa & Smith, 2017; Te Huia, 2017). Whilst there are clear benefits to using qualitative measures, this research attempts to examine the strengths and weaknesses of identity as it is perceived by tauira Māori who differ in age, are enrolled in different year levels, and include both genders. In addition, this research seeks to understand perceived realities. Accordingly, a mixed methods approach is considered more appropriate in order to observe relationships between variables whilst providing depth of meaning to inferred relationships. One major piece of research in Aotearoa New Zealand that employed mixed methodology is Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003). In part, this project attempts to extend the research conducted by Bishop et al (2003) in that it acts as a precursor to understanding cultural development in education, whereby cultural identity and fragility might contribute to negative educational outcomes for tauira Māori. Hence, the use of mixed methodology to examine identity construction of tauira Māori serves three key purposes: first, to determine the levels of identity as perceived by Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori; second, to understand how identity might be informed by mātauranga Māori; and, finally, how national policy might inform school policy thus reorganise the learning environment. Examining these key areas will assist in viewing identity and identity development from a cohesive perspective.

3.6.1 Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative methods are useful for small-scale projects, thereby allowing a researcher to access sources of rich information that otherwise would be omitted from larger samples using quantitative methods. More importantly, qualitative methodology is distinguished by its diversity in contemporary research (Punch & Oancea, 2014) in that it is guided by the operating framework and paradigm principles. For example, Kaupapa Māori theory as an operating framework, is guided by its own cultural principles; Kaupapa Māori as a framework not only provides the foundations to approaching one's methodology but it also wraps culture in and around research entirely.

According to Punch and Oancea (2014), qualitative research is “often described as pluralistic, including not only traditions such as positivist, post-positivist, critical theory and constructivist research, but also finer distinctions than these, and more detailed subdivisions” (p. 145). This highlights the flexibility of qualitative design in that it is able to integrate multiple traditions that overlap and complement one another – for example, critical theory-kaupapa Māori theory-social constructivism-ontology-ethnography-positivism. Conversely, quantitative research is situated in terms of conceptualising variables, relationships between variables, and controlling the variables in order to gain statistical insights.

3.6.2 Semi-structured interview

Within the parameters of this research, semi-structured interviews are used to record ontological and ethnographic experiences of tauira Māori (aged between 10 and 12 years), kaiako as well as whānau members who wish to be interviewed. Restrictions have not been placed on the sample size of the population. This is purposeful in order to capture and provide a voice to all who want to be heard. Semi-structured interviews allow a researcher to design a “set of questions and prompts for discussion” (Punch & Oancea, 2014, p. 184) that focus on the construct of interest. More importantly, semi-structured-ethnographic interviews facilitate story-telling that then allows an individual to explore one's own experiences, values, and socio-cultural norms and cultural symbolisms. Hence, designing open-ended questions provides an opportunity for tauira Māori to explore their own subjectivity of cultural identity, the use of mātauranga Māori in constructing (or not) identity as Māori, and what this means and looks like to them in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Applying thematic analysis to recorded

data, allows a researcher to then identify and highlight common themes from recorded dialogue as per the table below.

Table 1: Table of Themes

Interview	Main themes	Sub-themes
Q1.		
Q2.		
Q3.		
Q4.		

3.6.3 Quantitative Design

Quantitative design is useful in examining a construct of interest, particularly if the researcher intends to examine a construct alongside other variables. According to Grix (2004), quantitative research is “characterised by three basic phases: finding variables for concepts, operationalising them in the study, and measuring them” (p. 117). Quantitative research is also useful in capturing the “conceptual status” (Punch & Oancea, 2014, p. 268) of variables when compared within a study. Because this research focuses on the construction of cultural identity of tauira Māori as Māori and the ways in which mātauranga Māori informs cultural identity (if applicable), in order to understand cultural identity, the level of experience, and thus its perception, needs to be measured. The most appropriate instrument with which to collect meta-data is by way of a questionnaire. According to Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003), “Questionnaires can be designed and used to collect vast quantities of data from a variety of respondents ... they can be easily and quickly analysed once completed” (p. 8). In addition, questionnaires reduce the risk of experimenter bias because its administration need not be undertaken by and in the presence of the researcher (Punch & Oancea, 2014).

3.6.4 Questionnaire

A paper-based questionnaire is used to measure the strengths and weaknesses of identity as perceived by tauira Māori. The questionnaire has two major components. The first component collects basic meta-data from tauira - this comprises demographic information of age, gender, school year level, and class type. The second component collects perceived realities of cultural identity using a shortened version of the Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and

Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2). The MMM-ICE2 is a Likert-type, psychometric self-report designed to assess and evaluate identity and cultural engagement of Māori, allowing “comparisons amongst Māori and Māori-specific aspects of identity” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015, p. 280). Originally designed to measure six dimensions of Māori identity, the revised MMM-ICE2 (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015) incorporates and measures seven dimensions. However, for the purpose of this research, cultural identity will be explored using all but one dimension, i.e., Socio-Political Consciousness (SPC). This dimension was not selected for measurement because it examines the “extent to which the individual perceives historical factors as being of continued importance for understanding contemporary intergroup relations between Māori and other ethnic groups in New Zealand; and how actively engaged the individual is in promoting and defending Māori rights given the context of the Treaty ... ” (p. 281). Removing the seventh dimension will not have an impact on the research findings as this research attempts to examine the basic foundations of identity construction. Descriptive and inferential statistics will be used to analyse, illustrate and explain quantitative results. Given that qualitative and quantitative measurements each have strengths and weaknesses, by combining these approaches the researcher can then observe and arguably better understand identity construction of tauira Māori on a more meaningful level.

3.7 Limitations

There are several major limitations that potentially have an impact upon research reliability and validity, the most obvious of which is the small sample size. First, this research examines only the perceptions of tauira Māori enrolled in Year 7 and 8 at a kura with a bilingual unit and located in the lower North Island. As such, the findings are restricted to the population sample, including the age and the year level enrolled at the time of data collection. Accordingly, the findings from this research cannot be generalised to the wider population of tauira Māori across Aotearoa New Zealand because the conditions of Māori situated in different locations may produce different results. For example, according to 2018 Census data, the population of the Ākarana region is estimated at 1.6 million residents, of which 11.5 per cent of residents identified as Māori whilst 13.2 per cent identified as having Māori ancestry (NZ Statistics). Conversely, the population of Manawatū-Whanganui region is estimated at 238,797, with 22.9 per cent of residents identifying as Māori compared with 25.2 per cent

identifying as having Māori ancestry. Areas with a higher percentage of Māori population (e.g., Northland/Gisborne) may experience different realities of formulating cultural identity and the ways in which mātauranga Māori contributes to the formation of identity compared with Māori residing in areas with a lower percentage of Māori (e.g., Canterbury/Otago). In addition, this research is confined within the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand and does not examine cultural identity of tauira Māori who reside and are educated offshore. In 2011 approximately 128,430 residents of Australia identified as Māori by ancestry (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013). In 2017, this has increased to approximately 170,000 (Hassett, 2017).

Second, this research examines tauira who identify and develop as Māori. It fails to capture Māori who might identify as Māori yet reject operating in the space of te ao Māori. Whilst this is not included in the scope of this enquiry, it nevertheless presents an opportunity to explore issues of cultural rejection, isolation, and/or loss of cultural connection - for example, Māori who are adopted outside of the whānau, hapū, and iwi by non-Māori.

A third limitation of this project is the sample representation and where it is located within the education system. That is, identity construction is examined from tauira enrolled in a kura with a bilingual unit. Hence voices from tauira, kaiako, and whānau located in other mainstream and/or kaupapa Māori settings are absent from this project. Furthermore, it fails to capture data from Māori who might have been disengaged from education at the time of data collection or be located in areas where access to education institutions might be compounded by circumstance. For example, as at 1 July 2019, 28 tauira Māori were enrolled via Correspondence School in Year 7; in Year 8 this number increased to 64 (Statistics NZ). Hence, the sample size restricts generalisation, thereby affecting reliability.

This research is further complicated by issues of validity. This is challenged through the interview process whereby Māori set the conditions of where, how, and when the interview will occur. For example, individual interviews versus group interviews; school based or home interviews versus electronic (skype/zoom) interviews; and morning versus afternoon interview sessions. Due to the methodology used to ground this research, Māori control the conditions. As such, responses under different conditions, may distort and/or produce a lack of themes captured at the time of interviewing. For example, a group interview might limit the opportunity to access rich narratives of an individual that might be suppressed through group discussion. Likewise, an individual interviewee might become whakamā (shy, embarrassed,

ashamed) and therefore decide not to fully engage in the interview. The time and location of interviews also present issues of validity in that controlling variables becomes problematic.

Finally, it should be noted that the global pandemic of COVID-19 had a significant impact upon the ways that this research project was managed. I commenced my journey from Melbourne, Australia to Aotearoa New Zealand in early January 2021 to allow for the mandatory two-week isolation period in a managed isolation facility allocated by the New Zealand Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) by way of a ‘Managed Isolation Allocation Voucher’. Tikanga, under the conditions of the pandemic, was guided by Matua (bicultural kaiako).

Notwithstanding the restrictions to this research, it nevertheless provides scope to extend this project by exploring cultural identity of Māori across different contexts. Extending this research through a longitudinal study and/or extensive investigation across all schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, may provide a greater understanding of how Māori develop cultural identity and the ways in which mātauranga Māori is used to formulate identity. More importantly, how identity construction of Māori, as Māori is positively reinforced in the learning environment, and how this interfaces with cultural policy at both a local and national levels.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

According to Damaianakis and Woodford (2012), “Health and social scientists have a dual mission: to generate knowledge through rigorous research and to uphold ethical standards and principles” (p. 708). But what does this really mean? Who decides what is ethical and what is not? In Kaupapa Māori research, what ethical considerations must be upheld? According to Punch and Oancea (2014), ethics involves the “study of what are good, right or virtuous courses of action” (p. 58) and these questions must be considered carefully during the process of planning, conducting, and subsequently conclusion of the research project. Hence, ethical considerations allow a researcher to critically examine one’s position relative to the purpose and method used to perform research that, in turn, is guided by a research authority and/or association (Punch & Oancea, 2014). Given that this research is grounded within a Kaupapa Māori framework, most ethical considerations relating to Māori as a collective people are

contained within the section ‘Role of the Researcher’. However, to address additional ethical issues that might arise prior to, during, and after the scope of this project, the following is informed and shaped by the requirements outlined in Massey University’s Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants (MEHEC).

3.8.1 Autonomy and Informed Consent

“Autonomy is about making decisions on the basis of one’s own values and beliefs” (Massey University, 2017, p. 4). Therefore, in order to make an informed decision about whether (or not) to engage in research, an individual must be provided with and maintain full access to details surrounding the purpose and conditions of the research as well as individual rights within the scope of the enquiry. Full details include, but are not limited to, why the research is being conducted; who the research seeks to examine and why; how the research will be conducted; privacy details; details of the researcher; and the right to withdraw from the research study. Accordingly, information is provided to, and consent is required from, the school principal, kaiako, whānau as well as taura Māori prior to embarking upon the process of data collection. Moreover, because this research examines Māori typically aged between 10 and 12 years, parental and/or legal guardian, consent is mandatory. However, it is acknowledged that whilst parental/legal guardian consent may be granted, such consent mirrors and is further provided by taura Māori, thus asserting their own autonomy and self-determination to participate.

3.8.2 Avoidance of harm

This ethical principle is associated not only with reducing the risk of physical harm to individuals engaged in research but also includes cultural, psychological, social, reputational, and organisational harm that might occur at any time during and after the research enquiry. Such harm might be immediate and/or have long-lasting effects (Punch & Oancea, 2014). Moreover, harm extends beyond the individual to include the local and economic community as well as whānau, hapū, and iwi. To overcome this risk, consultation with Māori and Māori kaumātua must be ongoing and guide the researcher through cultural fragilities. In addition, interviews pose risks to both Māori and kaiako in that the data collected might be interpreted incorrectly and/or lead to individual and/or school identification. Accordingly, all data will be subjected to verification in order to ensure accuracy. Participants will also be assured that their anonymity will be protected.

3.8.3 Privacy & Anonymity

Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand are associated through a broad network of whānau, hapū, and iwi and therefore have diverse connections through the principles of whānau, whanaunga, whanaungatanga, and whakawhanaungatanga. Hence confidentiality, and the application of procedures to ensure that participants' identities are protected, will constantly be reviewed by the researcher. Anonymity will be safeguarded by the use of generalising the area of location for a kura rather than acknowledging a specific location and/or region. Moreover, the identity of Māori, kaiako, and whānau will be protected through the use of pseudonyms. The data that is collected and stored on a computer will be password protected. Hardcopies of transcripts, audio-files, and other such materials which are unable to be stored digitally are maintained by the researcher, thus restricting access.

3.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the implications of approaching research from a Western-derived perspective. It argues the need to decolonise not only one's thought processes in approaching research methodology but also to recognise the importance of Kaupapa Māori as a theoretical model, as a philosophy, and therefore as an approach to understanding all things Māori. Adopting Kaupapa Māori methodology allows the project to be cocooned in culture, thereby grounding and nurturing this research entirely. It provides a nexus of contrasting measurements through the application of qualitative and quantitative methodology with a cultural lens in order to bind research from a holistic position that benefits the recipients of this research - Māori.

This chapter has considered the role of the researcher from within a cultural paradigm, the sample size, how the data will be collected, how ethical considerations will be attended to, along with potential limitations of this research. The following chapter, Chapter Four, will outline and illustrate the research findings.

TE WAHANGA TUAWHA: CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Chapter Introduction

At the kura, a pōwhiri (welcome) was conducted, followed by hākari (feast). Tikanga was observed at all times, and further guided by Matua - this included the adjustment of tikanga to accommodate social distancing rules - for example, replacement of hongi with elbow-to-elbow greeting. At the conclusion of data collection a poroaki (farewell) was held.

This chapter will present the findings of the project in light of the research questions outlined earlier in Chapter One:

1. In what ways do Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori construct and conceptualise their identity as Māori?
2. What aspects of mātauranga Māori are required to affirm cultural identification as perceived by Year 7 and 8 tauira Māori?
3. What knowledge is critical to enabling cultural membership and what does this comprise? What types of exposure to mātauranga Māori are required, and what is the required frequency to such knowledge, in order to foster positive cultural development?
4. Are there age and gender differences in determining cultural identity?
5. What are the tensions experienced by Year 7 and 8 Māori, who may have limited mātauranga Māori, and what does this mean in asserting cultural identification?
6. How do schools foster positive cultural identification? Is this written into their policies? If not, why not? If so, how are strategies applied practically?
7. Are school policies developed in consultation with national cultural policy as well as with Māori?

Chapter Three described the methodology employed to examine identity construction of tauira Māori, enrolled in Year 7 and 8. Accordingly, a mixed methods approach, informed and grounded within a kaupapa Māori framework, was chosen. The Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2) (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015) captures the dimensions of Māori identity as perceived at a given point in time whilst interviews provide

the narrative and storytelling, thus providing context and meaning for the participants' perceptions.

