

**TE PĪTAU O TE TUAKIRI: AFFIRMING MĀORI IDENTITIES AND
PROMOTING WELLBEING IN STATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

BY

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Abstract

Numerous researchers have posited links between ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing (Phinney, 1992; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999; **Houkamau & Sibley, 2011**), and **Māori** cultural interventions have been suggested as a means of promoting a range of positive outcomes (e.g. M. Durie, 1998; Durie, 2003b; Lawson-**Te Aho**, 1998). However, longitudinal evidence of causal pathways between **Māori** ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing remains scarce, and evidence of the positive impacts of cultural interventions is not well documented.

The present thesis investigates **Māori** identity development in the context of State secondary schools, and explores the relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, **Māori** identity, and psychological wellbeing. A methodology that incorporates both **mātauranga Māori** (**Māori** knowledge) and Western scientific knowledge bases and research methods was applied.

Interviews were held with **Māori** students and their **whānau** (families) at a State secondary school where a community-driven initiative to improve **Māori** student outcomes took place. Thematic analysis was used to generate **Te Korowai Aroha** Framework, outlining how **Māori** cultural initiatives can enable schools to fulfil their duty of care and meet **Māori** community needs by affirming individuals' cultural identity and agency, by building relationships based on mutual respect, and by working collaboratively within the school and with external services providers.

Thematic analysis of these interviews was also conducted to generate The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework. The **pōwhiri** (formal welcome), in which **Māori** creation narratives are ritually re-enacted, is used as a metaphor for **Māori** identity negotiation. The stages of creation **Te Kore**, **Te Pō**, **Te Whāiao**, and **Te Ao Marama** are used to describe, respectively: those who were yet to display interest in **Māori** cultural identities; those who were interested in developing their **Māori** identities; those who were actively exploring their **Māori** identities; and those who felt secure in their **Māori** identities.

Quantitative longitudinal survey data from over 300 **Māori** adolescents in the Youth Connectedness Project was then analysed. Structural Equation Modelling revealed that **Māori** cultural engagement positively predicted **Māori** ethnic identity,

and that **Māori** ethnic identity positively predicted psychological wellbeing, in support of hypotheses. In addition, Hierarchical Linear Modelling revealed that the higher a school's level of **Māori** cultural promotion, the higher the ethnic identity of its students was likely to be.

The results of this thesis demonstrate the impact of school cultural environments on individual identity development, and provide evidence that cultural engagement initiatives can enhance **Māori** identities, which in turn can increase psychological wellbeing. The results from the studies presented in this thesis are incorporated into **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri** framework, outlining how **Māori** identities can be nurtured, and the results are also used to offer guidelines for individuals wishing to become more engaged in **Māori** culture, and institutions wishing to become more responsive to **Māori** communities. These findings are used to challenge educators and policy makers to ensure schools and other State institutions support **Māori** cultural expression and affirm **Māori** identities.

Dedication

In memory of **Koro John Rata**, **Matua John Rata**, and Aunty Wendy Looney.

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Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

MAI te Kupenga

MAI ki Pōneke

Mihi

Ko Rangi Ko Papa
Ka puta ko Rongo,
Ko Tane Mahuta
Ko Tangaroa
Ko Tumatauenga
Ko Haumietiketike
Ko Tawhirimatea
Tokona te Rangi ki runga
Ko Papa ki raro
Ka puta te ira tangata ki te whaiiao ki te ao marama
Tihei mauriora!

Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Ouri te awa
Ko Taranaki, Ngāruahine, me Ngāti Maniapoto ngā iwi
Ko Titahi, me Ngāti Rora ngā hapū
Ko Ōeo, Ōrimupiko, me Te Tokanganui-a-noho ngā marae
Ko tēnei ahau e tuku mihi atu ana ki a koutou.

For **Māori**, presenting one's **whakapapa**¹ is an appropriate way of introducing, and positioning oneself. In the section above I have presented some details of my **whakapapa**. As my research deals with **Māori** adolescent identity development in educational settings, I will also present details here on my own **Māori** identity development, and the role educational institutions have played in that development, in order to position myself in this research.

My **Māori** identity development began at home with my **Māori** father and **Pākehā**² mother, who made sure that my siblings and I knew we were **Māori**, and instilled in us a sense of pride in being **Māori**. In my early years we lived in **Papakura**, in South Auckland, where most of the **whānau** we interacted with were also **Māori**. However, we moved to a predominantly **Pākehā** community in **Taranaki**, where I was

¹ Genealogy

² New Zealander of European descent

to learn from a young age that, beyond our family home, being **Māori** was not something to be proud of.

When I began school at age eight I learnt a lot. I learnt that being **Māori** was negative. I learnt that **Māori** were dirty, lazy, poor, and delinquent. I learnt adding the prefix '**Māori**' to a noun was an effective way of establishing that the object was of inferior quality. I learnt that I was 'just a **Māori**', and that I was 'half-caste' (which I should not take offence to because it meant that I was half good). And I learnt that any behaviour I exhibited could be attributed to my being **Māori**.

In response to this early education I promptly adopted a strategy (however ill-conceived) of limiting the extent to which I was perceived as **Māori** at school. Any behaviour, attribute, or attitude that was associated with being **Māori**, I tried to avoid. I self-consciously avoided music, clothing, foods, people, and places that were associated with 'being **Māori**'. My 'success' in implementing this strategy was affirmed one day at school when a friend of mine exclaimed "**Arama**, I don't even see you as **Māori**!" And I didn't even have the good sense to be outraged.

When I was in the fourth form, we did a module on the Treaty of **Waitangi** in Social Studies. This might have been the one compulsory component of my secondary education in which I learnt about **Te Ao Māori**³. Instead, our Treaty of **Waitangi** assignment was to imagine we were British settlers in New Plymouth and write letters to our families 'back home' in England.

At university I continued to separate my **Māori** identity from my academic pursuits, but became involved in **Māori** organisations, and developed close friendships with **Māori** people. When I started to achieve academic success, the institution became interested in my **Māori** identity. In order to succeed in education I felt I had to abandon a **Māori** identity, so I felt it was ironic that once I had become successful in education, my educational institution began to value my **Māori** identity.

In my honours year I was approached by a lecturer to do a dissertation on a **Māori** topic. I was paralysed with fear at the prospect. Although I maintained a **Māori** identity at home and with my friends, I had never attempted to *be* **Māori** in an academic setting, and was terrified of the anti-**Māori** responses I might face. Despite my apprehension, I decided to take on the project and went home to **Taranaki** to carry out the research. My experiences talking with **Māori** back home revealed a completely

³ The **Māori** World

separate world, an alternative reality, coexisting with the one I had been educated in. In a sense, through education my **Māori** identity had been brought full-circle. Through education I had closed the door to the **Māori** world, and through education I re-opened it. But attempting to be reborn into that world, a stammering, stumbling infant in adult form has been a painful process.

My experiences of being, at times, insecure in my **Māori** identity (marginalised from mainstream society and with limited access to **Māori** institutions) motivate me to research identity, and my dissatisfaction with my own educational experiences cement for me the importance of locating this research within educational institutions. My background will no doubt influence the research presented in this thesis; my experiences will bias the questions that are prioritised, the data that is gathered, and the analyses that are performed. However, far from in-validating this research, the quality of this research will be enriched by the first hand experience and understanding I bring to these topics. My hope is that the research produced in this thesis will be helpful to **Māori** who wish to become more engaged in **Te Ao Māori**, and that this research might help support the development of **Māori** identities, that is, that this research might help nurture **te pītau o te tuakiri**⁴.

⁴ The young fern frond of identity

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Chapter 1: General Overview

Secure group identities have been linked with wellbeing (Phinney, 1992), and are considered across many Indigenous communities to be crucial to mental health (Durie, 2003a). As such, cultural programmes designed to promote **Māori** identity development have been suggested as strategies to promote health (M. Durie, 1998), encourage academic achievement, reduce recidivism rates (Durie, 2003b), and prevent youth suicide (Lawson-Te Aho, 1998). However, few psychological studies have explored how secure **Māori** identities develop, how social contexts (such as State secondary schools) impact on **Māori** identity development, or how **Māori** identity development might be promoted. Furthermore, longitudinal evidence of any causal links between **Māori** culture, identity, and psychological wellbeing remains scarce. The purpose of this thesis is to address these research needs. In this chapter, a review of **Māori** identity and wellbeing will be presented, and an overview of the thesis will be provided.

Māori Identities

Identity is about making sense of who we are and our place in the world. Difficulties in defining **Māori** identity arise due to the diverse realities **Māori** experience (Durie, 2005a). **Māori** are not a homogenous group, and **Māori** identities may take various forms in response to the socio-political context within which they are shaped (Poata-Smith, 1996). A description of **Māori** identity will be presented here, beginning with an introduction to key features of traditional **Māori** social groups prior to the advent of the European. A description of the impact of European contact and colonisation on **Māori** identity will then be presented, followed by a review of contemporary attempts to measure **Māori** identity.

Traditionally, **Māori** collective identities were structured around **whakapapa**⁵. According to the **Māori** worldview, all things (both living and non-living) descend from

⁵ Genealogy.

Note that words in **te reo Māori** (the **Māori** language) are bolded to differentiate them from both words in English (in normal text), and foreign words (italicised). **Māori** words are translated for the context they appear in (c.f. defined) in footnotes rather than in the many body of text to limit the distraction they present for readers who understand the **Māori** terms. This convention is also used by Pihama (2001). Some English translations are given in text where special emphasis on English translations is desired. **Māori** words are translated once per chapter, and a glossary of **Māori** words is also presented at the end of this thesis

the **atua**⁶, and can therefore be linked through **whakapapa** (Walker, 1990). **Māori** maintained important **whakapapa** links to their gods, mountains, rivers, lakes, oceans, forests, lands, and human ancestors, and it was through **whakapapa** that essential **Māori** social collectives were formed (Walker, 1990). Therefore the bases of **Māori** collective identities include particular **atua**, **whenua**⁷ and other geographic features, and **tīpuna**⁸. Essential **Māori** social collectives include **whānau**⁹, **marae**¹⁰, **hapū**¹¹, and **iwi**¹², and these collectives have developed their own unique cultural and economic practices.

Whakapapa is critical to **Māori** social organisations and relationships, as it is through **whakapapa** that **mana**¹³ is inherited. **Mana** is a divine power that is passed down from the **atua** and inherited at birth (Walker, 1990). The more senior ones line of descent, the more **mana** one inherits and the higher ones social status. While **mana** is inherited from the gods, it can also be increased or decreased through earthly actions. For example, strong leadership abilities will increase a person's **mana** (Walker, 1990). **Mana** then is a powerful social force, both organising people into social collectives, and guiding interactions at the individual and inter-group levels.

Mana and **whakapapa** are also related to another source of identity for **Māori**: **mana whenua**. **Mana whenua** can be used to describe the divine power of the land itself, or to describe territorial authority over the land that is held by **iwi** or **hapū** (Maori Dictionary Online, 2011). The centrality of tribal land to **Māori** identity is exemplified during formal introductions that begin with the speaker identifying their tribal territories by naming landmarks, such as their mountain or their river (see Salmond, 1975). This part of the introduction process is considered more important than identifying one's personal name.

Mana whenua is also closely related to the concept **tūrangawaewae**. **Tūrangawaewae**, in a literal sense, means standing place, but the term is used to describe a person's ancestral home, their place of belonging (Maori Dictionary Online, 2011), where they have the right to stand and be heard. Thus **tūrangawaewae** is a place of emotional significance as well as a source of power or strength (see Walker,

⁶ Deities, natural elements.

⁷ Land

⁸ Human ancestors

⁹ Extended families

¹⁰ Ancestral meeting houses maintained by a number of closely related **whānau**

¹¹ Tribes

¹² Confederations of tribes, Nations (Metge, 1967)

¹³ Prestige, authority, power, influence, status

1975). The psychological importance of this concept is reflected in contemporary research that identifies **tūrangawaewae** as a prerequisite to wellbeing (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988).