4.2 The Dimensions of Identity: A quantitative lens

One hundred printed consent forms were presented to the kura by the researcher. The kura in turn distributed the consent forms to tauira who identified (through enrolment) as Māori. Further printed copies of the consent forms were deemed as unnecessary by the kura. The kura confirmed all 100 consent forms had been distributed to tauira Māori. Of the 100 consent forms distributed, 12 consent forms were returned to the researcher, with all consent forms indicating agreement to participate in the project (one consent form covered two tauira from the same household). At the time of administering the questionnaire not all tauira were available at the same time, nor was the same room available. Consequently, the questionnaires were distributed in batches, at different times, across different locations within the kura. Prior to administering the questionnaire, the following instructions were provided by the researcher to all participants:

1. This questionnaire should take you about 10 minutes to complete. However, there is no time limit so please take your time.
2. This is not a test.
3. Read each question carefully.
4. For each question asked, please select the best answer that represents how you see yourself as Māori. There is no right or wrong answer.
5. If you do not understand a question, please raise your hand and I will clarify the question so that it makes sense to you.
6. At the end of the questionnaire, there is a section that asks if you want to be interviewed as part of this mahi (work). If you do not want to be interviewed, please do not complete this section.
7. Once you have completed the questionnaire, please hand it back to me and you can then return to your classroom.

The questionnaire was completed individually by each student with minimal, if any, assistance from the researcher, except for one student. That student required the researcher to read the questions out loud, because that student advised the researcher that he could not read. The demographic data of tauira - age, gender, year level, and class type are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Population Sample by Age, Gender, Year Level, and Class Type

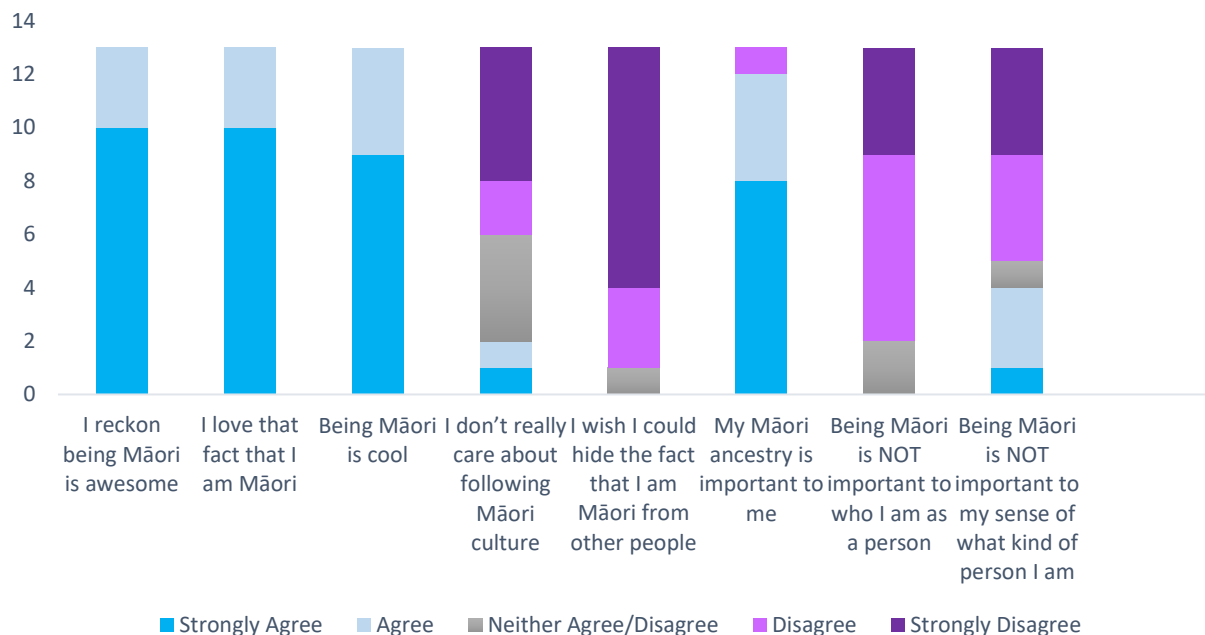
		Frequency
Age	10	1
	11	3
	12	9
	Total	13
Gender	Wāhine (Females)	9
	Tāne (Males)	4
	Total	13
Year Level	7	2
	8	11
	Total	13
Class Type	Bilingual	10
	Non-bilingual	3
	Total	13

As shown in Table 2, one tauira is aged 10, three are aged 11, and nine tauira are aged 12. Nine wāhine Māori (Māori females) make up the bulk of the sample whilst four are tāne Māori (Māori males); only two tauira are enrolled in Year 7, whilst 11 are enrolled in Year 8, and 10 tauira Māori are enrolled in the bilingual unit, whereas three are located in non-bilingual classes.

4.3 The First Dimension: Group Membership Evaluation (GME)

According to Houkamau and Sibley (2015), the Group Membership Evaluation (GME) dimension examines “the extent to which the individual positively evaluates their membership in the social category Māori and views their membership as Māori as a personally important or central aspect of their self-concept” (p. 281). This is also examined from a negative perspective. Figure 1.0 illustrates responses to questions within the GME dimension.

Figure 1.0: Responses to Questionnaire - GME Dimension



From the above illustration, what is clear are the agreement rates for questions 1, 2, 3, and 6 whilst questions 5 and 7 indicate strong disagreement. Question 4 produced mixed responses, with 7 of 13 tauira disagreeing with the statement, 4 are neutral, and 2 agreeing with the statement. Similarly, Question 8 also produced mixed results - 8 tauira disagree with the statement, whilst 4 agree and 1 tauira remained neutral.

In order to determine if the observed responses are statistically significant in relation to expected outcomes, chi-square is calculated against gender, year level, age, and class type. Gender accepts the null hypothesis for research questions 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 in that observed and expected frequencies according to gender are due to chance and are not statistically significant. However, it rejects the null hypothesis for question 3 at the 0.05 level ($5.306 > 0.05$), meaning fewer than 5 per cent of responses are not due solely to chance. Year Level accepts the null hypothesis for all questions except question 5. Question 5 rejects the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level ($6.172 > 0.05$). Age also produced similar results to Year Level, in that it accepted the null hypothesis for most questions. However, it rejected the null hypothesis at 0.05 and 0.01 levels for question 5 (14.444), thereby providing the highest level of confidence that differences between the observed and expected frequencies are not due to

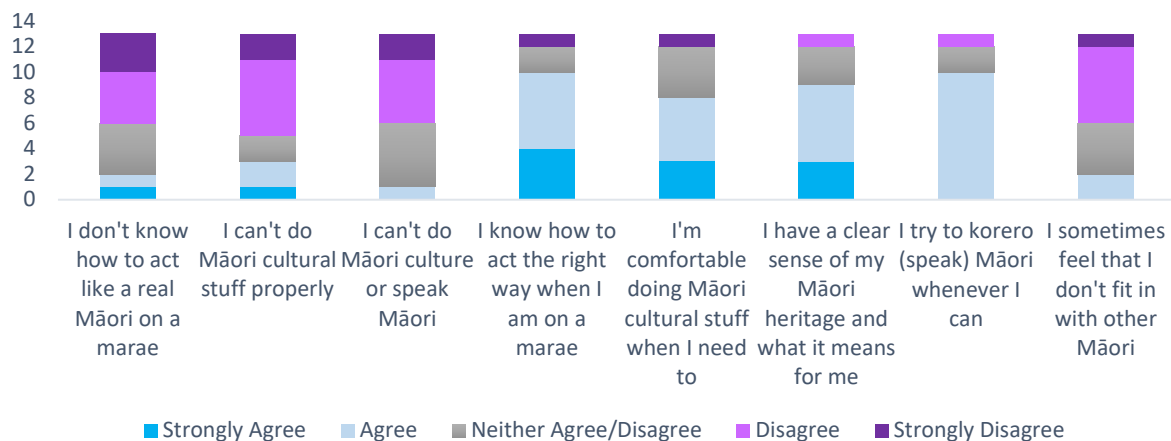
chance. When calculated against class type, all questions accept the null hypothesis in that responses are all due to chance.

In order to determine the strength of a relationship between variables, the correlation coefficient is calculated using Spearman Rho's. The correlation coefficient is measured against age, year level, class type, gender, and the responses within each dimension. Calculations between variables, suggests that no correlation exists between age, year level, class type, and the questions contained within the GME dimension. However, a relationship between gender and questions 3 and 4 is statistically significant at the 0.05 and 0.01 level respectively ($r = .639$; $r = -.745$). Given the existence of this relationship, an independent t-test is used to determine gender differences in responses and whether differences in means, are statistically significant. On question 3, the mean for wāhine is 1.11 compared with 1.75 for tāne; the null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.05 level ($.019 < 0.05$), thus suggesting gender differences are present with respect to question 3. Similarly for question 4, the mean for wāhine is 4.33 compared with 2.25 for tāne. The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.01 level ($.003 < 0.01$), thus also indicating gender differences are statistically significant.

4.4 The Second Dimension: Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement (CEAIE)

This dimension of the MMM-ICE examines the “extent to which the individual perceives that they have the personal resources required (i.e., the personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other Māori in Māori social and cultural contexts” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015 p. 281). This is also examined from a negative perspective - that is, a lack of resources. Figure 2.0 illustrates the responses of tauira Māori.

Figure 2.0: Responses to Questionnaire - CEAIE Dimension



At a glance, over one-half of taura Māori disagree with questions 1, 2, 3, and 8 whilst most taura agree with statements contained in questions 4, 5, 6 and 7. However, what is also worth noting is the neutral responses (neither agree nor disagree) for questions 1, 3, 5, and 8.

Chi-square calculations across variables accept the null hypothesis for year level and class type, in that the responses are due to chance. When calculated against age, the following questions accepted the null hypothesis: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8. Question 1 rejects the null hypothesis at 0.10 level (13.481); this is the same for question 4 at 0.10 and 0.05 levels (13.000). Gender chi-square calculations accept the null hypothesis for questions 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and reject the null hypothesis for question 2 at the 0.10 and 0.05 levels (10.653).

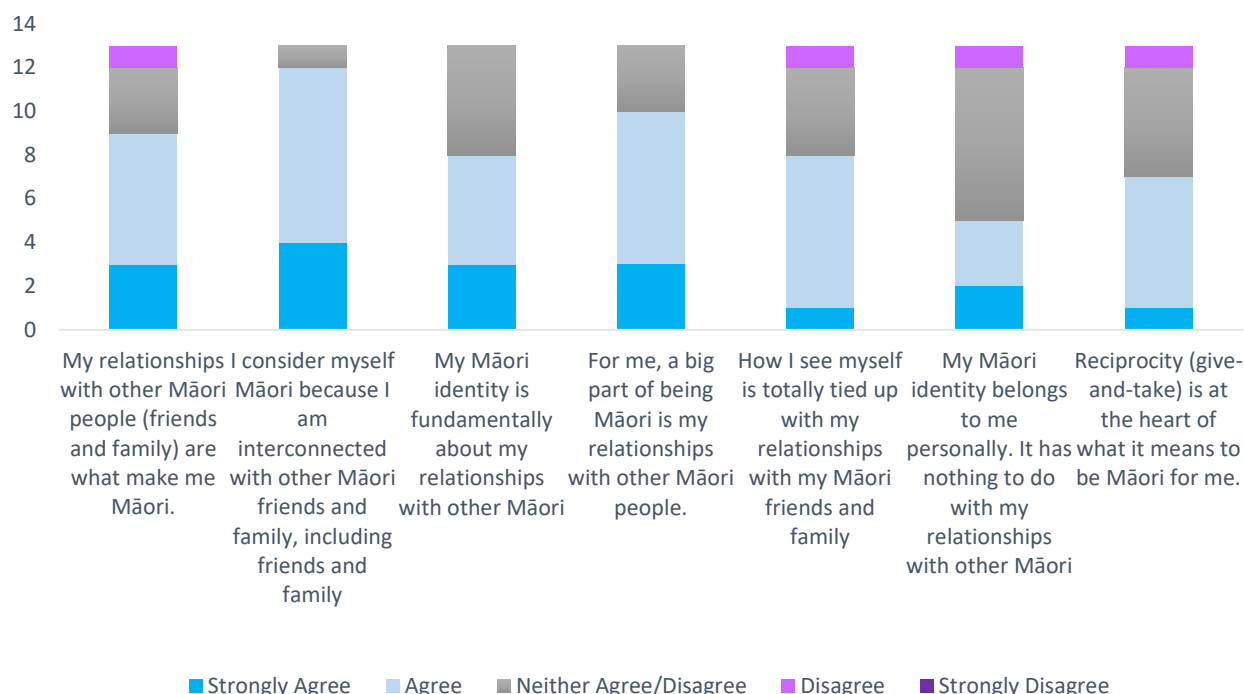
The correlation coefficient calculations between variables suggests that there is no statistically significant relationship between age, year level, class type, and the questions contained within the CEAIE dimension. However, much like the GME dimension (Figure 1), gender and question 5 is statistically significant at the 0.05 level ($r = .561$). On independent t-test calculations, the mean for wāhine is 1.8889 compared with 3.2500 for tāne. The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.05 level ($.034 < 0.05$) and therefore differences exist between the genders.

4.5 The Third Dimension: Interdependent Self-Concept (ISC)

Interdependent Self-Concept examines the “extent to which the concept of self-as-Māori is defined by virtue of relationships with other Māori people” (Houkamau & Sibley, p. 281) or

whether the self is developed and attributed to individuality rather than as a by-product of group interactions. Figure 3.0 illustrates the responses from within this dimension.

Figure 3.0: Responses to Questionnaire - ISC Dimension



Most responses within this dimension indicate neutrality or agreement with the statements. Responses where there is high agreement from tauira are located in questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7. However, for question 6, seven tauira selected a neutral response.

Chi-square calculation for age accepts the null hypothesis for all questions in that responses are due to chance and are not influenced by age. On year level, chi-square calculations accept the null hypothesis for questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 and reject the null hypothesis for question 1 at the 0.10 and 0.05 levels (7.879). This is similar for class type in that all questions, except question 4, accept the null hypothesis. Question 4 rejects the null hypothesis at the 0.10 level (4.416). For gender, chi-square calculations accept the null hypothesis for questions 1, 3, and 5. It rejects the null hypothesis for question 2 at the 0.10 level (4.198) and for questions 4 and 6 the null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.10 and 0.05 levels (6.741; 8.976); respectively question 7 also rejects the null hypothesis at the 0.10 level (7.367).

Correlation calculations suggest that the relationship between age and question 6 is statistically significant at the 0.05 level ($r = -.564$) as well as year level and for question 1 at

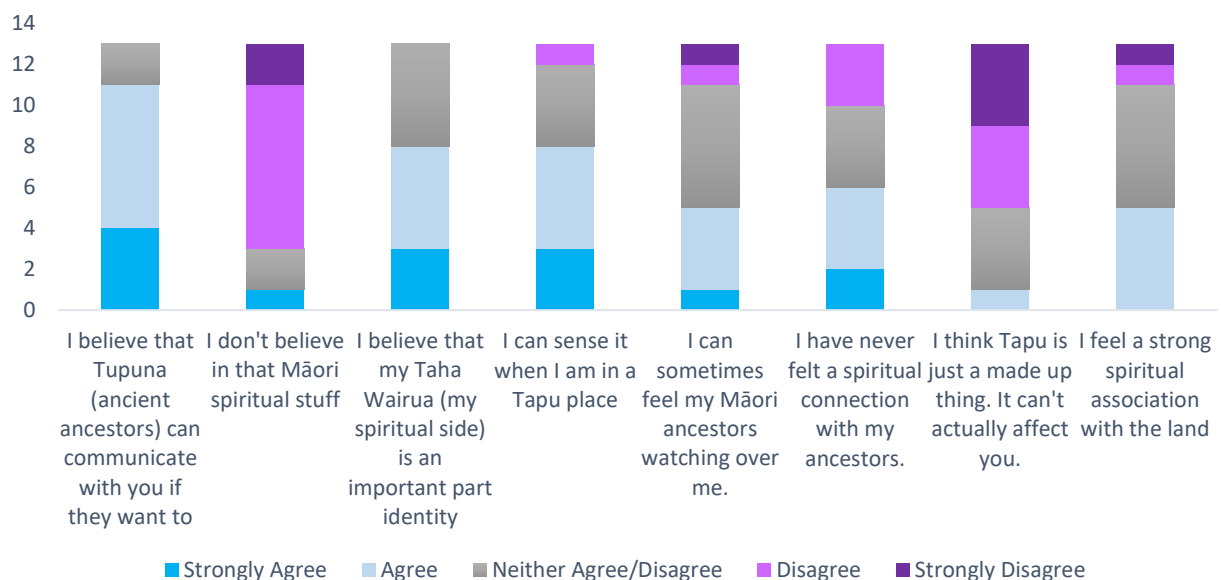
the 0.05 level ($r = -.607$). Class type and gender did not produce outcomes that suggest a correlation between the variables.

For the independent t-test age 10 was omitted because it is a single case within the cohort; test calculations were established against tauira aged 11 and 12 years because these were the dominant age groupings. The mean for age 11 years is 3.3333 compared with 2.2222 for 12 years of age. The null hypothesis is accepted whereby statistical significance is greater at the 0.05 level ($0.61 > 0.05$) with the differences between ages not significant. For year level and question 1, the mean for year 7 is 3.5000 compared with Year 8 at 1.9091. The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.05 level ($0.013 < 0.05$), hence year level differences are statistically significant.

4.6 The Fourth Dimension: Spirituality (S)

This dimension covers one's belief systems regarding the spiritual realm, thus connection with one's ancestors and land in conjunction with Māori traditions (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). Figure 4.0 illustrates the responses from tauira when measuring the dimension of Interdependent Spirituality (S).

Figure 4.0: Responses to Questionnaire - S Dimension



This dimension has produced mixed results. However, what is obvious are the response rates in questions 1 and 2. That is, 11 tauira agree with the statement in question 1; similarly, 10

taura disagree with the statement made in question 2, and 10 of 13 taura agree that spirituality is an important part of their identity as well as being able to sense when they are in a tapu place. This mirrors the responses in question 7 in that eight taura disagree that tapu is a fictitious concept and therefore cannot affect you.

Chi-square calculations for age accept the null hypothesis for all questions, except question 1. Question 1 rejects the null hypothesis on all levels (14.444) in that less than 1 per cent of responses are not due to chance, thus it is statistically significant with respect to age. Year level accepts the null hypothesis for all questions except question 2 at the 0.10 level (6.278); similarly, class type accepts the null hypothesis for all questions except question 1 that rejects the null hypothesis at the 0.10 level (4.550); gender accepts the null hypothesis for questions 1, 2, 3, and 8. The null hypothesis is rejected for questions 4 at the 0.10 level (6.350), question 5 at the 0.10 level (9.088), question 6 at 0.10 and 0.05 levels (8.306), and question 7 at 0.10 and 0.05 levels (9.479).

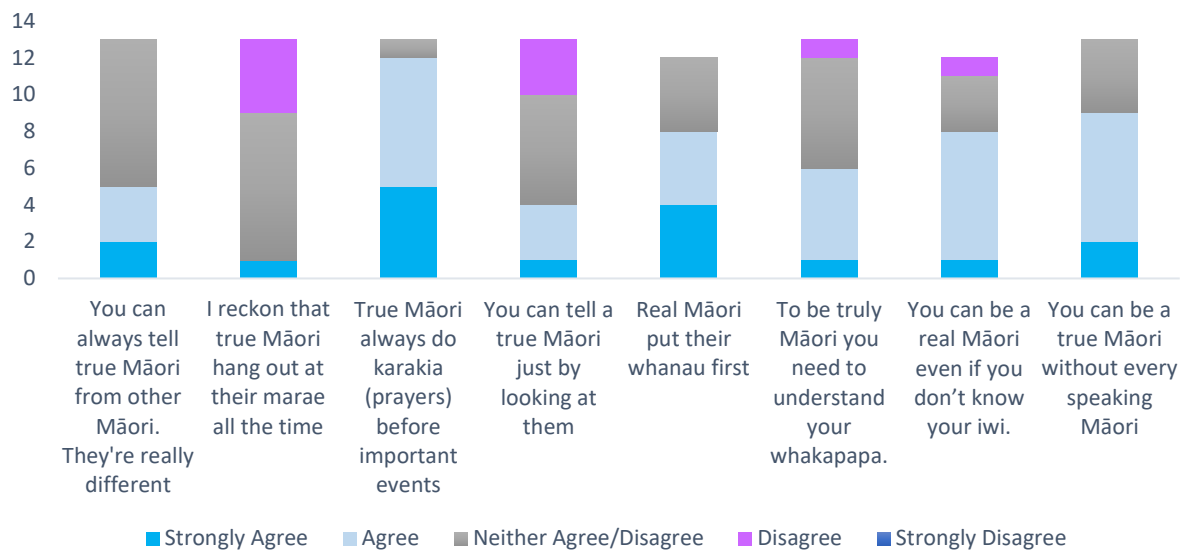
Correlation coefficient calculations for this dimension suggest that gender is correlated with questions 6 and 7 because they are statistically significant at the 0.01 level ($r = -.739$; $r = -.767$) respectively. However, relationships between variables for age, class type, and year level are not statistically significant.

The mean for wāhine in response to question 6 is 3.1111 compared with 1.5000 for tāne, whilst the mean for wāhine in question 7 is 4.3333 compared with 2.7500 for tāne. The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.01 level for both questions (0.004; 0.002) in that gender differences are statistically significant.

4.7 The Fifth Dimension: Authenticity Beliefs (AB)

Authenticity Beliefs (AB) examine “the extent to which the individual believes that to be a ‘real’ and ‘authentic’ member ... one must display specific (stereotypical) features” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015, p. 281). In other words, one needs to possess and be able to demonstrate a certain depth of knowledge which is based on stereotypical models versus individual perception regarding one’s own development within culture. Figure 5.0 illustrates the responses from taura when measuring the AB dimension.

Figure 5.0: Responses to Questionnaire - AB Dimension



Notably, questions 1 and 2 have a high response rate that is neutral. This is in stark contrast to question 3 whereby 12 of the 13 taura agree with the statement. Whilst neutral responses are sporadic across this dimension, over one-half of taura agree with statements to questions 5, 7, and 8 respectively.

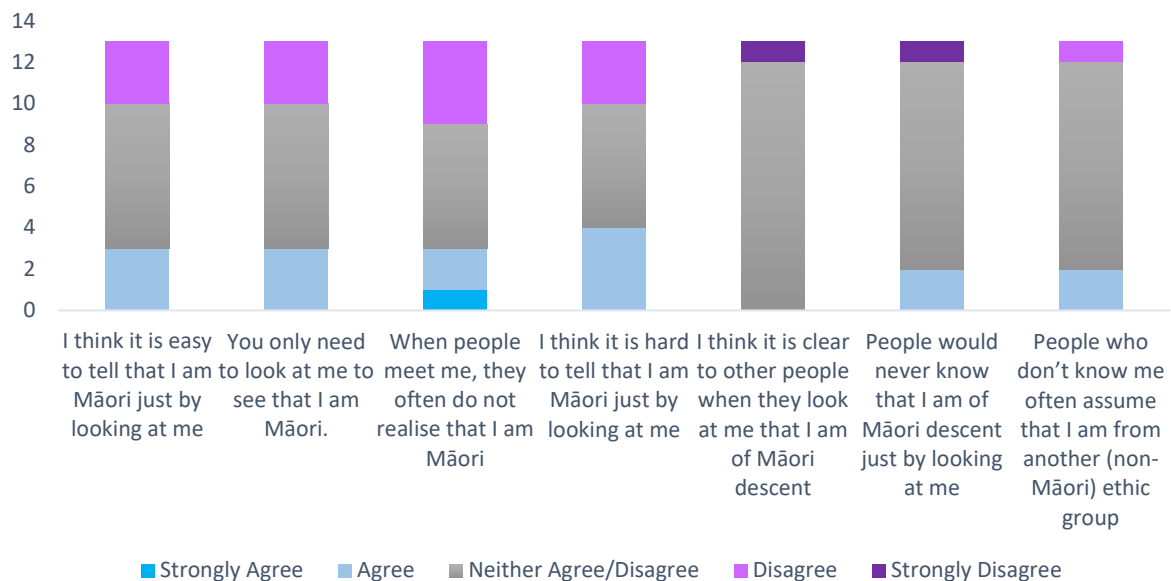
Chi-square calculations within this dimension against age and class type accept the null hypothesis for all questions in that responses are due to chance; gender calculations accept the null hypothesis for all questions except question 7 which rejects the null hypothesis at the 0.10 level (7.523). Similarly, year level produces the same results to gender in that it accepts the null hypothesis for all questions except question 5 which rejects it at the 0.10 level (4.800).

Correlation coefficient calculations do not support statistical significance between age, class, type, year level, and questions. This mostly applies to gender. However, statistical significance at the 0.05 level is captured at question 4 (-0.640), suggesting a relationship between these two variables. The mean for wāhine and question 4 is 3.2222 compared with 2.0000 for tāne. The null hypothesis is rejected at the 0.05 level ($0.015 < 0.05$), hence gender differences and question 4 are statistically significant.

4.8 The Six Dimension: Perceived Appearance (PA)

The Perceived Appearance (PA) dimension examines the “extent to which the individual subjectively evaluates their appearance as having clear and visible features that signal their ethnicity and ancestry as Māori” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2012, p. 281). Figure 6.0 illustrates the responses from taurira against the PA dimension.

Figure 6.0: Responses to Questionnaire - PA Dimension



This dimension has the highest rate of neutral responses compared with any other dimension.

Chi-square calculations against age rejects the null hypothesis for question 6 at the 0.10 level (8.089) and accepts the null hypothesis for all other questions; both class type and gender accept the null hypothesis for all questions in that the responses are due to chance. Year level rejects the null hypothesis for question 7 at the 0.10 and 0.05 levels (6.086) and accepts the null hypothesis for all other questions.

Again, the correlation coefficient is calculated to determine the strength of a relationship between variables and whether the relationship is statistically significant. Calculations suggest that no statistically significant relationship exist between the questions, age, gender, year level, or class type. Given this outcome, no further statistical tests are performed.

4.9 Their voices, their stories: A qualitative perspective

4.9.1 Tauira Māori

Of the 13 tauira who completed the questionnaire, 11 agreed to be interviewed - eight wāhine and three tāne. Tauira were invited to choose from locations and times that they preferred to be interviewed - that is, at home, at school, in the morning or afternoon, to be interviewed on their own or as part of a group, in te reo Māori or English. Table 3 illustrates the conditions under which tauira Māori were interviewed.

Table 3: Interview conditions of tauira

Gender	Name	Location	AM/PM	Setting	Interview Medium	Class Type
Wāhine	Aroha	Kura	PM	Group	English	Bilingual
Wāhine	Hine	Kura	PM	Group	English	Non-bilingual
Wāhine	Ranui	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Wāhine	Manaia	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Wāhine	Kaia	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Wāhine	Kahu	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Wāhine	Anahera	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Wāhine	Kiri	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Tāne	Rehutai	Kura	AM	Individual	English	Bilingual
Tāne	Tui	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual
Tāne	Tama	Kura	AM	Group	English	Bilingual

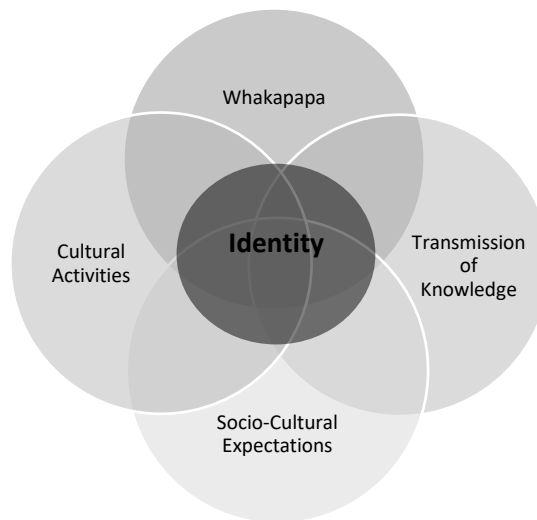
From the table above all tauira chose to be interviewed in English as the medium of communication and selected the kura as the preferred location where the interviews were to take place. The groups ranged from two to four in size. It is critical to note that the ‘individual’ interviewee listed above requested to be interviewed as part of a group. Due to circumstances beyond the researcher’s control, the individual could not be assigned to a group, and consequently was interviewed on their own with a support person (a fellow classmate) in attendance. Tauira are also represented by the class for which they are situated - that is, bilingual unit or non-bilingual.

Tauira were welcomed informally into the interview room. Tikanga was observed with karakia tīmatanga (begin/start), and karakia whakamutunga (conclude/end). Tauira were invited to perform karakia, if they felt comfortable to do so, otherwise this was performed by the researcher. Introductions were facilitated by way of pepeha (tribal information) by the researcher and tauira were invited to do the same, if they felt comfortable doing so. Prior to commencing the interview, tauira were advised that the interview would be in complete confidence and were further reassured that anything said in the interview would remain confidential between the interviewee and researcher. However, the researcher also advised that if an extract from the interview was presented within the thesis, then the use of pseudonyms would provide protection of identity to outside sources. Tauira were further informed that a transcript of the interview would be typed and given back to them to read (accompanied with the audio file) so as to confirm their words, thereafter releasing the transcript into the researcher's care and custody for analysis.

4.9.2 Construction of Identity – It is all about connection

The overarching theme to all emerging themes is *Connection* - exposure to mātauranga Māori and therefore connection to one's identity as Māori and one's capacity to be and feel Māori. From this overarching theme several major themes emerged that contribute to and influence the identity construction of tauira. These major themes interact and overlap, thus contributing to how one perceives oneself as being and feeling Māori. The four major themes are: (1) Connection to whakapapa; (2) Engagement in cultural activities; (3) Transmission of knowledge; and (4) Socio-cultural expectations. The themes provide a platform in which to formulate, strengthen, and develop one's identity as Māori. Diagram 1.0 (below) provides an illustration of intersecting and interacting themes that not only enable tauira Māori to identify as Māori but also fosters development and strengthening of one's identity as Māori.

Diagram 1.0: Identity Construction of Tauira Māori



4.9.3 Whakapapa – It is all about whānau

All tauira identified connection to their whakapapa as being critically important for them. This is central to claiming identity as Māori, regardless of how much or how little cultural knowledge one might possess. This is captured by Kaia who states that: “Māori are Māori. If you have Māori in you, you’re Māori”. When asked, “How do you know you’re Māori?” the participants’ responded as follows:

Kiri: “My pepeha and my whakapapa”.

Anahera: “My ancestors”.

Tui: “Just my cousins”.

Tama: “Cos my whole family is Māori and my ancestors as well”.

Hence, according to tauira, the ability to connect to one’s whakapapa is enabled by immediate and extended whānau. Connection with whakapapa evoked strong positive feelings of being and feeling Māori, and brought forward conceptual ideologies of mana, pride, and respect. This is not only evident from the responses to questions measuring the GME dimension but also further articulated in interviews, for example:

Kiri: “It’s a passion and a pride”.

Tama: “Makes me feel cool”.

Tui: “If the bros don’t know how to speak, so I can speak and show off”.