European contact transformed the collective identities of the Indigenous inhabitants of **Aotearoa**¹⁴ in a number of ways. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the cultural distinctiveness between tribes meant that **iwi** and **hapū** were the most meaningful of social categories. Upon the arrival of Europeans, the pan-tribal social category ‘**Māori**’ (ordinary, normal) was constructed to differentiate between the Indigenous inhabitants and the non-**Māori** Europeans (who **Māori** referred to as **Pākehā**; King, 2003). Supra-**iwi** identities also became more significant, as the foreign threat caused tribes to unite. For example, a number of Northern tribes formed a loose confederation and declared independence in 1835, in order to prevent foreign nations establishing states within their tribal territories (King, 2003). Tribal identities and relationships were also affected by the introduction of the musket by Europeans, which revolutionised warfare, reignited tribal tensions, led to massive loss of life, and necessitated tribal alliances (Belich, 1996).

As the European imperialist agenda progressed, a number of colonial instruments were implemented to weaken **Māori** culture and social structures, in an effort to devolve **Māori** authority and control over resources to Europeans (Walker, 1990). These colonial instruments included Christianity, schools, The Treaty of **Waitangi** 1840, the establishment of a settler Government, and war. The settler Government then began the use of legal instruments to further their agenda. Legal instruments that were particularly detrimental to **Māori** social structures and culture included (but were not limited to) *The Native Lands Act 1862* (breaking down communal ownership of land and, therefore, power structures within **Māori** collectives), *The Native Schools Act 1867* (used explicitly to assimilate **Māori** children into **Pākehā** culture), *The Tohunga Suppression Act 1908* (outlawing **Māori** healers, spiritual advisors, and holders of **Māori** knowledge), *The Native Health Act 1909* (outlawing **Māori** family practices including breastfeeding), The Hunn Report 1960 (recommending the up-scaling of **Māori** assimilation policies), and the imposition of the Fiscal Envelope 1995 (capping treaty settlement monies and causing tensions among **Māori** collectives who were forced to compete for meagre compensation). These

¹⁴ New Zealand

devices were used in conjunction with legislation designed to appropriate **Māori** land and natural resources, and had the combined effect of devastating **Māori** social collectives and cultural identity.

While **Māori** collectives such as **iwi** and **hapū** had always been diverse, colonial processes have introduced a new form of cultural diversity, as the extent to which **Māori** maintain traditional worldviews, beliefs, values, practices, resources, and social structures varies wildly between **Māori** individuals, and between **Māori** collectives (McIntosh, 2005). While some **Māori** are deeply imbedded in ‘traditional’ **Māori** culture, others, through various voluntary and involuntary processes, have more or less assimilated to **Pākehā** culture. The extent to which people of **Māori** descent identify as **Māori**, and the importance they place on this social category also varies (**Kukutai**, 2003).

Contemporary Measures of Māori Identity

In an attempt to capture the cultural diversity that exists within the **Māori** social category, McIntosh (2005) distinguishes between **Māori** identities that are Fixed, Fluid, and Forced. According to her definitions, Fixed **Māori** are those who maintain traditional **Māori** cultural practices, Fluid **Māori** are those who may be less distinct from mainstream culture but still identify positively as **Māori** and reject negative stereotypes, and Forced **Māori** are those who do not have access to **Māori** cultural resources and are categorised as **Māori** by non-**Māori** as a form of exclusion, rendering them doubly marginalised.

Due to the variability that exists between **Māori** identities, efforts have also been made to measure **Māori** identities quantitatively. For example, seven indicators of **Māori** cultural identity were put forward by **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team (1996). These indicators were; self-identification, **whakapapa**, **marae** participation, **whānau** associations, **whenua tipu** (access to tribal lands), contact with **Māori** people, and **Māori** language. These indicators were used to distinguish between **Māori** identities that are labelled as Compromised, Notional, Positive, and Secure. According to this system of classification, those who have considerable access to **Māori** cultural resources and engage predominantly in **Te Ao Māori** have the most secure **Māori** identities.

A two dimensional model of **Māori** identity positioning was proposed by the E-Learning Advisory Group (2002). In this model, positions are determined by cultural

interaction (close or distant), and disposition towards **Māori** culture (positive or negative). Those with high cultural interaction and a positive disposition fall into the ‘cultural inheritors’ category. Those with high cultural interaction and a negative disposition fall into the ‘cultural dissenters’ category. Those with low cultural interaction and a positive disposition fall into the ‘cultural seekers’ category. Finally those with low cultural interaction and a negative disposition fall into the ‘cultural rejecters’ category. This model is useful in that it allows for a person’s access to cultural resources, and personal disposition to be considered simultaneously.

A **Māori** identity model that considers broader contextual and social factors that influence identity positioning was put forward by Davies, Elkington, and Winslade (1993). In their model, the habitats of the **Pūtangitangi** (duck) are used as a metaphor for the identity spaces **Māori** occupy. The **Pūtangitangi** model is two dimensional, organising identity positions based on the strength of a person’s cultural identity, and the effect of the dominant culture. The four habitats of **Pūtangitangi** are land, rivers, sky, and sea. According to this model, if the strength of **Māori** cultural identity is high, and the effect of the dominant culture is low, the identity position is land. If both **Māori** cultural identity and the effect of the dominant culture are high, the identity position is rivers. If **Māori** cultural identity is low, and the dominant culture effect is high, the identity position is sky. Finally if both cultural identity and the dominant culture effect are low, the identity position is sea. This model suggests that there are benefits associated with the different habitats and draws particular attention to the stability of the land identity position (high **Māori** cultural identity with low effect of the dominant culture), and the danger and uncertainty of the ocean position (low **Māori** cultural identity, and low effect of the dominant culture).

Pūtangitangi is a particularly useful model for considering **Māori** identity spaces, as it is fundamentally a dynamic identity model that deals well with identity development, and with individuals who move fluidly between identity spaces. The model is also useful as it is grounded in a landscape metaphor that allows the importance of the environment or social context to be considered. The use of landscapes in the model also allows for the incorporation of resources and threats in the particular landscape that might motivate migrations between identity spaces. However, the model is perhaps too simplistic, as it essentialises **Māori** cultural identity and dominant culture effects as discrete dimensions of identity. The model also assumes

that some **Māori** can experience a low effect of the dominant culture. However, in the colonial context of **Aotearoa**, the effect of the dominant culture is pervasive.

A measure of **Māori** identity that better reflects multiple ways of being **Māori** was developed by **Houkamau** and Sibley (2010). They produced the Multi-dimensional Model of **Māori** Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMMICE) that consisted of the following six dimensions: (1) Group Membership Evaluation; (2) Socio-Political Consciousness; (3) Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement; (4) Spirituality; (5) Interdependent Self-Concept; and (6) Authenticity Beliefs (i.e. whether or not one believes that some people are ‘more’ **Māori** than others). The benefit of this model is that multiple factors that **Māori** may consider central to their identity are considered, and no one identity position is promoted as superior to others, thereby affirming diverse **Māori** identity positions.

Western Constructions of Identity

Multiple theoretical frameworks for understanding identity have been suggested. Identity can be used to describe something we ‘are’ (i.e. something that is derived from our stable characteristics); something we ‘do’ (i.e. a position we negotiate during social interactions); something we ‘achieve’ (through coming to terms with who we are and developing a positive sense of ourselves); or something we ‘belong to’ (i.e. our membership of a social category). Three frameworks for understanding identity that are often applied in psychological research, including research involving **Māori**, are the social identity approach, ethnic identity, and acculturation.

The Social Identity Approach. Social psychology researcher Henri Tajfel (1982, p.24) defines social identity as “that part of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance of that membership.” While this approach acknowledges that social contexts inform the social identity that is selected from numerous alternatives (see Turner, 1982), the focus of this approach is very much at the individual level, as identity itself is seen to reside within the individual, as part of their ‘self-concept’.

Ethnic Identity. Within psychological literature **Māori** identity is often analysed through the frame of ethnic identity. Ethnicity categorises people based on factors which can include ancestry, culture, language, and religion, and ethnic identity is the part of one’s sense of self that derives from their membership of an ethnic group. The most commonly used measure of ethnic identity in psychology research, the MEIM

(Phinney, 1992), originally consisted of three factors, which included ethnic behaviours. However, Phinney and Ong (2007) produced a revised version of the MEIM consisting of identity exploration, and identity commitment only. The ethnic behaviours factor was removed from the measure, as these external actions were not considered part of the internal experiences that make up ethnic identity. As opposed to being part of ethnic identity, it has been suggested that ethnic behaviours are indicators of acculturation (Roberts et al., 1999).

Acculturation. Acculturation refers to culture changes that result from intercultural contact (Sam & Berry, 2010). These changes can be affective, behavioural, or cognitive (Ward, 1996). Berry (1984) distinguishes between four acculturation strategies, based on the extent to which people maintain their cultural heritage, and engage with wider society. The four strategies are: Assimilation (low cultural heritage, and high engagement with wider society); Marginalisation (low cultural heritage, and low engagement with wider society); Separation (high cultural heritage, and low engagement with wider society); and Integration (high cultural heritage, and high engagement with wider society). Berry suggests that the integration strategy is the most adaptive. These acculturation strategies resonate with the **Māori** identity positions suggested by McIntosh (2005), and Davies et al. (1993) in that the models include the effect of the heritage culture, and mainstream culture.

Māori and Western Conceptualisations of Identity

The Social Identity Approach, outlined above, is useful in accounting for **Māori** identity diversity, as it acknowledges the importance of social contexts in identity salience. However, there are tensions between the way identity is constructed in the Social Identity Approach and traditional **Māori** identity constructs presented earlier in this chapter.

In accordance with Social Identity Theory, ethnic identity is considered part of one's sense of self: an internal experience. In contrast to this notion, the bases of **Māori** identities include the **atua**, **whenua**, and **tīpuna** that members of the group descend from and have a relationship with. **Māori** identity then resides not only within the individual as an internal experience, but within the **whakapapa** relationship. Indeed the **Māori** term for identity, '**tuakiri**', literally means all that exists externally of the individual (Mead, 2003). Commenting on the contrast between Western and **Māori** notions of identity, Professor Sir Mason Durie notes "Identity is not primarily an inner

experience or personal conviction, rather it is a construct derived from the nature of relationships with the external world” (2003b, p. 50).

It is possible the separation of internal experience from observable behaviours and external relationships that is evident in psychological identity theories is due the historical roots of psychology. Psychology, as a product of Western science, bears the hallmarks of Cartesian dualism, as distinctions are made between mind and body, between the subjective and the objective, and between experience and behaviour (Durie, 1989). While this dualism is deeply embedded in Western scientific thought, **mātauranga Māori**¹⁵ tends to be holistic (Durie, 1989).

Identity Definitions

This thesis draws on both **Māori** and Western psychological knowledge, and begins with a broad focus applied to qualitative studies, followed by a more narrow focus applied to quantitative studies. As there are multiple frameworks for understanding identity, definitions of the terms used in this thesis will be given here, to avoid confusion.

“**Māori** identity” will be used as a broad term that accommodates multiple ways of understanding identity. This term will be used in the qualitative studies, to avoid interpreting participants’ discourse based on a predetermined identity framework. In this way, the term “**Māori** identity” will accommodate traditional **Māori** identity concepts that locate identity within **whakapapa** relationships as opposed to within the self-concept. This term will also accommodate cultural values and beliefs, external behaviours, and the subjective experience of being **Māori**. Due to the multiple ways in which **Māori** identity can be constructed, the term “**Māori** identities” will be used interchangeably with the term “**Māori** identity”. The term “secure **Māori** identity” will be used to refer to any **Māori** identity that meets the identity aspirations of the person holding the identity.