Acknowledging and connecting with one’s whakapapa (that which is endorsed by whānau, hapū, iwi, and extended cultural contacts) provide tauira with the foundation in which to develop, strengthen, and further evolve their identity as Māori. Intimately connected and interacting with whakapapa are cultural activities. Cultural activities provide tauira with an opportunity to engage in the multiple facets of mātauranga Māori, simply through exposure. Hence, cultural activities move tauira from a static disposition of whakapapa to more complex and dynamic socio-cultural experiences, thereby developing one’s identity as Māori.

4.9.4 Engagement in Cultural Activities

Exposure to, and engagement with, cultural actions allow tauira to be and feel Māori. All tauira Māori described at least one activity that allowed them to connect with their identity as Māori. For example, when asked “What makes you feel Māori?” the responses included:

Manaia: “Doing like kapa haka and being in our bilingual class learning it and with Mum and Dad and performing on stage and all that”.

Hine: “Going to the marae sometimes to see all your whānau”.

Ranui: “Being in room 1 ... doing all the Māori and stuff”.

Tama: “Learning Māori ... speaking to other people, like saying kia ora/how are you and nice to meet you cos my um family is like all Māoris so like yeah, just wanted to get into that”.

Kaia: “Waka ama”.

What is interesting to note is that a single structure within mātauranga Māori (for example, kapa haka) for most tauira, is not held in higher status when compared with another. Rather, they are predominantly viewed as equally important. For example, when asked about whether one aspect of Māori culture is more important than other or if they are equal, tauira replied:

Hine: “yeah - all important”

Ranui: “um equal”

Manaia: “yeah equal”

Tui: “actually I don’t know ... probably grow up then I will”

Tama: “yeah” (agreeance to all being equal)

Yet it is physical activities in culture which are at the forefront of their responses, rather than intangible items of culture, such as that of tikanga or kawa. Hence, dominant responses from tauira are located in and around physical activities such as that of kapa haka, learning-speaking te reo Māori as well as engaging in activities that are conducive to accessing and acquiring tribal knowledge specific to the area in which they are located. Other activities mentioned by tauira also include waka ama, weaving, and general cultural knowledge - for example, Matariki (Māori New Year).

4.9.5 Transmission of Knowledge

The third major theme of identity construction for tauira Māori is the ability to acquire and transmit mātauranga Māori. Tauira articulated their desire to not only learn about their culture but also to be able to transmit and continue the flow of cultural knowledge within and between whānau, friends, and the wider community. For example:

Aroha: “It’s about learning ... like Māori or just you know history and all that”.

Tama: “If someone that doesn’t understand Māori ... I can like teach them” (reference to non-Māori).

Rehutai: “Sometimes my mum can say something in Māori but I don’t get it and then she ends up saying what it means and then yeah and then sometimes when Matua says something in class, I end up saying it to my Mum and she doesn’t know”.

Other students noted that the transmission of knowledge invariably involves storytelling and connecting back to one’s cultural heritage, for example:

Manaia: “I didn’t know all about all this, like I only knew the basics like ‘kia ora’ and like those, but I’d forget most of the time and then Mum taught me how to make poi ... I’ve learned like tikanga around poi”.

Tama: “They tell like stories about my ancestors ... about my koro and that ... about my whānau”.

Tui: “My old koro told me stories ... always remember where I’m from ... sometimes I forgot where I was from so I need to go back and ask my koro”.

Exposure to and the transmission of knowledge via language, cultural traditions, and history enables identity development of taurira Māori, as Māori. More importantly, the transmission of knowledge is relational, contextual, and bi-directional in flow in that it provides the opportunity for taurira to become not only active participants of culture but also observers:

“... Mum and Dad try and talk a bit of Māori but if one of them get it wrong the other person corrects them ... and koko’s starting to speak more Māori as well” (Manaia).

“my parents don’t speak Māori, my sister’s learning Māori, and my brother doesn’t know anything” (Aroha).

Inadvertently, the transmission of knowledge leads to perceived cultural expectations and how taurira might view themselves across multiple contexts.

4.9.6 Socio-cultural expectations

This dominant theme focuses on perceived expectations experienced by taurira as operating members of culture within the learning environment. Such expectations are viewed from two platforms - self-expectations as developing Māori and the expectations placed on them by others. Hence, there are several overlapping themes contained within this major theme with associated expectations - for example, knowing cultural knowledge, understanding cultural knowledge, performing cultural knowledge, and transmitting cultural knowledge.

Some, but not all, taurira identified the pressures and therefore the expectations placed on them as operating whānau members of the bilingual unit - for example, one’s ability to know and to understand te reo Māori.

Tama: “They want us to learn ... keep the reo going”.

Manaia: “Yeah cos Matua just gives it to us ... it was all in Māori ... I didn’t know what it said”.

Kaia: “He gives us work that we don’t even learn and he thinks we know it”.

Kiri: “He gives us work that like he’s never taught us before, thinking that we should just know it off by heart, when he’s actually never taught us”.

This dialogue highlights the expectations placed on tauira to know, understand, and develop their te reo Māori outside of the kura whilst tauira expect this to come wholly from their kaiako. Notably, tauira who are proficient in te reo Māori, experience higher levels of expectations placed on them by both kaiako and other tauira:

Kaia: “I was always the one who has to like mark it or like help everyone I could never finish my work”.

Kiri: “That’s why we have you as translators”.

Anahera: “You can’t always just count on us to do your translating”.

This illustrates the tensions experienced by proficient te reo speakers versus tauira who are still learning te reo Māori. Whilst tauira articulate this as an inconvenience that disrupts their own learning, they also acknowledge that their contributions, and the actions of their kaiako, assist other class members:

Kaia: “People who don’t know so you can help - yeah that’s what I think”.

Anahera: “Yeah he’s put people from like some of the weakest and then the strongest like together”.

Self-expectations

Across all major themes, tauira Māori hold expectations that all cultural knowledge must come from older operating members of whānau as well as their kaiako. This is clearly evident in their reference to whānau throughout their narratives as well as articulating Matua as being central to developing as Māori in the learning environment. For example, when asked why it is important for Matua and/or the kura to support them as tauira Māori, the responses included:

Ranui: “So I don’t just sit there and struggle”.

Kiri: “We treat each other all like family and family support each other”.

The above responses highlight the kura as extended whānau and, as such, holds a responsibility to nurture the development of their tamariki. Moreover, that each member within the whānau unit is treated equally as captured by Tui: “just treat us - there’s no such thing as a special kid or anything - just treat us all the same”.

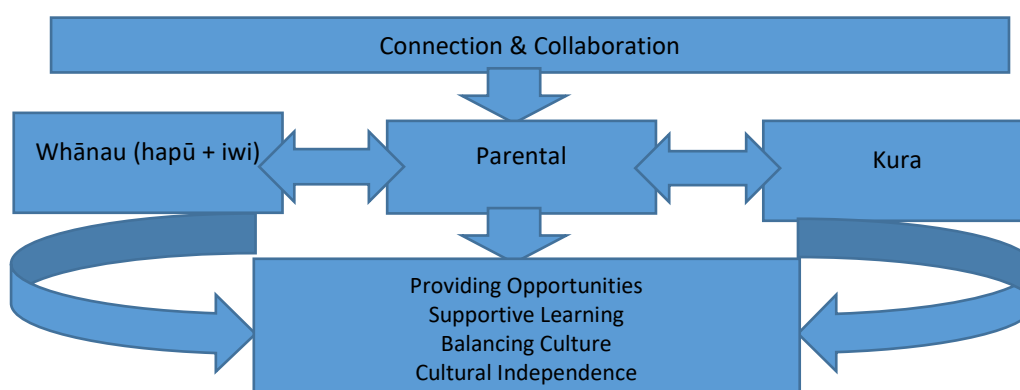
Perhaps the last point underpinning this theme is the abundance of knowledge and socio-cultural expectations placed on tauira and how tauira view themselves as Māori. That is, all tauira Māori believed that one need not possess significant cultural knowledge to be Māori. Consequently, this flows back to whakapapa - that genetic disposition is viewed as central to being Māori. Kaia believed that “you don’t even have to have knowledge to know Māori, you just need to know you can, you are Māori even if you don’t know Māori, but you know Māori, you’re Māori, you’re still Māori” while Rehutai commented that “so if you don’t know it then and you’re Māori, it doesn’t mean you’re not Māori”. Moreover, because Māori operate differently depending on their surroundings, this does not determine whether one is more Māori than another, just that they think differently. As Tui noted, “It depends what they like did like live through if they like raised – like raised by a marae they normally do different things ... like if they knew just Māori - they didn’t know nothing - they just knew just Māori”.

4.9.7 Voices of Whānau

Whānau of tauira Māori were invited to participate in interviews after their tamariki had completed the questionnaire/interviews. Only one whānau member (*Huia*) engaged in an interview with the researcher. Questions during the interview focused on whānau perceptions about how they encourage and assist the development of their tamariki who identify as Māori. The overarching theme emerging from the interview is *Connection* and *Collaboration*. *Connecting* to cultural resources and working in *Collaboration* with other whānau members as well as the kura, in supporting and strengthening identity development of tauira Māori.

Within this major theme other related themes emerged: Providing Opportunities, Supportive Learning, Balance, and Cultural Independence. These themes are located in and interact within and across three defining platforms: Whānau - Parental - Kura. Diagram 1.1 illustrates the interconnecting themes that are considered to support identity and the cultural development of tauira Māori, as Māori.

Diagram 1.1: Supporting Identity-Cultural Development of Tamariki



4.9.8 Providing Opportunities

For Huia, providing every opportunity to develop her tamariki in te ao Māori, thus contributing to their identity development, is critical: “It’s about giving them every opportunity to learn what they want to learn. I’ve never stopped them from doing anything”. According to Huia, this is mostly associated with kapa haka which one of her tamariki have engaged in since the age of five years. Providing opportunities is also an expectation held by Huia, in that the kura also provide opportunities to develop the cultural knowledge of her tamariki, beyond te reo Māori, to include exposure to other avenues of cultural knowledge - for example, tikanga: “For me a lot of it too is around the tikanga of it all. It’s not just the language, it’s the, the values that come with identifying - it’s whānau and acceptance”. Providing opportunities is further complemented with supporting identity development - for example, supporting and continuing the use of te reo in the kāinga (home) and/or waiata (song) use.

4.9.9 Supportive Learning

This is a dominant theme in the narrative of the interview. It speaks of supporting te reo inside the home, being able to access cultural resources and connecting with whānau members (including the kura) who assist in supporting, mentoring, and developing tamariki in te ao Māori, thereby assisting in the development and strengthening of cultural identity as Māori. This is captured in Huia’s statement when asked her thoughts on mātauranga Māori and what that means to her with regards to developing her tamariki as Māori:

“My house, in my house nobody sings in English in my house ... I know some words ... it gets a bit hairy when they speak to me in te reo cos I understand the very very basics but we’ve asked that, for the iwi to give me lessons, so that I can continue their love of the language For me, I’d like the girls to be fluent, and I – I did toss up whether to put them into the kura kaupapa but I decided that they still need to operate in the outside world, and the outside world is not completely fluent they need to stay within the bilingual, so that they’re getting both, but I would like them to be able to fluent. And for me, Matua’s putting them at the beginning of that journey”.

Supportive learning is seen to be a collaborative exchange of cultural knowledge between whānau, iwi, and kura. This connection, through collaboration, not only assists and supports Huia directly but also indirectly supports her tamariki in their development as Māori. Hence, partnerships between cultural members does much more than support identity development - it provides a flow of cultural knowledge between members who have a vested interest and responsibility in the cultural development of Māori. However, as noted by Huia, cultural development walks a fine line, one that requires a delicate balancing act between spaces that are Māori and non-Māori.

4.9.10 Balancing Culture

For Huia, it is critical for her tamariki to develop equally in both Māori and non-Māori spaces so as not to “become racist towards white people” (*Huia*). According to Huia, her tamariki need to identify as belonging to, and being both Māori and non-Māori:

“She needs to identify with both because she is both I’m yeah worried that it might go too far. But I haven’t actively stopped her I’ve just said, well how about we just taiho for a bit. And you know, she’s only 12”

Huia further acknowledges that her children also need to be able to “function in the outside world” which is multicultural. Hence developing cross-culturally and understanding the need to balance culture increases the likelihood of asserting greater cultural independence.

4.9.11 Cultural Independence

Cultural independence as a theme focuses on accumulating cultural knowledge that allows one to participate across different cultural contexts, thus becoming socially mobile. As noted by Huia, developing as Māori is not viewed as a barrier to who and what one can become:

“I’m hoping that my girls will find something in life that they want to aspire to, and hopefully it can be within that cultural world - if not, they can still - there are lots of adult kapa haka groups, they can still paddle - they can - yeah - they can still identify with - if that’s what they want to do - who’s not saying they’ll get to 16 and throw all their toys out of the cot”

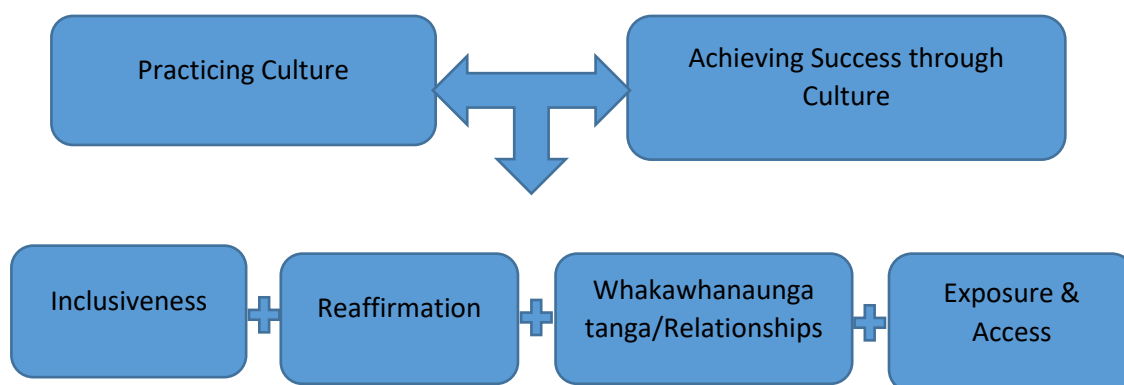
Moreover, strengthening one’s identity by developing as Māori actively promotes cohesion through cultural collaboration. In Huia’s case, this means that her tamariki are able to develop cross-culturally in order to challenge systems that might impact negatively on their development - for example, challenging the education system: “I’m hoping that the generation - that are now coming through Matua’s class ... I’m hoping that these kids will be the one that break the boundaries”.

4.9.12 Ngā kaiako o te kura - The teachers of the school

Thirteen kaiako (including the principal) of the kura were invited to participate in the research by way of interview questions situated in, and distributed through, Survey Monkey. Using Survey Monkey in lieu of face-to-face interviews promoted both flexibility and anonymity thus encouraging greater participation from the kaiako within the kura. Demographic data was not collected from kaiako¹. The questions focused on their practices and perceptions within the learning environment which may (or may not) promote positive identity development of taurira Māori, as Māori, and how such practices are aligned (or not) with the cultural policy of the kura as well as national policy (Ka Hikitia). Six responses were received by the researcher. The two major overarching themes from kaiako are *Practicing Culture* and *Achieving Success through Culture*. The sub-themes from kaiako responses are illustrated in Diagram 1.2 below.

¹ Demographic data of kaiako was deemed unnecessary, given the nature of the interview questions that sought to examine teaching strategies and policy awareness.

Diagram 1.2: Supporting Identity-Cultural Development and Success of Māori, as Māori



4.9.13 Inclusiveness

This theme focuses on normalising culture through inclusion. Over one-half of kaiako acknowledge the importance and use of Māori culture as part of everyday school routine, whether this be through the use of basic te reo, waiata, and/or tikanga in their class stating:

Kaiako 1: “The use of waiata, karakia, direction, and teaching of te reo Māori and tikanga in the classroom. Whakawhanaungatanga at the beginning of the year. Development of pepeha, whakatauki and mihimihi”.

Kaiako 2: “Affirming Te Reo language and Māori perspectives; especially in teaching Te Reo to all students in my class and showcasing the personal identities of all students through projects”.

Inclusiveness further embraces and acknowledges mātauranga Māori specific to the region in which the kura is located as well as obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Actions that promote cultural inclusion are viewed as strategies that also strengthen identity development of taura Māori, as Māori, within the learning environment.

4.9.14 Reaffirmation

Linking taura Māori to cultural knowledge through inclusion stabilises cultural norms, thus reaffirming culture outside of the home environment. All kaiako believe that they have a role to play in strengthening the identity of taura Māori. Much like the theme of inclusiveness, this is further augmented in assisting in the development of one’s pepeha, encouraging participation

in cultural activities, the use of te reo Māori and, perhaps more importantly, establishing relationships between kaiako/kura and whānau/hapū/iwi:

Kaiako 2: “The use and understanding of tikanga, Te reo, tuakana teina relationships ... Whānau and Iwi involvement in what they feel is important....listening to students and their whānau, understanding and being approachable”.

Kaiako 4: “Through access to te reo, kapa haka, knowing who they are, where they come from and allowing them to learn as Māori”.

Kaiako 5: “It is part of our role to educate about past wrong doings and re-write incorrect societal ideas about Maori”.

4.9.15 Whakawhanaungatanga

Establishing relationships with tauira, whānau, hapū, iwi, and being guided by kaumātua, are viewed as central to developing success of Māori, as Māori, in the learning environment. Two kaiako acknowledged the importance of engaging with whānau throughout the learning process:

Kaiako 5: “Relationship based teaching - forming relationships - student to student - teacher to student - student to teacher - teacher to whanau - whanau to teacher - school to iwi. Hauora - Balancing the aspects to ensure the student is supported to grow in all areas”.

Kaiako 6: “It is critical that strategic planning and development of programmes and curriculum have input from Maori community, leadership and Iwi”.

4.9.16 Exposure and Access

This theme not only recognises exposure and access to mātauranga Māori as being normalised in the learning environment but also places an emphasis on kaiako having access to cultural resources as well as being aware of cultural policies in existence, at both the kura and national levels. Five of the six kaiako are aware of and understand the national cultural policy - Ka Hikitia - whilst four out of the six kaiako are aware of the cultural policy specific to the kura. However, it should be noted that kaiako who are unfamiliar with Ka Hikitia or the cultural policy of the kura nonetheless demonstrated the importance of culture in the learning environment, therefore further highlighting the importance of implementing culture as part of everyday teaching strategies.

4.10 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of both quantitative and qualitative measures collected from tauira Māori, whānau, and kaiako. The findings illustrate the ways in which tauira Māori formulate their identity and the cultural markers that contribute to strengthening development as Māori. In addition, it has revealed differences in perceived cultural realities. Perspectives of whānau and kaiako have added depth to this enquiry. The following chapter, Chapter Five, will now discuss the findings of this research.

TE WAHANGA TUARIMA: CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1 Chapter Introduction

According to Houkamau and Sibley (2015) the Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity (MMM-ICE2) is designed to “assess the subjective experiences, efficacy and evaluation of different facets of identity for Māori” (p. 279). Combining quantitative data (responses from MMM-ICE2) with qualitative data (interview questions) allows the researcher to examine the identity of tauira Māori on a much deeper level, and in a much more meaningful way. It does this by:

1. Comparing questionnaire responses to narratives of tauira Māori;
2. Authenticating cultural markers as experienced, and determined by tauira Māori, and
3. Providing a holistic view to the identity construction of Māori, as experienced by tauira Māori.

Hence, overlaying the MMM-ICE2 with narratives from tauira Māori provides meaning to the observed strengths and weaknesses in formulating identity construction and identity development as perceived by tauira Māori. Their voices are captured from within a contemporary socio-cultural fabric that is specific to Aotearoa New Zealand and therefore are completely relevant to the time and space in which development occurs. This chapter will now discuss the research findings presented in Chapter Four.

5.2 Identity at a micro-level

As suggested in Chapter Two of this thesis, Bronfenbrenner’s model is useful in understanding identity construction because it allows identity to be viewed from a position of influencing and interconnecting social environments. Hence identity, as it presents itself within this research, is subjected to, and informed by, multiple sources located in similar yet also contrasting spaces.

Notwithstanding contextual and situational factors with regard to identity construction and development, the common thread weaving itself through the different systems is whakapapa.

Penetito (2010) asks whether traditional rituals of “pepeha, whakatauki and whakapapa” (p. 42) are barriers to understanding who one is, and what one can become – whether such traditions maintain relevance to the time and space in which one develops. More to the point, Penetito (2010) argues that Māori “have never stopped being Māori” (p. 43). What appears to change is the criteria which legitimises membership as Māori and the reality that such ‘benchmarks’ are constantly shifting. If this is true, then how tauira view themselves as Māori may well indeed change as they move forward through their educational years. Unfortunately, this is a critical limitation of this research in that it captures identity at a particular point in time, not as it evolves over time in a learning environment. However, what is represented in this thesis are the ways in which tauira Māori understand and formulate their identity and the features of mātauranga Māori they grab onto which assist their identity development as Māori. Moreover, understanding the ‘ground zero’ formula of identity construction provides educational institutions with the opportunity to (re)view, adapt, and evolve the learning environment through their own teaching practices and policy in order to support positive identity development of Māori, as Māori. In addition, including and validating Māori knowledge, norms, and belief systems allow Māori to operate as Māori, thus contributing to positive educational outcomes (Bishop, Berryman & Wearmouth, 2014; Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth & Peter, 2012; Milne, 2016).

As noted in Chapter Four, whakapapa is one of four major themes captured from the narratives of tauira. However, it is argued that this theme is the single most influential and defining feature of cultural identity. Without whakapapa, one is unable to claim and assert cultural membership; more importantly, one is unable to connect with culture, knowledge, and skills (Durie, 2006). Critically, whakapapa weaves itself through all five interacting ecological systems: in the home, at school, in the wider community, in policy, and through the course of time. Whilst whakapapa is expressly articulated by tauira Māori as being the ‘source of truth’ which binds them to their identity, it is further complemented and endorsed by responses contained within the Group Membership Evaluation (GME) Dimension. For example, responses to questions in the GME Dimension illustrated 12 tauira Māori agree their Māori ancestry is important to them compared with one tauira who did not. In addition, 11 tauira Māori disagree with the statement: ‘Being Māori is NOT important to who I am as a person’, suggesting that cultural association

is central to who they are as developing individuals. From a simplistic view to an outsider looking in, whakapapa provides the genetic relationship of an individual to their whānau, hapū, and iwi. However, adopting a deeper complex perspective, whakapapa permits access to mātauranga Māori, regardless of whether this knowledge is accessed and/or accumulated by an individual, thus guiding development of Māori as Māori.

Whilst the majority of taura Māori highlight the importance of ancestry to their identity, what is critical to note is the one individual (Tui) who disagreed that ancestry is not important. What is also interesting is that the individual strongly disagreed with the aforementioned statement and that being Māori is important to who he is as a person. Notwithstanding the conflicting responses of this individual, it is argued that ancestry is viewed as unnecessary for developmental purposes. That is, identity is self-determined and does not require one to be familiar with, nor determined by, tūpuna (ancestors). From this position, whakapapa simply provides classification as belonging to a cultural group. It is the *individual* who controls their development as Māori and is not drawn from the culminated history of whānau, hapū, and iwi. This argument is supported by his interview comments whereby he acknowledges the living members of his whānau as providing identity - they remind him to “always remember where I’m from” (Tui). Yet when asked what makes him ‘feel’ Māori, Tui states: “just being who I am – I don’t really care what people think of me”. This student affirms Penetito’s (2010) point regarding whether tradition influences “who and what one can become” (p. 42). It also raises the question as to why the majority of taura Māori acknowledge ancestry as being fundamental and central to their identity, whilst another might acknowledge ancestry as simply existing. A critical question here is why the difference? In part, these questions are answered by examining the connection of an individual to their cultural network and, by default, to culture at a much broader level.

5.3 Developing identity through whānau connections

Whilst ancestry lays the foundation for claiming identity as Māori, it also contributes to the formation of identity construction by enabling multiple connections with other whānau members (Durie, 1997). Durie (1997) suggests that identity is an amalgamation of self-identification and involvement in culture, of which whānau are critical. It is important to note, in the context of this research, that ‘whānau’ is not exclusive to immediate family members. It

is also used to describe and therefore includes multiple connections with other Māori, regardless as to whether such connections are with blood relations. For example, as Kiri explains, the bilingual unit is “like family and family supporting each other”. Kiri highlights the ways in which the term *whānau* is used to capture relationships outside of the family network yet operate as a family unit. Hence *whānau* can, and is, used to include all members within a cultural network who have a direct (and influencing) relationship with tauira Māori. In a very real sense, *whānau* is a binding agent as well as a metaphor to represent fundamental relationships of tauira Māori.

For most tauira, *whānau* are a central component of formulating their identity. This acknowledgement is taken from their narratives in which all tauira Māori attribute their identity and identity development to one or more *whānau* members. It is further supported by examining the responses to questions contained in the MMM-ICE2, in particular, the Interdependent Self-Concept (ISC) Dimension. For example, 12 out of 13 tauira Māori believe they are Māori because they are interconnected with other family and friends who are also Māori. In addition, 10 tauira Māori believe that a significant aspect of being Māori are the relationships they have with other Māori whilst three tauira are unsure; eight tauira Māori believe their identity is fundamentally attributed to their relationships with other Māori compared with five tauira who are unsure. Hence relationships with other cultural members, as well as direct family members, give rise to being and feeling Māori. More importantly, connecting with culture through relationships both validates and provides ‘security’ in belonging to culture (Milne, 2016).

However, whilst the majority of tauira Māori view relationships as being central to their identity, it is also worth noting the difference in responses to question 1 of the ISC Dimension. That is, tauira Māori located in Year 7 compared with Year 8 respond differently when asked “My relationships with other Māori people (friends and family) are what make me Māori”. A critical question here is why the difference, particularly when variances between gender, class-type, and age are not recorded? It could be argued that the sample size of Year 7 is significantly disproportionate to Year 8 (Year 7 = 2; Year 8 = 11) thereby resulting in statistical differences. However, if this argument was to be adopted one would expect to see differences for this cohort across other Dimensions of the MMM-ICE2. This is not the case, therefore an alternate explanation must be explored. Has question 1 been interpreted differently by Year 7 tauira compared with Year 8? If this possibility is to be entertained, it could be argued that Year 7 view the question from a position of concrete thought processing of what physically ‘makes’

or ‘creates’ them as Māori, rather than viewing the question from an abstract perspective (Piaget, 1964). It is also entirely possible the difference captured between Year 7 and Year 8 is the result of selecting a response in error. Both explanations are reasonable assumptions to describe the statistical differences between year levels, particularly when responses to other relationship-based questions produce no variance at all.

Aside from this ‘blip on the radar’, what cannot be understated is the importance of cultural relationships to tauira - that is, how they perceive themselves as Māori, and the ways in which whānau support, develop, and reinforce their identity as Māori. Given this critical aspect of identity development, several questions are presented for discussion. First, for tauira Māori who might experience deficiencies in their own ancestral knowledge, how do they develop their identity as Māori? Second, are there conditions whereby identity might become fragile and, if so, what do these conditions look like? One final question for considerations is in what ways do tauira Māori develop and strengthen their identity, by way of accessing mātauranga Māori? What branches of mātauranga Māori are being accessed? More importantly, are tauira Māori accessing the same branches of knowledge, or are they different? It will be argued the answer to such questions lie within the whānau network, in that whānau provide:

1. The opportunity to access mātauranga Māori;
2. The opportunity to be exposed to mātauranga Māori, and
3. Guidance and support in developing as Māori.

5.4 Access, branches of, and exposure to mātauranga Māori

As outlined in Chapter Two of this thesis, mātauranga Māori refers to Māori knowledge that is transmitted through generations, thus is (re)produced through whakapapa, korero paki, waiata, and kōrero. Mātauranga Māori is a term commonly used to describe the collection of cultural knowledge - that which is used to develop as Māori and therefore critical (Broughton & McBreen, 2014). As noted by Hikuroa (2017) it also is “a method for generating knowledge, and all of the knowledge generated according to that method” (p. 5). It is important to note in the context of this research, mātauranga Māori is viewed from the position of foundational knowledge that is disseminated for the purpose of enculturation - it does not include knowledge that is typically reserved for tohunga (specialist). For tauira Māori located in this region of

Aotearoa New Zealand, the branches of mātauranga Māori that are accessed (beyond whakapapa) illustrate the ways in which identity is affirmed and, in part, conforms to cultural expectations of whānau, hapū, and iwi. Moreover access, exposure, and frequency to specified areas of mātauranga Māori highlight the fundamental pathways taken by tauira to validate and develop their identity. However, before moving into this discussion, it is important to introduce the concept of whāngai. This concept is introduced as a precursor to whakawhanaunga (nurturing relationships) in order to capture tauira who lack knowledge of their whakapapa, yet strongly identify and develop as Māori.

5.5 Being able to access mātauranga Māori

As a verb, *whāngai* means to feed, nourish, bring up, foster, adopt, raise, nurture, rear; as a noun, *whāngai* refers to being an adopted or fostered child (Māori dictionary). The latter meaning is typically used to symbolise tamariki who are raised by another whānau member - one who is usually a blood relative. Traditionally, kaumātua (grandparents) were charged with the responsibility of raising the eldest child. This tradition is still practiced today. However, it extends beyond kaumātua to other blood relatives, that is, aunty, uncle, brother, sister, cousin. In the context of this research, whāngai is used to capture the nurturing of tauira Māori who are developing their ancestral and cultural knowledge. That is, other cultural members also become responsible for the cultural development of Māori - thus, rangatahi Māori are nurtured by other whānau, hapū, and iwi of that rohe (region) and absorb mātauranga Māori specific to that location. This is critical because it provides access to mātauranga Māori and, as noted by Kiri,

“cos when it comes to my ancestors, I normally get the information from Matua and he helps me and then I take it back home. Or my Mum goes to this person that helps us with our um pepeha and everything”.

For all intents and purposes, other cultural members become a bridge to strengthening identity by facilitating access to cultural knowledge, thus guiding the development of tauira in culture. For Huia the concept of whāngai guides the development of the whānau as a unit, because

“it helps too that my best friend - her youngest child who’s three, who the girls are incredibly close to, he’s goes to kohanga, so he’s bilingual as well -

so between like all of us - tried to teach, is teaching me the very basics and she will quite often just blast it out and then I have to kinda catch up, but if I don't understand she will break it down for me ... when we go to (friend) house, she'll quite frequently talk to them in te reo – um, they don't always answer her back but they know what she's saying”

Accordingly, relationships with other iwi members removes a barrier (Te Huia, 2015) which might otherwise obstruct identity formation. The question now becomes, what features of mātauranga Māori are tauira accessing?