In contrast, “Ethnic identity” will be used to refer to a narrower definition of identity that is consistent with the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982), and commonly used in Western psychology: one’s sense of themselves as a member of an ethnic group. Those who view their ethnic identity positively will be said to have a “secure ethnic identity”. This definition will be applied in quantitative studies in this thesis. It is

¹⁵ **Māori** knowledge

important to note that according to these definitions, “ethnic identity” can be subsumed by the more inclusive, broader term “**Māori** identity”.

Māori Identity and Wellbeing

Māori authors have suggested that identity and wellbeing are connected. For example, Durie (2003a) notes that insecure identity and unsatisfactory relationships (with individuals and institutions) can lead to a lack of wellbeing. As such, Durie suggests that increasing access to **Māori** cultural institutions can promote secure identities, and ultimately build resilience and confidence.

The relationship between group identity and wellbeing is also well established in Western psychological research. It has been reported that ethnic identity is positively correlated with a number of measures of wellbeing including self-esteem (Phinney, 1992), self-efficacy (Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, & Seay, 1999), quality of life (Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002), self-confidence, and purpose in life (Martines & Dukes, 1997).

According to Social Identity Theory, the link between a social identity, such as ethnic identity, and wellbeing is outlined as follows. Once an individual is categorised as belonging to a social group, and identifies themselves as belonging to that group, they seek positive distinctiveness by comparing themselves favourably to an outgroup, in order to enhance their self-esteem (Haslam, 2004).

Deriving positive distinctiveness through outgroup comparisons may be problematic for members of ‘low status’ groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979) presented a model of strategies low status group members could adopt in order to achieve a positive social identity. According to this model, if the movement between groups is possible, low-status group members may attempt to enter high-status groups. Where movement between groups is not possible, and power relations between groups is considered legitimate and stable, low-status group members will create new criteria by which to judge themselves against the outgroup. Where movement between groups is not possible, and power relations between groups are considered illegitimate and unstable, social competition will result (Haslam, 2004).

The model presented by Tajfel and Turner (1979) for low-status group members’ achievement of positive social identities is useful when considering **Māori** ethnic identity. As **Pākehā** hold more power than **Māori**, and have more control over how ethnic groups are represented through New Zealand institutions, it might be problematic

for **Māori** to construct a positive ethnic identity. The strategies presented in Tajfel and Turner's model may be adopted in certain contexts. For example, **Māori** might respond by changing the criteria with which they evaluate their own and other ethnic groups to gain positive distinctiveness, or they may respond by challenging the unequal power relations in New Zealand.

Māori Wellbeing

In order to assess the relationships between **Māori** culture, identity, and wellbeing further, **Māori** notions of wellbeing need to be explored. While there are many similarities between **Māori** and Western notions of wellbeing, differences exist in where emphasis is placed. Western models of wellbeing tend to emphasise the physical, whereas **Māori** models place greater emphasis on the psychological, social, environmental, and spiritual (Durie, 1989). The following **Māori** models of wellbeing exemplify this holistic approach to wellbeing.

Perhaps the most well-known model of **Māori** health, **Te Whare Tapa Whā**, likens the components of wellbeing to the four walls of a house (Durie, 1989). The four components are **te taha tinana** (the physical domain), **te taha hinengaro** (the psychological domain), **te taha whānau** (the family domain/support support), **te taha wairua** (the spiritual domain). Like the walls of a house, if one component is damaged or missing, it will compromise the structural integrity of the whole, thereby affecting other components.

Te Wheke (Pere, 1988) uses the octopus as a metaphor for wellbeing, where each tentacle represents a different aspect that contributes to the wellbeing of the person or **whānau** unit, represented by the head of the octopus. The aspects of wellbeing represented by the tentacles are: **wairuatanga** (the spiritual aspect); **mana ake** (uniqueness); **mauri** (life principle); **ha a kore ma a kui ma** (the breath of life from forebears); **taha tinana** (the physical aspect); **whanaungatanga** (the relational aspect); **whatumanawa** (the emotional aspect); and **hinengaro** (the psychological aspect).

The holistic nature of **Māori** notions of health and wellbeing was also exemplified in a report produced by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988). This report stated that in addition to the components of wellbeing identified by **Māori** and non-**Māori** alike, **Māori** identified the importance of the resolution of land and sovereignty issues, balance between the physical and spiritual realms, and the protection of **Māori** identity. These findings lead the commission to produce the model **Ngā Pou**

Mana, outlining the four supports, which constitute the prerequisites for **Māori** wellbeing. These prerequisites were **whanaungatanga** (relationships), **ngā taonga tuku iho** (cultural heritage), **te ao tūroa** (ancestral estates), and **tūrangawaewae** (place of belonging). These prerequisites indicate that **Māori** social collectives and cultural identity are essential to **Māori** wellbeing.

Wellbeing definitions

Due to the differences in emphasis between **Māori** and Western notions of wellbeing, definitions will be provided here to avoid confusion. The term ‘wellbeing’ will be used to refer to a holistic notion of health, in line with **Te Whare Tapa Whā** (Durie, 1989). In contrast, ‘psychological wellbeing’ will be used in reference to a Western psychological definition of wellbeing, which focuses on the psychological health of the individual.

Māori Identity in Context

While **Māori** identity may be crucial to **Māori** wellbeing, the current reality in **Aotearoa** is that many **Māori** do not have access to the **Māori** cultural institutions that might promote secure **Māori** identity. A report from **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** (1997), a longitudinal survey of 700 **Māori** households, stated that one third of all respondents had little or no access to **marae**. In addition, around three quarters of the respondents reported having little or no knowledge of **whakapapa**, and reported **te reo Māori** proficiency level less than ‘conversational’.

This level of cultural alienation is a product of colonialism, as outlined earlier in this chapter. One colonial process that has had a particularly negative impact on **Māori** culture and identity is State schooling. **Māori** State schools were designed to assimilate **Māori** into a European lifestyle (**Hemara**, 2000), thereby displacing **Māori** language, culture, and knowledge. This Euro-centrism continues to underpin State education in New Zealand (**Bishop & Glynn**, 1998).

While **Māori** education initiatives such as the **Kaupapa Māori**¹⁶ movement affirm **Māori** identity by centring the education experience on the **Māori** learner (**Smith**, 1990), over 85% of **Māori** students attend mainstream State schools (**ERO**, 2006). Students within mainstream schools have limited opportunities to engage with **Māori** culture and develop secure **Māori** identities. Prominent education researcher Professor **Wally Penetito** has called for structural changes to be made to the mainstream

¹⁶ **Māori** language immersion schools based on **Māori** pedagogies

education system so that schools are more responsive to **Māori** (Penetito, 1986). These changes include changes to the curriculum, evaluation processes, and school administration.

As adolescence is critical period in the identity development process (Erikson, 1968), the role of State secondary schools in the **Māori** identity development process needs to be assessed, and the potential of cultural interventions to create learning environments that affirm **Māori** identities needs to be explored.

Research Overview

The present research builds on **Māori** and Western psychological knowledge bases to investigate how **Māori** identities develop in the context of State secondary schools, and how **Māori** identities might relate to wellbeing. Points of connection and points of divergence exist between **Māori** and Western psychological concepts (Durie, 1989). Therefore, the first objective of this thesis was to construct a methodological framework that allows **Māori** and Western knowledge to be used additively to create new and innovative knowledge.

The second objective of this research was to conduct a scoping study with a **Māori** community who implemented a cultural reintegration initiative at a State secondary school. Cultural interventions to promote **Māori** identity have been suggested to promote a range of positive outcomes (for examples see M. Durie, 1998; 2003; Lawson-**Te Aho**, 1998). This scoping study provided an opportunity to outline how cultural initiatives might support secure **Māori** identity development. Interviews and focus groups with community members were analysed to produce a cultural intervention framework to affirm **Māori** identities. Community members' input guided further research in this thesis.

While many measures of **Māori** identity exist, few psychological studies have explored how **Māori** identity develops. The third objective of this thesis was to develop a framework of **Māori** identity development. This **Māori** identity development framework will draw on distinctly **Māori** cultural identity concepts (as outlined by **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team, 1996), will incorporate personal cultural identity aspirations (in line with the E-Learning Advisory Group, 2002), will accommodate identity development in a dynamic framework (as does the **Pūtangitangi** model, Davies et al., 1993), and will affirm multiple **Māori** identities (as does the MMMICE, **Houkamau** & Sibley, 2010).

Guided by community input gained in the scoping study, the fourth objective of this thesis was to assess the relationships between cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing. While Durie (2003b) has suggested that increasing **Māori** cultural engagement can enhance identity and promote wellbeing, longitudinal evidence of causal relationships between these constructs is scarce. This study seeks such evidence using an unprecedented national, longitudinal, quantitative dataset, which was collected as part of the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP) by the Roy McKenzie Centre for Families. An advanced statistical technique called Structural Equation Modelling is used to explore causal relationships between cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing.

Finally, to fulfil the fifth objective of this thesis, publically available data on the **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities offered by secondary schools was collected and used to construct a measure of **Māori** cultural promotion. It has been suggested that structural changes be made to schools, including curriculum changes, in order to make schools more responsive to **Māori** needs (Penetito, 1986). However, as of yet, a national quantitative study into the effects of **Māori** cultural promotion on ethnic identity development has not been conducted. In the first study of its kind, data on school levels of **Māori** cultural promotion will be combined with the YCP data to assess the impact of school levels of **Māori** cultural promotion on the identity development of **Māori** students. Table 1 outlines the specific research questions that will be addressed in this thesis.

Table 1. *Thesis Research Questions*

Overarching Research Question:	Specific Research Questions:
What are the relationships between Māori cultural engagement, Māori identity, and psychological wellbeing in the context of State secondary schools in 21 st Century Aotearoa ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What methodological considerations are critical to inquiries into diverse Māori identities in 21st Century Aotearoa?2. What contextual factors do Māori identify as being conducive to the development of secure Māori identities in State secondary schools?3. How are diverse Māori identities negotiated in 21st Century Aotearoa?4. What are the relationships between Māori cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing?5. How do school cultural environments influence the development of diverse Māori identities?

Chapter 2: Methodology

Overview

In this chapter, a methodological framework is presented for psychological research involving diverse **Māori**. The **Waka Hourua**¹⁷ Research Framework situates research exploration at the interface between **Māori** knowledge and Western knowledge (see Durie, 2005b). The framework incorporates core **Māori** values, guiding principles, and contextual research considerations in a dynamic framework that allows for adaptations to be made throughout the research process. This framework enables researchers to affirm the legitimacy of **Māori** knowledge, and to use **Māori** knowledge as a platform for generating new knowledge, without dismissing Western knowledge bases. The utility of the framework is that it enables resulting research to reflect diverse **Māori** realities and respond to **Māori** research priorities.

When researching **Māori** social phenomena, recourse to **Māori** knowledge systems is necessary in order to produce informed, accurate, and useful research. However, **Māori** and other Indigenous knowledge systems have often been dismissed or overlooked in Western research (Durie, 2005b). In order to adopt an appropriate methodological approach for this study of **Māori** identities and psychological wellbeing, it is necessary to have an understanding of **Māori** epistemologies, the **Māori** research tradition, how that research tradition has been impacted on by European colonisation, **Māori** experiences of Western research in general and psychological research in particular, and the current **Māori** research climate.

Māori Epistemology

A defining feature of **Māori** epistemology is the interconnectedness of all things. According to **Māori**, all things living and non-living, mental, physical, and spiritual are connected through **whakapapa**¹⁸ (Roberts & Wills, 1998). As all things descend from a **tapu**¹⁹ origin (Roberts & Wills, 1998), and sacredness is passed down through **whakapapa**, all things have an element of sacredness to them, and this includes knowledge itself (Durie, 2005b).