5.6 Acquiring mātauranga Māori through the engagement of cultural activities

Engagement in cultural activities is another major theme captured in Chapter Four that allow tauira Māori to be and feel Māori. The dominant activities undertaken by tauira are kapa haka, marae visits, and te reo Māori. The narratives of tauira is further complemented by responses contained in the Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement (CEAIE) Dimension whereby (in most cases) over-half of tauira Māori identified positively with statements contained therein. It is argued that participation in cultural activities help to ground tauira Māori in their identity as well as contribute to its ongoing evolution. Moreover, each activity is dynamic in the way that it influences and develops tauira Māori as Māori.

5.6.1 Kapa haka

Kapa haka indoctrinates culture through waiata (song), thus simultaneously connecting Māori with their whakapapa, te reo Māori, and tikanga. It is argued that kapa haka is central to supporting identity development, given this is the first activity to be mentioned by most tauira when asked what makes them feel Māori. It is important to note that within the kura, kapa haka practice is a compulsory component of the curriculum for all subscribed members. Hence, members of the kapa haka group practice once a week consuming a morning of activity - collectively as a group as well in their separate cells – that is, haka for tāne and poi for wāhine. It is also worth noting that several tauira are also members of kapa haka outside of the kura, thereby exposing them to higher levels of cultural activity.

5.6.2 Marae Visits

Secondary to kapa haka is the marae. As an institution the marae connects individuals with their culture by way of accessing and being exposed to ancestral history, tikanga, kawa as well as to other members of whānau, hapū, and iwi (Durie, 1995). Moreover, Penetito (2010) suggests that marae play “an important role in socialising Māori and non-Māori” (p. 208). Whilst Penetito (2010) refers to the context of institutional marae, the point he makes is that marae embody culture that is a focal “point for and expression of Māori spiritual, social and personal life, linking past and present, tangata whenua and manuhiri” (p. 211).

From the narratives provided in this study it is argued the marae sits at the epicentre of cultural development for taurira Māori at the kura. I argue this position because whilst marae visits are viewed as ‘occasions’ to connect with other whānau members, they are also viewed as opportunities in which to develop and further strengthen their identity as Māori as noted by Manaia:

“Going to the marae with like Mum and koko cos yeah there’s normally something on there - sometimes we clean up and all that. There was a noho - Mum was helping Nan and all that heaps of kids stayed there and we did a lot of activities and we also learned about - like some of the stories about the marae...and yeah we helped in the kitchens and all that and at the end they had a quiz about all the things we learnt during the week in Māori ... we were all learning haka and waiata”

5.6.3 Te Reo Māori

Without language, knowledge and skills cannot be transmitted (Stetsenko & Arieviditch, 1997). Accordingly, language is the epitome of one’s identity and much like identity formation it is a moving target, constantly evolving in order to adapt to changing social conditions. In this research, 10 of 13 taurira agree that they try to kōrero Māori whenever they can. Of the 13 taurira who participated in the research, 10 were located in the bilingual unit. What is interesting to note in analysing the findings is, first, responses that are negative or neutral to using te reo Māori are predominantly located in the bilingual unit and, second, that the majority of taurira did not articulate this as a dominant feature, thus a primary response to formulating their identity; rather it was a subordinate component of identity construction. It is argued that the

latter is perhaps viewed as a natural consequence of belonging to culture (Te Huia, 2017), rather than viewed as an active process for tauira Māori to feel Māori as noted by Anahera: “we do te reo everyday”.

Critically, if perceived cultural activities endorse and support the identity and development of Māori, as Māori, are there differences between tauira regarding how they perceive themselves as cultural members? Are there differences in terms of the strength of their identity? Are there times when tauira do not feel Māori?

5.7 Strength of identity through exposure to mātauranga Māori

Strength of identity refers to how well one is connected to culture (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). The MMM-ICE2 scale allows perceived strengths and weaknesses to be recorded, thereby illustrating trends and/or differences in a population sample. For example, all tauira Māori agreed with the following statements:

1. I reckon being Māori is awesome;
2. I love the fact that I am Māori, and
3. Being Māori is cool.

However, tauira wāhine exhibited stronger feelings to the statement of ‘Being Māori is cool’ compared with tauira tāne. As outlined in Chapter Four, there are subtle differences in responses between tauira wāhine and tauira tāne and are located in the following statements:

1. I don’t really care about following Māori culture;
2. I’m comfortable doing Māori cultural stuff when I need to;
3. I have never felt a spiritual connection with my ancestors;
4. I think Tapu is just a made up thing. It can’t actually affect you; and
5. You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them.

Tauira wāhine tend to strongly disagree/disagree with the first statement whereas tāne tend to strongly agree/agree or are neutral; tauira wāhine strongly agree/agree with the second statement, whilst tāne are mostly neutral; for statement 3, wāhine tend to disagree or are neutral compared with tāne who agree with the statement; wāhine tend to strongly disagree/disagree with statement 4 whilst again tāne are mostly neutral, and for statement 5, wāhine are mostly neutral or disagree compared with tāne who tend to agree. Hence, further investigation is

required in order to determine whether identity construction between wāhine and tāne is experienced differently. Notwithstanding the potential for investigation further, what is worth noting, is when Māori don't feel Māori, and the conditions for which this presents itself. For example, Manaia notes that she does not feel Māori when the environment is in direct conflict with who she is as developing Māori when she states: "When I'm like with kids who aren't (Māori) and when they're doing different things and things that not supposed to be doing in Māori like tikanga and all that".

As noted by Milne (2016), conflicting cultural spaces in the learning environment creates tension in identity formation during early adolescence. Thus, "For students from indigenous and minority ethnic groups the development of a cohesive cultural identity is severely challenged in the school environment in which you spend the major part of your daily life, when your norms and values are not those of the dominant culture" (p. 48). As such, Milne (2016) acknowledges the need to mirror cultural norms in the learning environment. Doing so normalises culture rather than expecting tauira to conform to a 'white' space which obstructs cultural development. Moreover, Milne (2016) argues that by modifying the learning environment to mobilise culture instead of suppressing and marginalising it, educational success of Māori, as Māori, is actively promoted. A critical question here is how much cultural support is enough support for tauira Māori? Who is responsible for transmitting mātauranga Māori in the learning environment, and what does it mean and look like to tauira Māori, their whānau, and kaiako?

5.8 Transmission of knowledge and expectations

All tauira believe it is important for the kura and kaiako to support them as developing Māori; when asked 'why' some of their responses included:

Tama: "Cos they help me learn Māori and they just educate us and like yeah"

Kiri: "Because we treat each other all like family and family support each other"

Tui: "Help us get them games on the brain"

Aroha: "I wanted to learn more like history, you know like famous Māori people you know - like we are not learning that at the minute"

Most taura believe they receive sufficient support from kaiako and the kura with regards to their identity and cultural development. However, in some of the narratives it was suggested more cultural or kapa haka trips would be beneficial to their development. What is critical from their narratives is the perception of the kura as an extension of their whānau, thus are responsible for, and contribute to their development as Māori, yet also acknowledge that this is guided by Matua as noted by Kiri:

“He reckons we should learn more about like (area) cos this is our based area and we should be learning more about our whakapapa and our iwi and where our ancestors, and our, about our iwi”

Whānau are critical in transmitting cultural knowledge (Durie, 2006). Transmitting, acquiring, and practicing cultural knowledge can be located in the whānau, between peers, in the kura, and in the wider community. However, it is important to note that tamariki are not repositories in which we constantly ‘deposit’ knowledge; rather they are active members of the socio-cultural environment (Freire, 2000). As previously noted in this Chapter, and in Chapter Four, identity development is strengthened and deepened through the acquisition of mātauranga Māori. Moreover, the transmission of knowledge is a shared experience, thus creating a dual position of taura being both ākonga (learner) and kaiako. This is supported by the narratives of taura who move cultural knowledge outside of the kura and into their home as well as the wider community “because in this community it’s like really, it’s kind of involved with te reo and everything” (Kiri). There are two critical questions that stem from the transmission of mātauranga Māori. First, is the ability to move knowledge from one learning environment (kura) into another (home) obstructed by application? That is, is mātauranga Māori endorsed in both environments, or only learnt and practically applied in one environment? If the latter, how does the learning environment (whether the kura or the kāinga) compensate for cultural fragility in order to support taura in their cultural journey? One final question for consideration is whether this has a direct impact on being able to secure one’s identity as Māori, if support outside of the kura/kāinga is limited and/or if cultural engagement is lacking, and does this create different expectations of what it means to be a ‘real’ Māori?

5.9 Supporting identity and cultural development

In the bilingual unit tauira are exposed to various aspects of mātauranga Māori during operating hours of the kura. This includes instruction in te reo Māori as well as practicing and maintaining traditional cultural norms. In addition, the learning environment applies the concept of whānau, thus operating as a family. With that in mind, it is interesting to note the differences in responses contained in the CEAIE Dimension - specifically, responses to the statement 'I don't know how to act like a real Māori on a marae'. That is, seven tauira disagreed with the statement compared with four tauira who were unsure, whilst two tauira agreed with the statement. This raises several questions. First, what constitutes a 'real' Māori, given that 10 out of 13 tauira agree with the statement 'I know how to act the right way when I am on a marae'. Is there a model of conformity that tauira subscribe to (whether consciously or unconsciously), and what might this model look like? More importantly, who creates this model? Could differences in perceptions be related to different levels of exposure to culture? For example, tauira located in a culturally rich home environment might be more attuned to strengthening their identity as Māori, compared with tauira who are located in less culturally developed environments. One final question for consideration is in what ways do kaiako and the kura reinforce culture as a learning strategy, particularly if the home environment might be unable to support and foster that flow of culture into the home?

5.10 What is a 'real' Māori?

As noted by Taiaroa and Smith (2017), Māori are faced with challenges of authenticating their own identity, particularly when external markers do not typically characterise one as having Māori ancestry - that is, being fair-skinned, having blond/red hair or blue/green eyes. Stereotyping members of culture to meet traditional markers creates unnecessary tensions for developing rangatahi and provides the opportunity for members to shy away from culture, particularly when ethnicity is "constantly questioned" (p. 23). Hence, it is argued that 'proving' oneself to be authentic or a 'real' Māori is underpinned by the perceived requirement to meet prescribed traditional standards. It is further argued that traditional markers might generate an unfair expectation of what it means to be Māori. Moreover, traditional markers form an approved manifest that is informed and guided by whānau, hapū, and iwi. Whilst it is acknowledged that traditional markers guide cultural development, it is also argued that this

creates the potential to develop an internal barrier for which validity as Māori might be self-detrimental. That is, tauira Māori may create an internal image of what it means to be a ‘real’ Māori, thereby installing an unrealistic model with which to judge self-development. Moreover, that such modelling might typically be used as a benchmark in which to prove authenticity as Māori. This might explain why responses differ between statements of ‘I don’t know how to act like a real Māori on a marae’ versus ‘I know how to act the right way when I am on a marae’. Hence, tauira (whether consciously or not) subscribe to and conform to a traditional model of identity development, and this model is used to quantify their levels of ‘Māoriness’ (Penetito, 2010). As Penetito (2010) has noted “Māori like to do things together; to acclaim their Māoriness to one another; to meet and strengthen their social bonds with each other” (p. 44).

A critical question is, if tauira subscribe to a traditional model to formulate their identity, and use this model to strengthen not only their identity but also to legitimise their cultural membership, then how is this model translated and represented in the home as well as the kura? Is this traditional model shared and endorsed in both environments?

5.11 Te kāinga

With only one member of whānau agreeing to be interviewed in this research, the use of traditional modelling in which to frame identity construction and development in the whare can only be inferred from a single perspective. However, Huia’s perspective is complemented by the narratives of tauira.

As noted in Chapter Four, Huia raises themes of providing opportunities, supportive learning, balancing culture and cultural independence. Because Huia identifies as Pākehā, she relies on her relationships with Māori to draw her cultural sustenance in order to support the identity and cultural development of her tamariki. This includes actively seeking to enrol in te reo Māori classes, reinforcing culture in the kāinga through the use of te reo Māori, and encouraging cultural participation by way of kapa haka. Because Huia relies on cultural members to support the kāinga in cultural knowledge, it is argued that Huia is guided by a model of conformity that is endorsed by her best friend, and further complemented by other Māori as well as the kura in which the whānau are located. Moreover, as Huia encourages opportunities towards cultural development, these opportunities become more closely aligned with cultural activities made

available by the wider community of whānau, hapū, and iwi, thereby becoming prescribed subscriptions to culture. In addition, encouraging participation in cultural activities and using te reo Māori in the kāinga adds greater depth and meaning to the theme of supportive learning, in that it contributes to the flow of mātauranga Māori between learning environments.

Turning towards tauira, the continuum of te reo Māori is at the forefront of identity development in the kāinga and is captured by the following statements:

Manaia: “Mum has like little frames around the house and it’s in Māori and all that and yeah she’s always asking me questions and all that ... Mum and Dad try and talk a bit of Māori but if one of them get it wrong the other person corrects them”

Hine: “Well we try to use as much Māori around the house as we can ... cos my mum’s really into Māori ... so there’s a lot of singing going on, like lots, our neighbour’s - like - so yeah”

However, whilst most tauira experience the fluid movement of te reo Māori from one environment into another, other tauira do not share this same experience. For example, Rehutai states that te reo Māori is not a typical feature in the kāinga:

“I don’t really know that much ... sometimes my mum can say something in Māori but I don’t get it and then she ends up saying what it means and then yeah and then sometimes when Matua says something in class, I end up saying it to my Mum and she doesn’t know”.

What is critical to note from Rehutai’s statement is that whilst te reo Māori is not a dominant feature in the kāinga, it nevertheless is being mobilised and activated. Moreover, Rehutai’s statement highlights the learner-teacher relationship between whānau members. Another feature of traditional modelling which moves between environments is that of ancestral knowledge. For example, Kiri notes that “When it comes to my ancestors, I normally get the information from Matua and he helps me and then I take it back home. Or my Mum goes to this person that helps us with our um pepeha and everything”. This demonstrates the whāngai concept and reliance on other whānau members to ‘fill in the gaps’ where cultural knowledge might be lacking and/or fragile. Moreover, it demonstrates the ways in which whānau, hapū, and iwi provide a ‘template’ in which to model identity and development of Māori in te ao Māori.

5.12 A kaiako perspective

According to Penetito (2010),

There can be no authentic Māori education without a context in which te ao Māori can find its true expression. There can be no authentic Māori education without its encompassing wairua manifest in te reo Māori. There can be no authentic Māori education that does not set out from the beginning to enhance and strengthen he tuakiri tangata (a Māori identity) (p. 249).

Penetito (2010) highlights the importance of culture within the education system in order to support and strengthen identity of Māori, as Māori. More importantly, culture, as a strategy for enhancing educational outcomes of Māori, as Māori, must genuinely meet and be aligned with te ao Māori. Ignoring the context of te ao Māori in education nullifies culture as a living organism of which tāngata whenua are central. Critically, Penetito (2010) raises the importance of whānau and kura collaboration - that is, working together as a single structure in order to promote the wellbeing and educational success of tauira Māori through cultural development. This includes supporting the transmission of cultural knowledge by allowing it to flow from one environment into another. Moreover, such knowledge is supported when it becomes mobile, thus giving rise to frequency in exposure to mātauranga Māori.