In a **Māori** sense, “‘to know’ something is to locate it in time and space,” thereby identifying its **whakapapa** (Roberts & Wills, 1998, p. 45). For Royal (1998), **whakapapa** is the research methodology used to understand the world, and

¹⁷ Double-hulled sailing vessel

¹⁸ Genealogy

¹⁹ Sacred

mātauranga Māori²⁰ is the theory that is generated from the **whakapapa** process. In this way, **mātauranga Māori** results from a holistic approach, where knowledge and understanding is enhanced by considering the wider relationships of the object of study.

As is common of Indigenous knowledge systems, **mātauranga Māori** is founded on the unity of people and the environment, developed over successive generations (Durie, 2005b). For this reason, **mātauranga Māori** is often geographically specific, situated knowledge (Roberts, 1996), closely tied to the natural environment (Durie, 2005b).

As well as the unity between people and environment, **Māori** worldviews also emphasise the connectedness and interdependence of the individual and the collective (Cunningham, 1998). This impacts the ownership and transmission of knowledge. Knowledge is seen as belonging to the collective: a sacred treasure, bequeathed by the ancestors. Individuals are carefully selected to look after the knowledge, and pass it on for posterity (Robinson, 2005). Therefore bearers of knowledge are seen as **kaitiaki**²¹ of the sacred **taonga**²², rather than as owners of knowledge.

Māori Research Tradition

Despite the lack of recognition afforded Indigenous knowledge systems (Roberts & Wills, 1998), **Māori** have a strong intellectual tradition. When the ancestors of modern **Māori** arrived in **Aotearoa**, they brought with them a complex knowledge system, developed, independently of Western science, over thousands of years. In their midst were **tohunga**²³ in fields such as medicine, engineering, horticulture, navigation, and astronomy (Kapua, 1997). The sophistication of their knowledge system allowed them to achieve the impressive feat of exploring and peopling **Te Moana Nui a Kiwa**²⁴, and in doing so creating the largest ‘culture sphere’ in the world, spanning roughly one quarter of the Earth’s surface (Davis, 2009). They accomplished this by constructing the fastest ocean vessels in the world (Walker, 1994), using only stone tools (Best, 1954), and applying their extensive knowledge of the ocean environment to find their way across the vast Pacific Ocean, without recourse to modern navigation technologies. Once they arrived in **Aotearoa**, their strong scientific tradition (of observation, controlled testing, and theory generation) then allowed them to research the properties

²⁰ **Māori** knowledge

²¹ Guardians

²² Treasures

²³ Experts

²⁴ The Pacific Ocean

of the flora, fauna, and minerals of their new home (Harris & Mercier, 2006), and adapt the technologies they brought with them to suit the local environment (Walker, 1994).

Having successfully established themselves in **Aotearoa**, **Māori** continued to advance their knowledge system, instituting houses of learning, for example the **whare pūrākau**, **whare mata**, **whare kura**, **whare maire** and **whare wānanga** (Robinson, 2005). Entrance into **whare wānanga** (houses of higher learning) was exclusive, and adherence to strict teaching and learning protocols was enforced (Hemara, 2000). **Māori** at this time did not rely on literacy, and had developed their own system of storing and communicating information (Lomax, 1996). Practices such as recitation, and devices such as **whakatauki**²⁵, **waiata**²⁶, and **mōteatea**²⁷ were used to accurately store information, along with visual aids such as **whakairo**²⁸, **kōwhaiwhai**²⁹, **tukutuku**³⁰, **taniko**³¹, and **tā moko**³² (Roberts & Wills, 1998). The **Māori** knowledge system also relied on the frequent use of “metaphor, personification and symbolism to embellish and sometimes to encode the explanation” (Roberts, 1996, p. 64). The **wānanga**³³ process allowed research collaborations between experts to take place, and the **tautohetohe**³⁴ process was used to scrutinise and revise existing knowledge (Roberts & Wills, 1998). Following **wānanga**, new research findings would be disseminated to society (Lomax, 1996).

The Impact of European Colonisation on Māori Research

When the first Europeans began to arrive in **Aotearoa**, **Māori** were thriving. At this time, **Māori** enjoyed good health and had sophisticated social structures (for example, legal, health, and educational institutions; Walker, 1990). **Māori** of this time were eager to embrace the technologies brought by the Europeans, and quickly mastered European seafaring and cultivation techniques, and developed literacy in **te reo Māori**³⁵ (Walker, 1990), demonstrating the potential of their knowledge system to be combined with other knowledge systems, and to respond to new research challenges. However, as a result of European contact, in subsequent years **Māori** were to face critical threats in

²⁵ Proverbs

²⁶ Song

²⁷ Chants

²⁸ Carving

²⁹ Ornamental painting

³⁰ Lattice work

³¹ Embroidery

³² Tattoo

³³ Discussion forum

³⁴ Debate

³⁵ The **Māori** language

the form of introduced diseases, war, and massive land confiscations. These threats to **Māori** survival impacted negatively on **Māori** knowledge institutions and research traditions (Harris & Mercier, 2006).

Subsequent challenges to the development of **mātauranga Māori** resulted from Government legislation. For example, *The Native Schools Act 1867, 1871* required that schools teach an entirely European curriculum through the medium of the English language, as opposed to **te reo Māori**, which had been the most common language of instruction in schools until that point. This was to have devastating effects not only on **te reo Māori** proficiency levels, but also on the ability of **Māori** to transfer knowledge and customs (Harris & Mercier, 2006). A generation later *The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907* made it illegal for **Māori** knowledge experts to practice. Those who continued the practice faced fines or imprisonment (Williams, 2001a). Government efforts to encourage **Māori** to migrate away from their communities to the cities, and The Hunn Report 1960, designed to promote **Māori** integration into European culture, also led to loss of **Māori** culture and knowledge (Williams, 2001a). For **Māori**, this was a period where huge efforts were necessary in order to simply retain, let alone develop their knowledge systems (Harris & Mercier, 2006).

Māori Cultural Renaissance

While **Māori** struggles to protect their cultural and intellectual heritage had been ongoing since the colonial period had begun, in the 1970s the cultural renaissance that had begun decades earlier was re-invigorated through **Māori** political activism. Developments that continue to promote **mātauranga Māori** as a result of that ongoing struggle include the introduction of courses in **te reo Māori** in secondary schools, the recognition of **te reo Māori** as an official language of the country, the (re)establishment of **kōhanga reo**³⁶, **kura kaupapa**³⁷, **whare kura**³⁸, and **whare wānanga**³⁹, and the establishment of the **Waitangi** Tribunal, which has prompted **Māori** to undertake extensive tribal research in order to present reports to the tribunal.

More recently, the **Mataatua** Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1993 has also served to promote **mātauranga**. The **Mataatua** Declaration was a strong assertion of Indigenous peoples' intellectual property rights to their cultural heritage. The declaration stated that Indigenous

³⁶ **Māori** immersion pre-schools

³⁷ **Māori** immersion primary schools

³⁸ **Māori** immersion secondary schools

³⁹ **Māori** Universities

knowledge and culture should be protected from exploitation, that Indigenous peoples have the “right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions” (p. 3), and that Indigenous peoples should establish research and education centres in order to do so. Efforts to protect **mātauranga Māori** have also been strengthened by The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007 (United Nations, 2007), which challenges states to give recognition to Indigenous knowledges, and to make provisions to ensure that Indigenous sciences and technologies are protected, developed, and passed-on to future generations.

Crown obligations entrenched in the Treaty of **Waitangi** to ensure equality, and to protect **Māori** property interests also have implications on research. These obligations require that efforts be made to increase **Māori** participation in research, and to protect **Māori** intellectual property rights to their traditional knowledge (Durie, 2005b), including the right to develop their knowledge as they see fit. Against a backdrop of increased global interest in Indigenous knowledges, these treaty obligations are beginning to have more influence on policy development. The Ministry of Research Science and Technology (MoRST) has identified the need to develop relationships with **Māori** to increase **Māori** capacity and participation in science, and has recognised the legitimacy of **mātauranga Māori** (see Ministry of Research Science and Technology, 2006). As a result of the recognition of **mātauranga Māori** into MoRST policies, funding is slowly being targeted towards **Māori** scholarship.

Māori Experiences of Western Research

Research has played, and indeed continues to play, a significant role in colonial processes that dispossess and oppress **Māori**; anthropologists and historians have ‘researched’ **Māori**, producing fictions that, despite being discredited, continue to distort and subvert **Māori** histories and realities, and perpetuate racist discourses (Bishop, 1999); ‘research’ produced by social scientists has been used to justify assimilation policies (Walker, 1990); and **Māori** resources are ‘researched’ and surveyed, so that they can be misappropriated (e.g. see The **Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi; Waitangi Tribunal**, 1996). Due to the harm that can be caused to Indigenous communities through research, careful consideration of how research can perpetuate colonialism is necessary.

The dominant process in research involving **Māori** has served to exclude **Māori** from knowledge production and from sharing the benefits of research (Bishop, 1999).

Sir Eddie Durie (1998) outlines how the popular misconception that **Māori** society is a stagnant remnant of the past that will be subsumed by the ‘superior’ **Pākehā**⁴⁰ culture has served to alienate **Māori** from their development rights. This dominant process has failed to recognise the legitimacy of **Māori** epistemologies, and denied the capacity for new knowledge to be generated from a **Māori** worldview (Bishop, 1999). Sir Eddie Durie notes that recognition must be given that “**Māori** society has been receptive to change while maintaining conformity with its basic beliefs” (1998: p. 63). As such, **Māori** values, epistemologies, and knowledge remain relevant today, and can be used to generate new knowledge.

Māori have also been prevented from sharing equally in the benefits of research, as mainstream research priorities often differ substantially to **Māori** research priorities (Cunningham, 1998). The historically dominant approach to research involving **Māori** has been for non-**Māori** researchers to conduct the research, driven by their own research objectives, and influenced by their own cultural worldviews (Bishop, 1999). Ultimately, the findings of such studies conform to the worldview of non-**Māori** researchers, often to the detriment of **Māori**.

In response, Fiona Cram (2001) identifies the need for **Māori** research to be decolonised, stating that research conducted ‘on’ **Māori**, by non-**Māori**, often perpetuates colonialism by benefiting the researcher rather than the **Māori** community. The cultural standpoint of the researcher is privileged, denying the lived realities of the community. Eurocentric standards of measurement are imposed onto **Māori**, and, not surprisingly, **Māori** are found not to ‘measure up’ to these alien instruments. When research conducted in this way identifies disparities between **Māori** and non-**Māori**, blame is then placed on **Māori** individuals, without any critical analyses of the social structures that produce these disparities.

To address these issues, this research will be situated at the interface between **Māori** knowledge, and Western science (see Durie, 2005b). **Māori** research priorities will inform the research direction, and the theory and methods used will be drawn from both **Māori** and Western knowledge bases. In this way, the legitimacy of **Māori** knowledge will be affirmed, and **Māori** knowledge will be used as a platform for generating new knowledge. Analyses will incorporate **Māori** worldviews, and the social, political, and historical context of **Māori** will be considered.

⁴⁰ European

Culturally Bound Western Psychology

The purpose of psychology is to explain mental functioning, to make sense of behaviour, and to enhance mental wellbeing. Achieving these goals often requires an understanding of socially constructed, culturally specific value and belief systems. Despite the cultural specificity of these systems underpinning psychology, researchers and practitioners in this field use measures and assessment tools that, for the most part, have been developed in Western populations and, therefore, may be inappropriate for use with Māori and other non-Western populations (Love, 1999). As few guidelines exist for distinguishing cultural from abnormal experiences in non-Western populations, the ability of psychological measures to distinguish adaptive and maladaptive thoughts and behaviour in **Māori** populations is questionable (Kingi, 2002). As this distinction underpins psychological assessment and treatment, it is perhaps unsurprising that there are widespread concerns regarding the ability of mainstream institutions to deliver effective mental health services to **Māori**, and that **Māori** communities have been found to view current psychological research, training, and practices with New Zealand with distrust (Milne, 2005).

Māori dissatisfaction with psychological research may stem from its epistemological foundations. Psychology remains ethno-centric (Allwood & Berry, 2006) due to its construction within the culturally bound knowledge system of Western science (Lawson-Te Aho, 1993). Although Western science claims to be objective, culture free, apolitical, value free, and universally applicable, as with all knowledge systems, it is culturally bound (Lawson-Te Aho, 1993). As a culturally bound knowledge system, Western science includes features that are not shared with many other knowledge systems, such as reductionism (i.e. separating objects under study into constituent parts to gain a greater understanding of the whole) and isolationism (i.e. studying objects in isolation; Harris & Mercier, 2006).

Evidence of reductionism and isolationism can be seen in Western psychology, as the individual is most often the basic unit of analysis. Psychological problems are considered to arise within the individual, and treatment is directed at the individual (Duran & Duran, 2002). In contrast, Indigenous approaches identify interconnectedness between all things (Williams, 2001b), and incorporate analyses of social relationships, connections with the physical environment, and historical events. It has been suggested that the dominance of Western psychological approaches serves to separate Indigenous peoples from the context and history in which their problems emanate (Duran & Duran,

2002). Therefore the benefits of treatments that could deal with these issues are not explored in research. To address the issues outlined above, this thesis will be predicated on a **Māori** worldview, and contextual factors will be included in analyses.

Contemporary Research

Clearly there is a need for Indigenous research approaches that are culturally relevant and appropriate. In response to the harm caused by non-Indigenous research methods and methodologies, Indigenous communities have reclaimed their own methodological approaches, to decolonise the research process. Innovative approaches have also been developed that combine Indigenous approaches with Western research methods. To describe contemporary research, Cunningham (1998) constructed a research taxonomy, allowing research to be organised into four categories, based on the level of **Māori** involvement and control over the research process. The four types of research identified by Cunningham were as follows.

1. Research not involving **Māori**: **Māori** knowledge and participation are not considered relevant to the research, the research is not seen to have special significance to **Māori**, the research is under mainstream control, **Māori** involvement in the research is nil, mainstream methods are used, mainstream analyses are applied, and mainstream knowledge is produced
2. Research Involving **Māori**: **Māori** data is sought, the research is under mainstream control, **Māori** involvement is limited to participants and/or junior level researchers, mainstream methods are used, mainstream analyses are applied, and mainstream knowledge of **Māori** is produced
3. **Māori**-Centred Research: The research is under mainstream control, there is major **Māori** involvement (including senior researchers), mainstream and **Māori** methods may be used, a **Māori** analysis is applied, and **Māori** knowledge is produced
4. **Kaupapa Māori** Research: The research is under **Māori** control, there is major (possibly exclusive) **Māori** involvement, **Māori** and mainstream methods may be used, a **Māori** analysis is applied, and **Māori** knowledge is produced

All four types of research described above can be useful. However approaches 3 and 4 (**Māori** Centred Research and **Kaupapa Māori** Research) are informed by **Māori** worldviews, and address **Māori** concerns with mainstream research approaches.

This thesis fits into category 3 of Cunningham's (1998) taxonomy, **Māori-Centred** research. **Māori-Centred** research shares some of the features of **Kaupapa Māori** research, yet is distinct from **Kaupapa Māori** research. A description of **Kaupapa Māori** theory and research will be presented, followed by the presentation of key features of **Māori-Centred** research.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori research is an assertion of **tino rangatiratanga**⁴¹ in research. It is a response to mainstream/Western research approaches that have been detrimental to **Māori** people, and an affirmation of **Māori** language, knowledge, identity, and culturally preferred pedagogy (Smith, 2004). **Kaupapa Māori** research privileges **Māori** worldviews as it, "assumes the taken for granted social, political, historical, intellectual, and cultural legitimacy of **Māori** people" (Bishop, 1999: p. 2). In addition, **Kaupapa Māori** research is used both to expose and critically analyse power structures (Cram, 2001), and to seek social justice through transformative praxis (Bishop, 1999).

As is the case with all theories, **Kaupapa Māori** theory is culturally embedded. It is based on a **Māori** worldview that is ancient, and at the same time is able to respond to contemporary challenges. Leonie **Pihama** (2001) describes **Kaupapa Māori** theory as "evolving, multiple, and organic". The description of **Kaupapa Māori** theory as evolving recognises that **Kaupapa Māori** theory is by no means static, and has the potential to be developed in many directions to meet **Māori** research needs. **Kaupapa Māori** theory is multiple, as **Māori** are not a homogenous group, and multiple theoretical frameworks and research practices are necessary in order to meet the needs of diverse **Māori** groups. And **Kaupapa Māori** research is organic as it used by members of **Māori** communities to address their own needs, represent their own realities, and design their own futures.

Although **Kaupapa Māori** theories are multiple and evolving, key features of **Kaupapa Māori** research, in all its diversity, exist. These key features include **Māori** control over every aspect of the research process including: initiating the research; identifying appropriate and relevant research questions; choosing the theoretical and methodological approaches that will be taken; deciding how the research is presented and disseminated, and determining by what standards the research will be assessed (Bishop, 1999).

⁴¹ **Māori** self-determination

The flexible and responsive nature of **Kaupapa Māori** research excludes the possibility of providing formulaic ‘how to’ guides to conducting **Kaupapa Māori** research. Rather than being generic, **Kaupapa Māori** processes should respond and adapt to the needs of the **Māori** collective whom the research is designed to benefit (**Pihama**, 2001). Sir Eddie Durie describes how such reflexivity can be achieved in the justice system and in research by moving away from following static and inflexible rules, to follow instead **tikanga Māori**⁴², as **tikanga** allow people to determine what the correct protocol is in a given context based on underlying core principles. Adherence to these core principles is of such import that **Māori** often prioritise processes over outcomes (**Pihama**, 2001).

While a generic guide to conducting **Kaupapa Māori** research would be counter-productive, Linda Mead (a.k.a. Smith; Mead, 1996) offers ‘seven guidelines in process’ for **Kaupapa Māori** research, as follows.

1. Respect for people: engaging with people in an appropriate manner, being aware of their histories and circumstances, building relationships
2. **He kanoahi kitea**: interacting with people face to face
3. **Titiro, whakarongo... kōrero**: patiently looking, listening, and being mindful before finally speaking
4. **Manaaki ki te tangata**: collaborative research and reciprocity
5. **Kia tupato**: reflexivity, political awareness, cultural safety
6. **Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata**: keeping people involved with and informed of the research project, gaining community feedback and disseminating information appropriately to the community
7. **Kaua e mahaki**: avoidance of flaunting knowledge and qualifications

These guidelines give an insight into some of the principles that guide **Kaupapa Māori** research. These guidelines have also informed the current research, as there are areas of overlap between these guidelines, and the methodological framework developed for this thesis (see the section on the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework). Many of Mead’s guidelines also feature in the data collection process (see the description of Project 1: **Kia Whakakotahi**, below).

⁴² Correct procedures

Māori-Centred Research

The **Māori-Centred Research** approach adopted in this thesis shares many features with **Kaupapa Māori** research. However there are some key differences. The most obvious difference between **Māori-Centred Research** and **Kaupapa Māori** research is evident in Cunningham's (1998) taxonomy, and that is the difference in where control over the research is located. **Kaupapa Māori** research is under **Māori** control, while **Māori-Centred** research is under mainstream control.

Many of the research features presented in Cunningham's (1998) taxonomy are largely the same for both **Kaupapa Māori** and **Māori-Centred** research, for example: **Māori** are involved at all levels of the research process, as participants, research assistants, analysts, principal researchers, and research supervisors; the aim of the research is to promote **Māori** development; both **Māori** methods (for example **pōwhiri**⁴³) and mainstream/Western methods (for example surveys) are employed; **Māori** data is subjected to **Māori** analysis based on a **Māori** worldview, and **Māori** knowledge is produced. However, the issue of who controls the research impacts all stages of the research process. While **Māori** may contribute significantly to **Māori-Centred** research, and may themselves design all stages of the research process from initiation to dissemination, being accountable to a mainstream authority, for example for ethical approval, funding, or assessment, can impact every stage of the research process. It should also be noted that, for any type of approach, there is a limited ability of research to challenge the power structures it is ultimately controlled by. To maintain the integrity of **Māori-Centred** research, **Kaupapa Māori** research guidelines should be incorporated into the research, and processes ensuring accountability to **Māori** authorities should be built in. In this way, there are dual notions of accountability in **Māori-Centred** research, as researchers are accountable to both mainstream authorities and **Māori** authorities.

Interface Research

Despite the extra responsibilities inherent in research with dual accountability, there are many advantages to the **Māori-Centred Research** approach. **Māori-Centred** research is able to draw on two value systems, two knowledge systems, and two traditions of scientific inquiry. Professor Sir Mason Durie (2005b) describes this type of approach as 'research at the interface of Indigenous knowledge and Western science'.

⁴³ **Māori** formal welcoming ceremonies

He notes the benefit of a research approach that can accommodate both **Māori** processes (such as **tikanga Māori**, and **Māori** research methods) and Western processes (such as Western ethical processes, and Western scientific research methods). He also notes that science produced at the interface is neither strictly **mātauranga Māori**, nor Western science, although it may receive criticism from both knowledge systems.

Proponents of Indigenous knowledge may criticise Interface research as merely having an Indigenous component added to what is essentially Western scientific research, a knowledge system unable to account for much of human experience. Proponents of Western science may see incorporating Indigenous values and methods as adding superfluous variables into analyses, threatening scientific integrity. Professor Sir Mason Durie (2005b, p. 139) suggests such criticisms are often founded on the “misrepresentation of knowledge by the use of system bound criteria”. He suggests that the validity of one knowledge system should not be measured according to the principles of another, and offers guidelines for conducting Interface Research that benefits from the use of Indigenous science and Western science, without compromising the integrity of either system.

Professor Sir Mason Durie’s (2005b) four guiding principles for research at the interface are as follows. Firstly, mutual respect for the validity of each of the knowledge systems must be upheld. Secondly, the benefits of the research must be shared. Thirdly, the human dignity of participants, and members of the research team should be respected. This includes respecting the cultural identity, and worldview of all those involved. This principle should be followed at all stages of the research, from design to applications. Fourthly, the principle of discovery should be upheld. This principle positions Indigenous knowledge, not as a relic of the past, but as a valid knowledge base which is of relevance today, and in the future, and can be built upon to make new discoveries.

The **Māori**-Centred Research approach, located at the interface between Indigenous Knowledge and Western Science, provides opportunities to produce innovative research that can enrich both knowledge bases. The science produced by this approach is neither strictly Indigenous Knowledge, nor Western Science. Rather, this research approach generates new and distinct knowledge (Durie, 2005b). The major benefit of this new knowledge is that it is relevant to the majority of **Māori**, who

themselves occupy space at the interface between **Te Ao Māori**⁴⁴ and the Western world. This relevant knowledge is then able to reflect their worldviews, and respond to their development needs.

Psychology researcher Dr Melinda Webber (2008) notes that **Māori** identities situated at the interface between **Te Ao Māori** and the Western world are doubly marginalised. However, she also affirms the legitimacy of this identity position, and asserts the creative power and innovative potential of marginal identity position. **Māori** researcher Dr Jessica Hutchings affirms this interface as “a space to transform ideas collectively, where power is shared, and dominance is deconstructed” (Apanui & Hutchings, 2011, p. 47).