As noted in Chapter Four, the major themes emerging from analyzing the narratives include Practicing Culture, Achieving Success through Culture, Inclusiveness, Reaffirmation, Whakawhanaungatanga, and Exposure and Access. The narratives of kaiako are fundamentally if not critically aware of cultural inclusion in the learning environment, thus actively engaging culture as part of their daily routine. Moreover, “listening to students and their whānau, understanding and being approachable” (Kaiako 2) is viewed as being fundamental to the educational success of Māori, as Māori. It is argued that kaiako are presented with a dynamic position of not only being placed in a position of westernised thinking that creates the term ‘teachers’ but also act in a quasi-parental role referred to as ‘matua’(father, uncle) or ‘whaea’(mother, aunt) in the kura. This positions not only the kaiako but also the kura as being responsible key stakeholders in the development of tauira Māori, as Māori.

Whilst the bilingual unit operates in dual language instruction, it is important to note the drive to extend this beyond the boundaries of this classroom. For example, Matua expressed his desire to move instruction in te reo Māori into ‘spec’ classes, thus maintaining the flow of

culture from one learning environment into another. Moreover, he wants to include specialised classes which focus on the acquisition of traditional cultural skills - for example, weaving. Introducing specialised classes that focus on cultural knowledge helps to deepen and develop tauira in several fundamental ways. First, it further enhances, thus stabilising and normalising culture in the learning environment. Second, it exposes tauira Māori to other facets of mātauranga Māori that include (re)introducing additional skills and knowledge in whakapapa, tikanga, and kawa. Third, it changes the boundaries of dual instruction to include other teaching areas, rather than being confined to a single classroom. One final, and perhaps most critical, point is that it fosters cultural inclusiveness in all areas of teaching. This is not to suggest that other kaiako do not include culture as part of their daily routine - as this is not true. Rather, extending culture into other curriculum design provides an opportunity to operate holistically, in a bilingual space. From observations and conversations with kaiako and the principal, it is undeniable that culture is absolutely critical in the learning space and this is captured not only by a fundamental shift in operations but by also having cultural policy which mirrors Ka Hikitia.

5.13 Te Kura: Changing the status quo

Discussions with Matua and the principal, prior to undertaking research, demonstrated the purposeful and conscious shift from 'mainstream' operations to one that is culturally inclusive. This shift was made with the intent to decolonise frameworks which hinder development of tauira. As a result of reviewing and reconstructing the teaching environment, the kura acquired the status of an operating bilingual educational institution. It is also worth noting that the kura have their own cultural policy that outlines the kura's intent to provide a culturally rich environment for Māori, to learn as Māori. Moreover, developing local policy specific to the kura, provides a learning environment wherein culture is embraced and endorsed, thus creating a space in which Māori can be Māori.

Because this policy is available to the public it serves to highlight the operational space of the kura – a space that is guided by national standards as well as being culturally informed. The kura is the epitome of how kura should operate - that is, as a whānau network. Every member is a member of 'family'. Such a claim is based upon my observations when conducting

research, as well as being welcomed into, and being made to feel part of the kura during the data collection phase.

5.14 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has described and analysed the research findings in order to understand identity construction of tauira Māori, as Māori. Examining both qualitative and quantitative measures has allowed the identity of tauira Māori to be explored from a holistic standpoint. In doing so it acknowledges and validates the perceptions of tauira Māori, their whānau, and kaiako, all of whom are active participants in developing Māori, as Māori. Furthermore, it allowed common markers to surface that enable and endorse identity construction that is specific to the contemporary framework of Aotearoa New Zealand. The dominant and defining marker shared by tauira, and that bind tauira to their identity, is whakapapa - a living construct that weaves itself explicitly and implicitly through the lives of tauira Māori as they navigate conflicting socio-cultural environs. It is this common thread that opens the door to mātauranga Māori - a door that has multiple pathways to exploring, acquiring, and absorbing different components of mātauranga Māori, thus enabling tauira to become active participants to culture through dominant activities of kapa haka, marae engagement, and te reo Māori. Critically, tauira Māori are not passive receivers of cultural knowledge - they also unknowingly become teachers of cultural knowledge, thereby supporting one another in cultural development. This bi-directional flow and transmission of mātauranga Māori demonstrates the inclusiveness of culture in the learning environment that, in turn, further develops tauira Māori, as Māori. The following chapter, Chapter 6, will summarise the extent to which the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis (see page 6) have in fact been answered but also the potential for further research in this field of inquiry.

TE WAHANGA TUAONO: CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Chapter Introduction: Ka mua, ka muri - walking backwards into the future

My Auntie Shona, a Māori artist, operates on the philosophy of always having your back to the future. This view acknowledges the significance of cultural history as well as the importance of our tūpuna who moved before us. That is, our history and our past guide the space ahead. Hence, the title at the beginning of this thesis ‘ka mua, ka muri’ acknowledges that same philosophy of walking backwards into the future. For me, as Māori, the ‘present day’ is a representation of the harmonious synchronization of space and time that combines both history and future simultaneously. Accordingly, viewing the past is as simple as taking one step forward. For educational institutions that maintain colonised structures, there is something to be learnt from this philosophy.

Whilst this thesis is inspired by my own adolescent experiences of developing my identity as Māori and the continued evolution of identity and cultural development during my adult life - it is further fueled by the challenges that Māori continue to experience in educational settings and the negative impact that this has on achieving positive educational outcomes. Educational institutions must be a part of the solution rather than part of the problem. Stabilising cultural norms, practices, and beliefs in the learning environment allow Māori to strengthen and deepen their connection with culture, thus enabling culture to move between two major learning environments - the kāinga and the kura. Yet in order to provide support in identity development, one must be able to understand the foundations upon which tauira Māori construct their identity and use this knowledge to re(construct) the learning environment, thus challenging and reorganising policy and teaching practices.

The Government of Aotearoa New Zealand constructed and inserted cultural policy into its repertoire of legal instruments in order to reframe educational settings with a cultural lens. Hence, Ka Hikitia serves to highlight the praxis of cultural determination in the learning environment, thus attempting to refashion educational settings to enhance positive educational achievement of Māori, as Māori. However, policy is ineffective if it is not wholly understood

and/or implemented by an educational institution. Moreover, policy becomes redundant if cultural input from Māori at a local level has been denied. Installation and application must come from a place that promotes collaboration and consultation with whānau, hapū, and iwi representatives. Kura and kaiako must be able to understand the dynamic complexities of identity formation and understand it from the perspectives of tamariki who come into their care and custody during school hours. In order to support identity construction and cultural development of tauira Māori, one must be able to quantify it, assess it, and understand it before being able to adapt, modify, (re)construct, and review current policy and teaching practices. Such actions will maximise the likelihood of the learning environment becoming culturally attuned, thus inclusive. The discussion that follows evaluates the extent to which the key research questions posed at the outset of this study have been answered.

6.2 Constructing and conceptualising identity as Māori

Year 7 and 8 tauira have been absolute in articulating what governs their identity as Māori. That is, they believe that primordial lineage is necessary to claiming identity as Māori. Hence tauira conceptualise their identity from the ‘grassroots’. More importantly, tauira use this as a platform to access mātauranga Māori in order to further develop and strengthen their identity as Māori.

6.3 Affirming cultural identification through mātauranga Māori

There are several points that are worth highlighting here. First, exposure and absorption of mātauranga Māori is not regarded as critical to constructing identity, nor does one aspect of cultural knowledge occupy a higher status than another. Whilst tauira have been explicit to state the aforementioned, identity development and ‘feeling’ Māori requires active participation in culture. Engaging in cultural activities inspires a sense of belonging, thus affirming and strengthening one’s membership. Accordingly, engagement in specific cultural activities are regarded as key cultural markers for this cohort of tauira Māori. Key cultural markers are kapa haka, marae, and te reo Māori.

A second consideration is that tauira Māori (whether consciously or not) subscribe to a traditional model (guided and informed by whānau, hapū, and iwi) to develop their identity as

Māori. Critically, if one lacks ancestral knowledge, other cultural members become responsible for nurturing and guiding development of Māori, as Māori. Whilst traditional modelling is expected to guide and inform development of tauira, it may inadvertently create tensions if tauira use such modelling to judge their own development as well as for those around them. Moreover, whilst frequency to mātauranga Māori is not specifically articulated, it nevertheless is inferred and drawn from narratives. Hence frequency in exposure to mātauranga Māori occurs on a daily basis; it is mobilised and endorsed in the kura, between peers as well as in the home, and with other members of whānau, hapū, and iwi.

A final point when considering one's affirmation to culture is the possibility of tauira wāhine experiencing identity construction on a different level compared to tauira tāne. This possibility is entertained by observed gender differences from statistical testing across the revised Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2). That is, gender differences are captured across the MMM-ICE2 and are located in the following statements:

1. Being Māori is cool;
2. I don't really care about following Māori culture;
3. I'm comfortable doing Māori cultural stuff when I need to;
4. I have never felt a spiritual connection with my ancestors;
5. I think Tapu is just a made up thing. It can't actually affect you; and
6. You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them

It is critical to note that tauira wāhine have had a stronger presence in this research than their male peers.

6.4 Kaiako-kura support and policy

Kaiako and the kura play a pivotal role in identity development. Because both institutions are key stakeholders in ensuring positive identity development of tauira Māori, they are responsible (alongside whānau, hapū, and iwi) for ensuring positive educational outcomes of Māori, as Māori. In order to support identity development of tamariki in their care, kaiako and kura must be able to understand the perceived realities of tauira. Doing so allows the kura to (re)organise their approach to normalising culture in the learning environment. As demonstrated in this

thesis, the kura and kaiako located in this region of Aotearoa New Zealand provide valuable insight into how one might set about deconstructing and reconstructing its framework to embed culture, thus supporting the development of Māori, as Māori. Moreover, cultural strategies implemented by the kura are developed in consultation and collaboration with whānau, hapū, and iwi.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

This research has examined the perceptions of tauira Māori enrolled in Year 7 and 8 who attend kura with a bilingual unit that is located in the lower-North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The majority of tauira Māori who agreed to participate in the research are attached to and enrolled in the bilingual unit. Hence, perceived realities of identity construction and development as well as the narratives of whānau and kaiako, are confined to this kura. As such, several pathways are offered up as recommendations for future research.

First, to order to examine identity construction of tauira Māori from a collective position, the cultural realities of tauira from across different locations, requires further investigation. This includes examining the composition of the kura, the cultural policy of the kura, and the teaching strategies of kaiako. The perceived realities of identity construction as well as cultural development of Māori, as Māori, across different contexts, may differ to what has been presented in this thesis. Moreover, the ways in which mātauranga Māori underpins and informs identity construction of Māori, might also produce variances in key cultural markers.

Second, given that cultural policy (Ka Hikitia) has been in effect for over twenty years, how have mainstream and bilingual educational institutions deconstructed, reconstructed, thus transformed the learning environment to ensure tauira Māori learn and develop as Māori? How have kura moved towards a more culturally inclusive and bilingual setting? Are modifications to the learning environment viewed as acts of ‘tokenism’ to culture? Alternatively are teaching practices genuine and authentic in application, thus embracing Māori cultural norms, values, practices, and beliefs into everyday routine? What are some of the challenges kaiako experience in creating a culturally inclusive environment to ensure Māori learn as Māori, thus aligning their teaching practices to Tātaiako? Do all intermediate/composite kura have their own cultural policy which embodies Ka Hikitia? If not, why not?

Third, in order to understand the ways in which cultural identity and development interacts with educational outcomes, it is recommended that educational achievements are recorded in Year 7 and 8 prior to engaging in secondary school settings. This will then provide baseline data in which to examine education outcomes as well as movement of culture from one educational setting into another; following students on their journey of cultural identity and development as they move through their educational years prior to undertaking NCEA, might offer up explanations as to why educational outcomes differ between Māori.

Finally, given that this thesis has suggested differences in perceived realities of Year 7 and 8 taura, it is recommended that further research includes measuring the frequency, thus exposure to mātauranga Māori. Examining cultural participation in greater depth might provide a greater understanding to perceived realities. Moreover, it might also uncover opportunities with which to explore and transform cultural development in unimagined ways. This is vital, if the kura, kaiako and whānau are to work as a single steering unit - as a whānau, thus collectively enforcing positive cultural identity, development and educational success for all rangatahi.

Extending this research to include the aforementioned recommendations, attempts to serve Māori collectively. It provides an opportunity to examine the mechanics and application of culture from multiple perspectives across different contexts. It also provides the opportunity to examine policy implementation at a local level. Hence, examining taura Māori and kura holistically attempts to maintain pressure on educational institutions which maintain colonised structures and practices at the detriment of our tamariki. As noted by L.T. Smith (2012, p. 212):

What has become even clearer in the twenty-first century is the way in which policies aimed at Maori continue to resonate and recycle colonizing narratives. The discourse might change subtly ... but the underlying racialized tensions remain constant. The subtext is that Maori are responsible for their own predicament as a colonized people and citizenship for Maori is a 'privilege' for which we must be eternally grateful. Marginalization is a consequence of colonization and the price for social inclusion is still expected to be the abandonment of being 'Maori'.

Thus, as Māori, we must continue to resist and challenge the spaces which continue to marginalise our tamariki - our people - our future.

“He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata”

What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people.

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Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet



INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS (ENGLISH VERSION)

Master of Arts (Education) – Thesis Research

Student: Teresa Petty

Institution: Massey University

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

Ko Te Moananui-a-Kiwa raua ko Te Moananui o Toi ngā moana

Ko Te Māhuhu ki te Rangi te waka

Ko Whakaruruhau te marae

Ko Hirakimata te maunga

Ko Te Uri Whakapiko rāua ko Te Uri Papa āku hapū

Ko Ngāti Wai ki Aotea te iwi

Tēnā koe,

My name is Teresa Petty and I am a part-time student completing a degree in Master of Arts (Education) at Massey University. To complete my degree I am required to undertake a research project and prepare a thesis for examination. My thesis, titled 'Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education', seeks to explore Māori identity, as perceived by students who identify as Māori, and the various ways and extent to which mātauranga Māori informs (or not) identity of Māori as Māori. My thesis will also explore school policies and the pedagogical practices of educators that might contribute to the positive development of Māori identity in the learning environment. Because this project adopts and is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori theory it therefore is nurtured and guided by Māori.

I would like to invite you to be a part of this research project, as:

- A school,
- An educator,
- A student.

This research project is divided into two main components: Questionnaire and Semi-structured interviews.

The Questionnaire

All Year 7 and 8 students who identify as Māori will be invited to complete the questionnaire digitally (via Survey Monkey) or by manual form. The questionnaire is divided into four sections:

Section 1: Eligibility

Determines whether a student is 'eligible' to complete the questionnaire. A student must identify as being Māori in order to be able to move on and complete the next section.

Section 2: Demographic information

This collects the general demographic information of a student - i.e., age, gender, year level, and school type (private, public, kura kaupapa).

Section 3: Identity Scale

This section contains 46 questions taken from the Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2) which examines the dimensions of Māori identity as it is perceived.

Section 4: Invitation to be interviewed

This section will ask a student if he/she would like to be interviewed, and their preferences to be interviewed. For example, as an individual or as part of a group with other Māori students; the environment to be interviewed (on school grounds, in the home, on University campus, on a marae, via Zoom/Skype); and the medium to be used for interviewing (English or te reo Māori).

Semi-Structured Interviews

The second component of the research comprises semi-structured interviews of both students and educators, as separate groups. The purpose of the semi-structured interview is to:

- a. provide a depth of understanding as to why students identify as Māori, and the ways in which mātauranga Māori informs (or not) one's identity as Māori, and
- b. to understand the strategies used by schools and educators which supports (or not) cultural development of Māori, as Māori.