The current knowledge climate in **Aotearoa** is ripe to receive such innovative knowledge contributions. As we have moved into a knowledge economy, Western notions of what constitutes knowledge, and how knowledge should be assessed for value have been altered dramatically (Gilbert, 2005). In this knowledge society, knowledge is being valued not for its own sake, but for its ability to *do* something. Knowledge produced at the interface of **Te Ao Māori** and Western knowledge has the ability to benefit the many **Māori** in 21st Century **Aotearoa** who themselves occupy this space.

Framework Development through Community Interaction

This thesis is based on two distinct research projects. The first project, **Kia Whakakotahi**, was a community-based cultural intervention at a State secondary school. Interviews and focus groups were held with community members and were analysed qualitatively. Results from these qualitative analyses were used to generate hypotheses that could be tested quantitatively. An opportunity to test these hypotheses in a pre-existing dataset arose. This pre-existing dataset was from the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP), which is the second project this thesis is based on.

The methodological framework presented in this chapter developed through interactions between the research team and the **Māori** community involved in the **Kia Whakakotahi** project. During interactions the research priorities and preferred processes of community members and researchers were explored. Values, guiding principles, and contextual considerations that were important to the **Māori** community members and the research team were incorporated into the methodological framework.

⁴⁴ The **Māori** World

The framework was also developed so that it could accommodate the use of the pre-existing dataset from the YCP. Outlines of both projects, and a description of researcher-community engagement processes are presented as follows.

Project 1: Kia Whakakotahi

Kia Whakakotahi grew out of community concerns with **Māori** students' outcomes at a particular secondary school. **Māori** students at this school were disengaged from the educational process, were leaving early with little or no qualifications, and were over-represented in negative school statistics (such as stand-downs and exclusions). In response to these concerns, a **hui** was called to bring together **Māori** students' parents, and the school. Attendees identified the need to strengthen relationships, and to increase the cultural relevance of the school environment. The school and community initiated a novel initiative, without funding, to meet these objectives. The project had a number of components, including appointing a **Māori** community liaison, holding regular meetings with **Māori** students' **whānau**, increasing student access to the school **marae**⁴⁵, and offering **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities to students. Eventually funding was secured and independent evaluators were sought to fulfil funding obligations. At this stage, I was contacted through University networks and asked if I would gather data and evaluate the project.

Initial Engagement

Many different groups were invested in this project, and maintaining respectful relationships with these groups was crucial. Meetings were held with key stake holders including **whānau**⁴⁶ members, board of trustee members, school staff, **rūnanga**⁴⁷ employees, the school principal, and other researchers. During these meetings stakeholders, including ourselves as the research team, discussed our interests and expectations. I outlined my interest in conducting research into decolonisation, cultural reintegration, **Māori** identity and connectedness. Stakeholders confirmed that these research interests were aligned with their own, and that decolonisation and cultural reintegration were central to the **Kia Whakakotahi** project. These interactions with stakeholders and the process of coming to major decisions were guided by a local **kaumātua**⁴⁸ who was heavily involved in the community, and had professional links to

⁴⁵ Māori meeting house

⁴⁶ Family

⁴⁷ **Māori** council

⁴⁸ Elder

the research team. Through these **hui**⁴⁹, a mutually beneficial arrangement was made, whereby the research team would evaluate the intervention, giving feedback and suggestions to the community, and fulfilling requirements stipulated by project funders. In exchange, the information gathered could also be used for academic purposes. In this way, the research would have dual purposes of generating both action and theory.

Pōwhiri

During initial **hui**, stakeholders stated that it was necessary for the research team to be welcomed formally through the **pōwhiri** process before beginning research at the school. The **pōwhiri** process recognises the **tapu** nature of outsiders entering a new environment, and involves the ritualised removal of that **tapu** (through the process of **whakanoa**⁵⁰). This process makes it safe for the **tangata whenua**⁵¹ to receive visitors, and safe for the visitors to enter the new environment. The **mana**⁵² of **atua**⁵³, **tīpuna**⁵⁴, and **tangata whenua** are acknowledged in this process. The **pōwhiri** process also allows those involved to exchange **whakapapa** and to **whakawhanaunga**⁵⁵. While bringing two groups together, the process also positions the two groups as **tangata whenua**, and **manuhiri**⁵⁶, and there are clear behavioural expectations for members of each group.

Being welcomed through the **pōwhiri** process enabled the research team to adopt the **manuhiri** position, which facilitated the research. As **manuhiri**, we understood that, although invited in, we were outsiders (see **Te Huia & Liu, 2012**). Our job was to be respectful, to acknowledge the authority of the hosts, to follow their processes, and to position their realities as central.

Whakawhanaungatanga⁵⁷

As **manuhiri**, the research team visited with the students and their **whānau** on a regular basis in a number of settings, including during regular classes, school intervals, **kapa haka**⁵⁸ practices, mentoring sessions, and fundraisers. These visits allowed the research team to **whakawhanaunga** with **Māori** students, their **whānau**, and project

⁴⁹ Meetings

⁵⁰ To make safe, remove **tapu**

⁵¹ Local people

⁵² Authority, prestige

⁵³ Deities, natural elements

⁵⁴ Ancestors

⁵⁵ Build relationships

⁵⁶ Visitors

⁵⁷ Relationship building

⁵⁸ **Māori** performing arts

workers. These visits also allowed the research team to look and listen, and to become familiar with the school environment, before commencing with interviews. This process resonates with the **Kaupapa Māori** process principle ‘**Titiro, whakarongo... kōrero**’ (Mead, 1996). Ethnographic notes were made during these visits, and following our visits the research team would reflect on our visits and discuss our experiences.

Reflexivity

During our visits to the school, reflexivity of our behaviour and our impact on the community was useful. For example, we noticed that although members of our research group were accustomed to introducing themselves in **te reo Māori** at formal and semi-formal **hui**, they tended to give only brief introductions in **te reo Māori**, and then continue to introduce themselves in English. This was because they were aware that in this urban environment, many of the **Māori** students and their **whānau** had limited opportunities to acquire **te reo**. Therefore, English was used predominantly, as the research assistants were conscious not only of making themselves understood, but of not flaunting their knowledge of **te reo**, thereby reflecting the **Kaupapa Māori** principle in process of ‘**Kaua e mahaki**’ (Mead, 1996).

We also reflected on our insider/outsider positioning when engaging with community members. We were insiders on the basis of our **whakapapa Māori**, but outsiders as we were not directly associated with the school. We were also outsiders as many of the challenges faced by the students and their **whānau**, had not experienced by the research team. It was necessary for the research team to be mindful of our privileged position as well-resourced University students, with access to higher levels of education, when engaging with young **Māori**, some of whom were struggling to complete secondary school without getting excluded by school authorities.

Interview Process

The earlier **whakawhanaunga** process enabled the recruitment of participants for interviews and focus groups to occur in an organic manner. Often community members who the research team had already met informally at an earlier date would approach us, and ask to be interviewed. The students and **whānau** members we spoke to could see that we were supportive of their agenda of improving **Māori** students’ experience of the school. They also understood that we were not affiliated to any other groups involved with the project, such as the school or the funding agency, so the

interviews were free-flowing, and uninhibited, and the participants provided rich descriptions of their observations, issues, and ideas.

The free-flowing nature of interviews was also facilitated by the research team's knowledge of **tikanga**⁵⁹ and **te reo**, which enabled us to conduct ourselves respectfully in a **marae**⁶⁰ setting, and allowed participants to use **te reo** during interviews. The **Māori** research assistants were also gender balanced, so **rangatahi**⁶¹ were able to approach gender matched interviewers, if they desired.

Analyses

I recruited an experienced **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wahine**⁶² researcher, Dr Jessica Hutchings, who supervised me in the analysis of this **Māori**-centred research. Based on the data gathered during school visits, reports were produced for the community, and funding entity. An inductive thematic analysis was also conducted to generate theory on enhancing **Māori** students' experience of school and improving their wellbeing. Following these analyses, stakeholders were visited at the school to gain feedback, which was then incorporated into the reporting.

Some insights gained from participants in the study were that schools play a central role in socialising students, and preparing them to participate and contribute positively to their communities. However, serious concerns were raised by participants regarding the capacity of their school to prepare their young **Māori** students to access, understand, participate in, and contribute to **Māori** society. Participants also highlighted the importance of providing a culturally supportive environment, and increasing **Māori** students' access to their culture, in order to enhance their wellbeing. Meetings were held with the community, and feedback was incorporated into the research. The findings from these descriptive qualitative accounts were used to inform the quantitative analyses in further studies. In this way, in-depth, locally based research was used to generate and test theory quantitatively, at the national level.

Project 2: The Youth Connectedness Project

The dataset from the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP) was analysed to test theories generated from the **Kia Whakakotahi** project. The YCP, conducted by the Roy McKenzie Centre for the Study of Families, was designed to explore how the

⁵⁹ Correct procedures

⁶⁰ Meeting house

⁶¹ Young people

⁶² **Māori** women's ideology

connectedness of adolescents with their families, schools, communities, and other networks related to measures of psychological health. The project took the form of a three year longitudinal survey of thousands of adolescents across the North Island. Never before has such a dataset existed, spanning, as it does, geographical locale, school types and deciles, age ranges, and time-points in adolescents' lives. A sequential design was used, whereby three cohorts (aged 10, 12, and 14) were surveyed at three points in time, with intervals between surveys of approximately one year. By including multiple cohorts, data from a wide range of ages were collected expediently, and by collecting data longitudinally, the developmental trajectories of individuals could be tracked, and inferences of causality made.

From the inception of the YCP, efforts were made to increase the relevancy of the project to **Māori**. A **Māori** consultancy group (**Aatea** Consultants Ltd) were contracted to liaise with **iwi**⁶³; thereby recognising **Māori** territorial authorities, and placing value on community feedback. In addition, a **Kaupapa Māori** Research Group was later established to oversee the project, recognising the relevance **tikanga**, **te reo**, and **mātauranga Māori**. **Māori** fieldworkers were recruited to visit schools and collect data, and **Māori** participants were oversampled, resulting in the participation of over 500 **rangatahi Māori**.

The YCP survey included items relating to **Māori** identity, **Māori** cultural practices, **Māori** knowledge, and connectedness to **Māori** institutions, along with scales assessing psychological wellbeing. As a result, these data presented an unparalleled opportunity to explore the relationship between **Māori** adolescent identity development and wellbeing within State secondary schools.

Methodological Framework

A methodological framework was constructed based on interactions between the research team and the community members involved in the **Kia Whakakotahi** project. The framework was also designed to accommodate data from the Youth Connectedness Project. The components of this framework are listed in Table 2. These components were organised into The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, described in the next section.

⁶³ Tribes, confederations of tribes

Table 2. *Components of the Waka Hourua Research Framework*

Waka Component	Research Component	Description
<i>Core Values</i>		
Ihu (bow)	Tapu	Sacredness imbued in all things living and non-living
Tā (stern)	Noa	Balance and safety
Riu (hull)	Whakapapa	Genealogical connections
Kāraho (deck)	Whanaungatanga	Ongoing, warm, reciprocal relationships
Aukaha (lashings)	Wairua	Spiritual connectedness between all living and non-living things
Rā (sail)	Mana atua	Respecting atua
Rā ngongohau (staysail)	Mana tīpuna	Respecting ancestors
Maihi (mast)	Mana whenua	Respecting the environment
Taura (rigging ropes)	Mana tangata	Respecting people
Urungi (steering paddle)	Kaupapa	Collective research vision
<i>Guiding Principles</i>		
Sun	Tikanga	Affirming Māori laws and protocols
Moon	Te reo	Affirming Māori language
Stars	Mātauranga Māori	Affirming Māori knowledge
<i>Contextual Considerations</i>		
Weather systems	Diverse realities	Recognising social, cultural, geographical, political, and historical circumstances
Swells	Power structures	Recognising the effect of power structures on research
Waka motion	Reflexive awareness	Self-monitoring and adjusting the research approach where necessary
Additional technologies	Combining knowledge systems	Respectfully combining knowledge systems, where appropriate

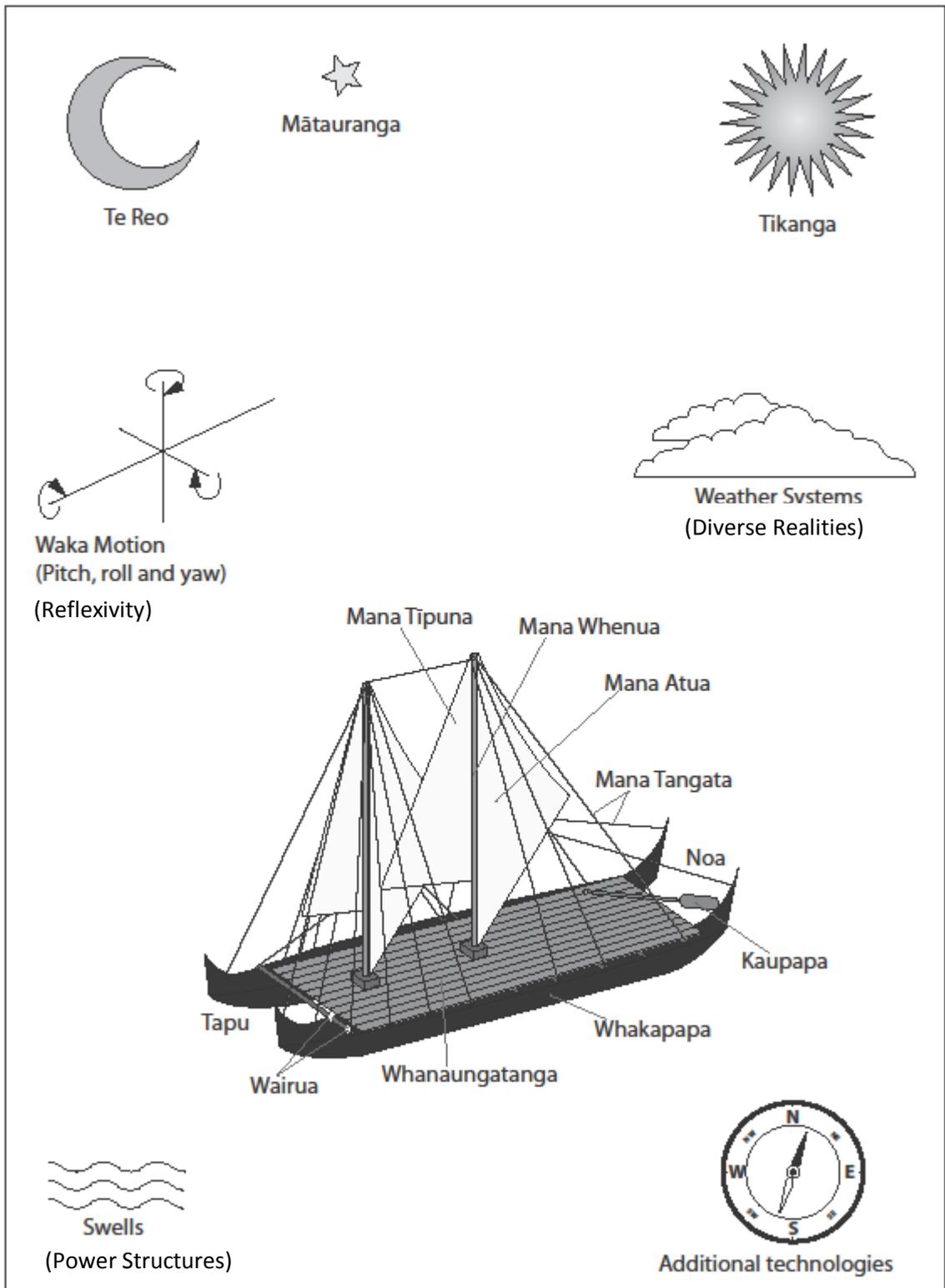
Waka Hourua Research Framework

Navigating the largely uncharted space between **Māori** knowledge and Western knowledge can be challenging. In this section, a novel methodological framework developed through community-researcher interaction is presented. The strength of this research framework is that it incorporates core values, guiding principles, and contextual research considerations in a dynamic framework that allows for adaptations to be made throughout the research process. The metaphorical presentation of this framework strengthens the framework further, as it allows the interconnectedness of the framework's elements to be effectively communicated. This framework is a new knowledge contribution that can be adopted and adapted by **Māori** psychology researchers.

The metaphor used to communicate this framework is the **waka hourua** (double hulled sailing vessel). **Waka hourua** were used by **Māori tīpuna** to migrate throughout **Te Moana Nui a Kiwa**. The craftsmanship and navigational skill required to achieve such a feat serve as an example of the excellence in research, science, and technology demonstrated by our **tīpuna**. The migratory **waka** that our ancestors arrived in continue to hold central importance to **Māori** identity today. For these reasons the **waka hourua** is an appropriate metaphor to draw on in the construction of an analytic framework for researching **Māori** identity.

In this framework, the **waka hourua** sits within a wider environment. Key parts of the **waka** itself represent core values, while celestial bodies represent guiding principles (refer to Figure 1). Environmental elements that are crucial to way-finding will then be incorporated, representing wider contextual considerations that are crucial to this research. A description of the components of the framework will be given to communicate an epistemic worldview, followed by an example of research that weaves these components together.

Figure 1. The Waka Hourua Research Framework



Ihu (bow)– Tapu

The **Ihu** represents the head of the **waka**. As the head is the most **tapu** part of the body, in this framework, **tapu** will be represented by the **ihu**, located at the head of the **waka**. **Tapu** refers to the sacredness imbued by the **atua** to all things living and non-living. **Tapu** is central to **Māori** beliefs and behaviour. That which is highly **tapu** is considered dangerous, so access to highly **tapu** areas and objects is prohibited. Therefore recognition, consideration, and respect for **tapu** is necessary when engaging with **Māori**, and attempting to explain **Māori** social phenomena. **Tapu** is a particularly important consideration in research pertaining to identity, as “**Tapu** is inseparable from **mana**, from our identity as **Māori** and from our cultural practices” (Mead, 2003, p. 30).

Tā (stern)– Noa

The **tā** is the extremity of the **waka** farthest the **ihu**, and in this model represents **noa**. **Noa** describes a state of balance and safety (Mead, 2003). **Noa** is highly pertinent to research, as, to conduct research ethically, it is important to consider safety. **Māori** processes used to **whakanoa**⁶⁴ may be necessary in research to ensure safety.

Riu (hull) – Whakapapa

The hulls of the **waka** represent **whakapapa**. This element acknowledges connectedness with **atua**, ancestors, relations, places, and histories. The **Whakapapa** element is included in this research as, in order to understand social phenomena occurring even at the individual level, it is important to have an understanding of who individuals are. Where are they from geographically, who they are descended from genealogically, and what historical events shaped their reality? In short, what relationships do they have with people, places, and events? The **Whakapapa** element of this framework is particularly important to this thesis given that the topic of this thesis is identity, as **Whakapapa** informs **Māori** identity, and produces diverse **Māori** realities.

Kāraho (deck) – Whanaungatanga

The deck, spanning the hulls (which represent **whakapapa**), and accommodating the people aboard the **waka hourua**, represents **whanaungatanga**. **Whanaungatanga** is a **Māori** concept meaning close, warm, family-like connectedness with others. **Aroha**⁶⁵ and **manaakitanga**⁶⁶ are important components of

⁶⁴ To make safe, to lift **tapu**

⁶⁵ Love, compassion

whanaungatanga. It is through the **whakawhanaungatanga** process that relationships are established and maintained. In research, the **whānau** structure can be used as a model for research relationships, and the **whakawhanaungatanga** process can be used to guide interactions with others, resulting in the establishment of ongoing, reciprocal relationships. **Whanaungatanga** has particular relevance to research into identity, as **Māori** identity is shaped by relationships, with, for example, **whānau**, **hapū**⁶⁷, **iwi**, and the natural environment.

Aukaha (lashings) – Wairua

The lashings that bind all parts of the **waka hourua** together represent **wairua**⁶⁸, which connects all living and non-living things in **Te Ao Māori**. It is through **wairua** that we are connected to the **atua**, to **Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui**, to the **whenua**⁶⁹, **maunga**⁷⁰, **moana**⁷¹, and **awa**⁷², to our **tīpuna**⁷³, **mokopuna**⁷⁴, and each other (**Pihama**, 2001). As this thesis deals with wellbeing, this element recognises that **wairua** cannot be separated from psychological and physical wellbeing. As well as theoretically affirming the **wairua** element, the **wairua** element can also be recognised in research methods, in such forms as **karanga**⁷⁵, **karakia**⁷⁶, and **waiata**⁷⁷.

Rā (sail) – Mana atua

The sail that carries the **waka** forward represents **mana atua**. **Mana** is a concept incorporating authority, power, and prestige (Williams, 1957). **Mana** is intricately linked with **tapu**, as the higher the **tapu** of a being, the higher the **mana**. As **tapu** is passed down through **whakapapa** lines, so too is **mana**. The more senior one's **whakapapa** lines, the greater one's **mana**. As the **atua** represent the origins of all **whakapapa** lines, the **atua** are imbued with the highest **mana** and **tapu**. For this reason, the **atua** must be acknowledged and shown respect. Examples of honouring the **atua** abound **Māori tikanga**, and are commonly practiced by **Māori** today. For example, according to **tikanga**, when felling a tree in the forest, a **karakia** should be

⁶⁶ Hospitality, nurturing and supporting others

⁶⁷ Tribe, subtribe

⁶⁸ Spirituality

⁶⁹ Land

⁷⁰ Mountains

⁷¹ Oceans, lakes

⁷² Rivers

⁷³ Ancestors

⁷⁴ Descendents

⁷⁵ Calls of welcome

⁷⁶ Prayer

⁷⁷ Song

offered to **Tāne Māhuta**, the **atua** of that domain. Similarly, when a fish is caught, a **karakia** should be offered to **Tangaroa**, the **atua** of the oceans and waterways. Given that appropriate conduct in **Te Ao Māori** requires the honouring of **atua**, research with **Māori** should uphold **mana atua**. Research should seek to maintain balance, and should not serve to disconnect people from **atua**.

Rā Ngongohau (staysail) – Mana tīpuna

The staysail that also helps to carry the **waka** forward represents **mana tīpuna**. As mentioned above, **mana** is passed down through **whakapapa**, that is, through our **tīpuna**. As our **tīpuna** are more senior than ourselves, they have greater **mana**, and must be shown appropriate respect. Our **tīpuna** must also be acknowledged for the sacrifices they made, and the good works they achieved. The **wairua** of our **tīpuna** remain with us, and we take them with us wherever we go, acting as their representatives. So central is the importance placed on honouring our **tīpuna** that formal processes (such as **pōwhiri** and **whaikōrero**⁷⁸) begin by acknowledging and mourning those who have fallen. Respect for ancestors is also demonstrated by the importance placed on knowing one's **whakapapa**. Demonstrating **whakapapa** also allows individuals and collectives to assert their own **mana** by referring to the source of their **mana**. The importance placed by **Māori** on respecting ancestors dictates that research with **Māori** must also respect **mana tīpuna**. **Mana tīpuna** is also highly relevant to identity research, as **tīpuna** are a strong source of identity for **Māori** groups and individuals.

Maihi (mast) - Mana Whenua

The mast connecting the sails (**mana atua**, and **mana tīpuna**) to the rest of the **waka** represents **mana whenua**. **Mana whenua** refers to territorial rights, or prestige sourced from the land one occupies (**Maori Dictionary Online**, 2011). Those who are **tangata whenua** (people of the land, those with rights over a particular territory) hold the authority in their area. Such is the authority of the **tangata whenua**, when different **iwi** come together, the protocols of the **tangata whenua** preside. For research to be conducted with **Māori** in an appropriate manner, proper recognition and respect should be given to **mana whenua**. As a hugely significant source of **Māori** identity, **mana whenua** is also highly relevant to research into identity.