All interviews will be recorded, transcribed, and then released to participants to ensure accuracy, prior to being analysed. At their preference, students and educators will be interviewed in either English or te reo Māori. Interviews performed in te reo Māori will be facilitated by a translator fluent in te reo Māori. Participants can choose where and when to be interviewed (e.g., on school grounds, in the home, on campus (Massey University), on a marae or via zoom/skype). A selection of dates and times will be made available for participants to choose from.

Schools, educators, and students who participate in the research project will have their identity protected and safeguarded by myself, as the researcher. Any information collected during the course of the research project will not be used for any other purpose nor will it be shared with any other source or third-party.

Given this research seeks to examine the experiences of Year 7 and 8 students, students who choose to participate in the research must provide written consent from their parent/legal guardian.

If you decide to participate in the research, you have the right to:

- withdraw from the research at any time without prejudice;
- refuse to answer any question;
- ask for recordings to be turned off at any time during the interview process;
- ask any question about the research, prior to, during and after data has been collected;
- ask for a copy of the research findings.

My thesis co-supervisors for this project are Professor Howard Lee and Dr Bevan Erueti.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk (Human Ethics Notification – 4000023485). Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at any time.

Ngā mihi nui,

Teresa Petty
+61 401757920
tpetty1516@gmail.com

HE KUPU WHAKAMĀRAMA MĀ NGĀ KAIURU (REO MĀORI)

Tohu Paerua (Mātauranga) – Tuhinga Roa

Tauira: Teresa Petty

Whare Wānanga: Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa / Massey University

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

Ko Te Moananui-a-Kiwa raua ko Te Moananui o Toi ngā moana

Ko Te Māhuhu ki te Rangi te waka

Ko Whakaruruhau te marae

Ko Hirakimata te maunga

Ko Te Uri Whakapiko me Te Uri Papa aku hapū

Ko Ngāti Wai ki Aotea te iwi

Tēnā koe,

Ko Teresa Petty tōku ingoa, he tauira au e whakaoti haere ana i taku Tohu Paerua (Mātauranga) ki Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Massey University). Hei whakatutuki i taku tohu nei me mahi e au tētahi kaupapa rangahau me te whakarite i tētahi tuhinga roa hei whakamātautau. Ko taku tuhinga roa e kīia nei ko ‘*Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education*’, e rangahau ana i te tuakiri Māori, tēnā e mea ana ngā tauira he Māori rātou, ā, tēnā hoki te huhua o ngā āhuatanga mātauranga Māori e tautoko ana (kāore rānei) i te tuakiri o te tangata Māori hei Māori. Ka tūhura anō hoki taku rangahau i ngā kaupapa here ā-kura me ngā mahi whakaako a ngā kaiako e hāpai ana pea i te whanaketanga o te tuakiri Māori i te taiao ako. I te mea ka whai atu te rangahau i te ariā Kaupapa Māori ka poipoia, ka aratakina hoki e te Māori.

Ko tāku he reo pōhiri kia whai wāhi koe hei kaiuru ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau:

- Hei kura,
- Hei kaiako,
- Hei tauira.

E rua ngā wāhanga matua o tēnei kaupapa rangahau: He Rārangi Pātai, he Uiu Ngāwari.

Ko te Rārangi Pātai

Ka pōwhiritia ngā tauira o ngā tau 7 me 8 e kīia nei he Māori rātou hei whakaoti i te Rārangi Pātai mā te rorohiko (Mā Survey Monkey) mā te tuhi ā-ringa rānei. E whā ngā wāhanga o te Rārangi Pātai:

Wāhanga 1: Te Āhei

Ka kitea ina āhei ana rānei te tauira ki te whakaoti i te rārangi pātai. Me tautohu e te tauira he Māori ia e āhei ai ki te whakaoti i te wāhanga e whai ake ana.

Wāhanga 2: Mōhiotio taupori

Ka kohia i konei ngā kōrero mō te tauira, arā, tōna pakeke, tōna ira, tōna tau kura, te momo kura (tūmataiti, tūmatanui, kura kaupapa).

Wāhanga 3: Āwhata Tuakiri

Kei tēnei wāhanga e 46 pātai i tangohia mai i te *Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement* (MMM-ICE2) hei tiroiro i ngā taumata o te tuakiri Māori.

Wāhanga 4: He reo pōhiri hei uiui

Kei ēnei wāhanga te pātai ina hiahia rānei te tauira kia uiuia me te āhua o te uiui ki tāna e pai ai. Hei tauira, he uiui takitahi, he uiui takirōpū; te wāhi o te uiui (ki te kura, ki te kāinga, ki te whare wānanga, ki tētahi marae, mā te hui topa rānei); te reo ka mahia (reo Ingarihi, reo Māori).

Ko te Uiui Ngāwari

Ko te wāhanga tuarua o te rangahau he uiui ngāwari i ngā tauira, i ngā kaiako hei rōpū motuhake. Ko tā te uiui ngāwari:

- a. he rapu māramatanga mō te take ka kī mai ngā tauira he Māori rātou, ā, he pēhea te mātauranga Māori e tautoko ana (kāore rānei) i te tuakiri Māori, ā,
- b. kia mārama ki ngā rautaki e mahia ana e ngā kura me ngā kaiako e tautoko ana (kāore rānei) i te whanaketanga ā-ahurea o te Māori kia Māori.

Ka hopu katoatia ngā uiuitanga, ka tuhia kātahi ka tukua ki ngā kaiuru e kitea ai ina tika rānei i mua i te tātari. Kei ngā tauira me ngā kaiako te tikanga kia uiui ki roto ki te reo Ingarihi, reo Māori rānei. Ko ngā uiui reo māori ka whakahaeretia e tētahi tangata matatau ki te reo Māori. Kei ngā kaiuru te tikanga mō te wāhi kia uiuia, mō āhea hoki (ki te kura, ki te kāinga, ki Massey University, ki tētahi marae mā te hui topa rānei). He rārangi rā me te wā ka tukua ki ngā kaiuru hei whiriwhiri mā rātou.

Ka noho matatapu ngā tuakiri o ngā kura, o ngā kaiako me ngā tauira, ka rāhuitia e au hei kairangahau. Ko ngā mōhiotia katoa ka kohia i te wā o te kaupapa rangahau nei ka mahia anake mō te rangahau me te kore rawa e mahia mō kaupapa kē, mā tangata kē.

I te mea ka tiroiro i ngā wheako o ngā tauira tau 7 me 8 me whai kupu whakaae ā-tuhi ngā kaiuru i ō rātou mātua/kaitiaki rānei.

Ki te whakaae koe hei kaiuru kei a koe te mana:

- ki te puta i te rangahau nei ahakoa te wā me te kore raru;
- ki te kore whakautu pātai;
- ki te whakaweto pūrere hopu reo ahakoa te wā i te wā uiui;
- ki te pātai mai mō te rangahau, i mua, i waenganui, i muri rānei o te kohinga raraunga;
- kia riro mai ngā kitenga rangahau.

Ko ōku kaiarataki mō tēnei kaupapa ko Ahorangi Howard Lee rāua tahi ko Tākuta Bevan Erueti.

Kua arotake ā-aropātia nei tēnei kaupapa hei kaupapa iti te tūraru (Komiti Matatika Tangata o te whare wānanga – 4000023485). Nā konei, kīhai i arotakengia e tētahi o ngā Komiti Matatika Tangata o te whare wānanga. Kei te/ngā kairangahau te haepapa mō te kawe matatika o tēnei rangahau. Mēnā he āwangawanga nōu ki te kawenga o tēnei rangahau me te hiahia kia kōrero ki tētahi tangata, atu i te/ngā kairangahau, me whakapā atu ki a Ahorangi Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Mehemea he pātai āu, me whakapā mai ahakoa te wā.

Ngā mihi nui,

Teresa Petty
+61 401757920
tpetty1516@gmail.com

Appendix 2: Participant (Student) Consent Form

PARTICIPANT (STUDENT) CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH VERSION)

Master of Arts (Education) – Thesis Research

Student: Teresa Petty

Institution: Massey University

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

- ☐ I have read the information sheet.
- ☐ I understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time without prejudice.
- ☐ I understand that I can refuse to answer any question.
- ☐ I understand that interviews will be recorded and that I can stop the interview at any time.
- ☐ I understand that I can ask for a copy of the research findings.
- ☐ I understand that all information collected for the purpose of the research will not be used or distributed to any other party without my written consent and the consent of my parent(s)/legal guardian(s).
- ☐ I understand I must have parent/legal guardian consent prior to participating in the project as well as provide my own consent.
- ☐ I agree to participate in the research project as detailed in the Information Sheet.

Signatures:

Parent (1) Date

Full Name

Parent (2) Date

Full Name

Student Date

Full Name

KAIURU (TAUIRA) PUKA WHAKAAE (REO MĀORI)

Tohu Paerua (Mātauranga) – Tuhinga Roa

Tauira: Teresa Petty

Whare Wānanga: Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa / Massey University

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

- ☐ Kua pānui au i te Puka Mōhiohio.
- ☐ Mārama ana au ka āhei te puta i te rangahau nei ahakoa te wā me te kore raru.
- ☐ Mārama ana au kei ahau te mana whakautu pātai.
- ☐ Mārama ana au ka hopukia ngā uiuitanga, ā, kei ahau te mana whakakapi uiui.
- ☐ Mārama ana au ka āhei te inoi atu mō ngā kitenga rangahau.
- ☐ Mārama ana au ko ngā mōhiohio katoa ka kohia i te wā o te kaupapa rangahau e kore nei e mahia, e kore nei hoki e tukua ki tangata kē ina kore ahau e whakaae ā-tuhi me te kupu whakaae a ōku mātua/kaitiaki rānei.
- ☐ Mārama ana au me whai kupu whakaae a ōku mātua/kaitiaki rānei me taku ake whakaaetanga i mua i te uru ki te kaupapa nei.
- ☐ Ka whakaae ahau kia uru ki te kaupapa rangahau nei ki tā te puka mōhiohio e kī ai.

Ngā waitohu:

Matua (1) Te Rā

Ingoa Katoa

Matua (2) Te Rā

Ingoa Katoa

Tauira Te Rā

Ingoa Katoa

Master of Arts (Education): Thesis

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

Kia ora,

As you are aware, an invitation was sent to the kura/school to participate in Kaupapa Māori research, which explores Māori identity of tamariki and the ways in which they develop their identity as Māori, how mātauranga Māori assists developing identity as Māori and the policies and practices of the school which supports cultural identity development.

Your tamaiti/tamariki – child/children, has participated in the research and I would like to now invite you to be a part of this research to provide your whakaaro/thoughts on identity development.

If you are interested in being a part of this project alongside your taimaiti/tamariki – child/children, I am available Monday 15 March, Wednesday 17 March to Sunday 21 March to join you for an interview at a time and location that suits you.

Could you please fill out the details below and return to the school?

Noho ora mai,
Teresa.

.....
Please circle one only: Āe/yes I am interested in having an interview

Kao/No I am not interested in having an interview

Ignoa/Name:

Waea/Phone No:

Appendix 4: Authority to Release Transcript

AUTHORITY TO RELEASE TRANSCRIPTS (ENGLISH VERSION)

Master of Arts (Education) – Thesis Research

Student: Teresa Petty

Institution: Massey University

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview conducted with me.

Signature..... Date.....

Full Name (Printed).....

HE WHAKAMANA TUKU KŌRERO (REO MĀORI)

Tohu Paerua (Mātauranga) – Tuhinga Roa

Tauira: Teresa Petty

Whare Wānanga: Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa / Massey University

Ka mua, ka muri: Exploring Māori Identity, Mātauranga Māori and Policies in Education

I kī atu ana ahau kua whai wāhi au ki te pānui me te whakarerekē i te tuhituhi kōrero mō te uiui i ahau.

Waitohu..... Te Rā.....

Ingoa Katoa (ā-ringa)



Date: 06 October 2020

Dear Teresa Petty

Re: Ethics Notification - **4000023485 - MastersArts(Ed)**

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk.

Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

If situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your ethical analysis, please contact a Research Ethics Administrator.

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 in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research."

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director - Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 ext 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz."

Please note, 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 complete the application form again, answering "yes" to the publication question to provide more information for 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

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise

Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand **T** 06 350 5573; 06 350 5575 **F** 06 355 7973

E humanethics@massey.ac.nz **W** <http://humanethics.massey.ac.nz>

Human Ethics Low Risk notification

Professor Craig Johnson
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise

Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand **T** 06 350 5573; 06 350 5575 **F** 06 355 7973
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz **W** <http://humanethics.massey.ac.nz>

Question Guide (Taurira)

Perceived Identity

1. Thinking about your identity as Māori, what does it mean for you to 'be' Māori?
2. Thinking about your identity as Māori, tell me about the kinds of things that make you 'feel' Māori?
3. Do you feel Māori all the time? Some of the time? Are there times that you don't 'feel' Māori?

Levels of Knowledge

1. What does mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) mean to you?
2. Can you provide some examples of what mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) you use to 'be' and 'feel' Māori?
3. Thinking about your identity as Māori, do you think you need to have a lot of Māori knowledge to 'be' and 'feel' Māori?
4. Can you provide some examples of Māori knowledge and how you use this knowledge to 'be' and 'feel' Māori?
5. Thinking about Māori knowledge, what knowledge do you think is important for you to 'be' and 'feel' Māori?
6. Thinking about Māori knowledge, what knowledge do you think is less important for you to 'be' and 'feel' Māori?
7. Do you think some knowledge is more important than others?
8. Do you think this is different amongst Māori and what it means to 'be' Māori?

Influencing Identity

1. Thinking about your family, in what ways do you feel they influence who you are as Māori?
2. Thinking about your friends, in what ways do you feel they influence who you are as Māori?
3. Do you think it is important for your teacher(s) and/or school to support you 'being' Māori in the classroom?
4. What are some of the ways that your teacher(s) and/or school can support you 'being' Māori?

Question Guide for Teachers and/or Principals:

1. In what ways do you encourage positive cultural development of Māori in order to strengthen their identity? Are you able to provide some examples in which you contribute to positive identity development of Māori?
2. Do you believe that the school has a role to play in developing positive cultural identification of Māori? If not, why not? If so, what aspects of mātauranga Māori are critical in the learning environment that assists in the cultural development and identity of Māori taurira?
3. Are you aware of your school having a school policy specific to the cultural development of Māori, and what does this policy mean to you in practice?
4. Are you aware of Ka Hikitia cultural policy? How does this guide your pedagogical practices?
5. What are some of the pedagogical practices you use in your school and/or classroom, which promotes Māori culture?

Question Guide (Whānau)

Levels of Knowledge

1. What does mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) mean to you and your whanau?
2. Can you provide some examples of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) you use in the kainga?
3. Thinking about identity development of your tamaiti/tamariki, do you think they need to have a lot of Māori knowledge to 'be' and 'feel' Māori? What kinds of knowledge do you think they must to validate their identity as Māori?
4. Thinking about Māori knowledge, what knowledge do you think is important for your tamaiti/tamariki to have, to 'be' and 'feel' Māori?
5. Do you think some knowledge is more important than others?

Influencing Identity

1. Thinking about whanau, your tamaiti/tamariki, how do you influence and strengthen their identity as Māori? What are some examples of cultural norms that you perform inside and outside of the house with your tamaiti/tamariki?
2. Do you think it is important for teacher(s) and/or school to support your tamaiti/tamariki in 'being' and 'feeling' Māori in the classroom?
3. What are some of the ways that your teacher(s) and/or school can support the cultural development of your tamaiti/tamariki?
4. What would you like to see the school do more of? Do less of?