⁷⁸ Oratory

Taura (rigging ropes) - Mana tangata

The rigging ropes used to uphold the mast (**mana whenua**) and to operate the sails (**mana atua**, and **mana tīpuna**) represent **mana tangata**. All people have inherent **mana**, from conception, inherited through **whakapapa** from **atua** and **tīpuna**. **Mana tangata** also incorporates the **mana** a person has due to their earthly actions. If a person's talents, good deeds, or achievements earn the respect of the people, that person's **mana** will be enhanced. If a person's action brings shame upon themselves, **mana** will be reduced. For research to be ethical it must be respectful to people. In research involving **Māori**, the **mana tangata** of those involved must be upheld. **Mana tangata** is also particularly relevant to identity and wellbeing research, as **mana tangata** influences both of these psychological constructs.

Urungi (steering paddle) – Kaupapa

The steering paddle, controlling the direction of the **waka**, represents **Kaupapa**, or collective research vision. This component of the framework requires that research is relevant, directed towards **Māori** development, and approved by the community.

Whānau Mārama (celestial bodies) - Taonga tuku iho

The celestial bodies that make navigation possible represent **taonga tuku iho**, or ancestral treasures. The three celestial bodies depicted in this framework are the sun, the moon, and stars, representing **tikanga**, **te reo**, and **mātauranga Māori** respectively. The **taonga tuku iho** elements of this framework recognise the legitimacy, relevance, and utility of **Māori** culture and knowledge, and appreciates the capacity for new knowledge to be generated, based on **te reo me ōna tikanga**.

Wider Environment

When navigating **Te Moana Nui a Kiwa**, it is crucial that environmental conditions are carefully studied, and responded to. These conditions provide information that can be used to navigate safely and accurately. Some of these environmental considerations are incorporated into this framework as important research considerations.

Weather Systems – Diverse Realities

In this framework, weather systems are likened to the diverse realities **Māori** experience. The success of a **waka** journey hinges on weather conditions. If weather conditions are unfavourable, journeys become more difficult and progress slows. Some weather systems render voyages completely unsafe. In the face of such systems,

voyages may need to be cancelled or postponed, or new courses may need to be set in order to avoid treacherous conditions. Just as **kaiwhakatere**⁷⁹ must be responsive to weather systems, researchers must be acutely aware of the social contexts within which their research takes place. For participant based research, an understanding of the diversity of participant realities is crucial to all stages of the research process. Lived realities influence life journeys, and paths that may be beneficial for some, might prove unsafe for others. Therefore, caution must be exercised when attempts are made to generalise results across participants and/or populations. The diverse realities component of this framework acknowledges the need for identity theory to include the necessary level of flexibility to accommodate **Māori** who occupy diverse identity positions, and experience vastly different social, cultural, geographical, political, and historical circumstances.

Swells – Power Structures

Ocean swells are long surface waves that are fairly regular in size, direction, and frequency. Swells are formed by storms or strong wind systems and can travel vast distances across the ocean. These swells tend to run in the same direction as prevailing wind. However, swells are more consistent than the wind, and are therefore more useful as a navigational aide. **Māori** navigators use swells to maintain course in the absence of more easily detected points of reference, such as stars. The difficulty of a **waka** voyage will be influenced by the direction of swells, relative to the course steered, so understanding and predicting swell patterns is pertinent to seafaring.

In research, power structures can affect progress, much as swells affect **waka** voyages. As is the case with ocean swells, the source of power structures that influence the research process may be fairly proximal or distant. Research that directly challenges existing power structures can be difficult, like sailing against ocean swells.

Research with the explicit purpose of resisting power structures can be said to have used power structures to set the research course. Other research might be more focused on the destination (i.e. research outcomes) than the course itself, and take a less direct route. This type of research is likely to push against power structures too, but the research journey may be made easier by taking a path that does not directly oppose power structures.

⁷⁹ Sailors

Research that sets a course without taking into consideration the existing power structures can be likened to a **waka** being sailed without regard to swells, which is likely to capsize, while research that is entirely under the control of existing power structures could be likened to a **waka** set adrift in the ocean. Researchers must therefore be cognisant of power structures and resolute in attaining research goals when plotting the research course.

Waka Motion (Pitch, Roll, and Yaw) – Reflexive Awareness

Careful study of the way in which the **waka hourua** moves as it makes its journey across the ocean is necessary to complete successful voyages. The movement of the **waka hourua** indicates seaworthiness. A well designed, well crafted, and well balanced **waka hourua** will move in a particular way. Pitch, roll, and yaw also indicate how the **waka hourua** is responding to the immediate environmental conditions, such as weather, wind-formed waves, and chop. **Waka** movements are also used to navigate the journey. **Waka** movements allow swell patterns to be observed, which are used to maintain course (discussed above). In addition, careful monitoring of changes in **waka** movement patterns enables distant islands to be detected, as swells are refracted and reflected by shallow waters and land formations. By monitoring the movement of the **waka hourua**, adjustments can be made where necessary: **waka** can be tested and altered during the construction phase, or repaired on route; weight on board the **waka** can be redistributed; and adjustments can be made to the orientation of the **waka**, the course steered, and in some instances the desired destination, to enable smoother sailing.

Reflexivity in research similarly allows for self-monitoring and adjustments to the research approach where necessary. Just as **waka** require testing and alteration, so too do research methodologies. Incorporating reflexivity into the methodology increases the ability of the design to incorporate refinements. While **waka** motion allows adjustments to be made in light of weather systems and swells, reflexivity allows adjustments to be made to the research approach in light of factors such as the diverse realities of participants, and the influence of power structures. Refinements to any aspect of the research might be necessary. Just as **waka hourua** may need to alter orientation, course, or, in extreme cases, destination, researchers may need to alter their approach, processes, or even their research objectives.

Additional Technologies

While **waka** voyages can be made successfully relying solely on traditional way-finding techniques, this by no means excludes the use of modern innovations aboard **waka hourua**. On modern **waka hourua** voyages, information and technologies such as the compass, GPS, ocean charts, and marine weather forecasts are often utilised. These technologies are useful. However, to ensure smooth sailing, it is important that reliance on these modern instruments does not subvert information gathered using traditional techniques, as was discovered by the crew of **Te Aurere**, on its maiden voyage to **Rarotonga**, in 1992. Aboard **Te Aurere** on this voyage was Master Navigator Mau Piailug, of Satawal. A few days into the voyage, Mau detected storms approaching and recommended sailing North East. However, **Te Aurere** was directed to the South East instead, based on information gathered via satellite. As a result, **Te Aurere** endured five days of treacherous conditions. Following this ordeal, Mau was consulted once again. This time his advice was followed and **Te Aurere** was returned to calm conditions (**Te Aurere** Voyaging, 2011). This anecdote serves as a reminder that information systems can be used in an additive manner, as opposed to using one knowledge system at the exclusion of others.

In research too, Indigenous knowledge can be used exclusively to generate legitimate new knowledge. Indigenous knowledge can also be combined with non-Indigenous knowledge systems to generate new knowledge. Provided the knowledge systems being utilised are given appropriate consideration and respect, combining the knowledge systems can be an innovation that leads to new discoveries.

Summary

Just as a structurally sound **waka** is needed to make an ocean voyage, a sound methodology is necessary to embark on a successful research journey. In the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, the bow, stern, and hull, representing **tapu**, **noa**, and **whakapapa** are essential components of the **waka**, or research methodology. The rigging (the mainsail, staysail, mast, and ropes, representing **mana atua**, **mana tīpuna**, **mana whenua**, and **mana tangata** are necessary to propel the **waka** forward. The people aboard the **waka**, accommodated by the deck (**Whanaungatanga**), use the **taura** (**mana tangata**) to harness the power of the sails (**mana atua** and **mana tīpuna**), and they steer the course using the **urungi** (steering paddle), representing **Kaupapa**, or collective research objective. All of the components of the **waka hourua** are held together with lashings, representing **wairua**, which connects all things. All of these

interconnected components are necessary in order for the **waka** to function. If any one component is missing, the seaworthiness of the **waka** is compromised, just as omitting one of the components of the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework would compromise the research produced.

Together, the components listed above comprise a functioning **waka**. However, a functioning **waka** is essentially useless without way-finding expertise. In the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, **te whānau marama**⁸⁰, comprised of the sun, moon, and stars, guide the research journey, and represent **ngā taonga tuku iho: tikanga, te reo, and mātauranga Māori**. In order for a voyage to progress in the right path, **tohunga** with extensive knowledge of **te whānau marama** are required to be part of the crew. In order for research with **Māori** to progress, expertise in **tikanga, te reo, and mātauranga Māori** are necessary. If researchers themselves are not expert in these areas, guidance will need to be sought from those who are, and research relationship with these experts may need to be confirmed.

Another crucial way-finding skill is detecting and predicting environmental conditions, which in the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework represents understanding the diverse realities of **Māori**. Way-finding also requires an in-depth understanding of swell patterns, which in the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework represents power structures. Sensing **waka** motions is another skill necessary in way-finding. In the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, this skill represents reflexivity. Finally, way-finding may be aided by the use of additional (non-**Māori**) technologies. While all other components of the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework are necessary to successful voyaging and researching, the use of additional technologies is not, but may be used if the researcher/s decide that doing so would add value to the research.

The Waka in Motion

To illustrate how the components of this framework are interconnected, a description of research that adheres to the **Waka Hourua** Framework will be provided, as follows. The **Kaupapa** of the research will respond to **Māori** research objectives. Consultation with appropriate **Māori** collectives and authorities that promotes **whanaungatanga** and that affirms **mana whenua, mana tangata, and whakapapa**, will occur from the initiation phase of the research. Acknowledgement and respect of **wairua, mana atua, and mana tīpuna** will be evident in all stages of the research.

⁸⁰ Celestial bodies

This will be achieved through understanding **tapu** and **noa**, and by adhering to **tikanga**, which allows for the safe navigation between that which is **tapu** and that which is **noa**. The starting point of inquiry will be based on **taonga tuku iho (mātauranga Māori, te reo me ōna tikanga)**. The research will show awareness of the diverse realities of **Māori** and the contexts that produce these realities. Researchers will be cognisant of power structures that exert influence over the research process, the research participants, and the researchers themselves. Researchers will also show reflexive awareness, showing vigilance in monitoring the research process, themselves, and the research community, and demonstrating flexibility in adjusting the research process in light of their assessments of the research process, and community feedback. Finally, the research may or may not employ additional (non-**Māori**) technologies and techniques.

Chapter 3: Scoping Study

Overview

This thesis explores how **Māori** identities develop within State secondary schools, and how **Māori** identities might relate to psychological wellbeing. This scoping study responds to the research question: What contextual factors do **Māori** identify as being conducive to the development of secure **Māori** identities in State secondary schools? The scoping study is based on interviews conducted with **Māori** students and their **whānau**⁸¹ at a mainstream State secondary school where the community came together to address issues concerning **Māori** students, and developed a novel initiative. The community action involved many activities that dealt directly with strengthening students' **Māori** identities. In this study the initiative activities are reviewed, a logic model of how activities were designed to achieve particular outcomes is constructed, and community members' talk is analysed to determine central themes around how State institutions can be more responsive to **Māori** needs, and more affirming of **Māori** identities. These themes are then organised into a conceptual framework, **Te Korowai Aroha**⁸².

Te Korowai Aroha outlines how cultural interventions at State secondary schools can affirm **Māori** identities by recognising individual identity, authority, and agency (**Mana**), by building relationships (**Whanaungatanga**), and establishing collaborative working relationships (**Kotahitanga**) in order for schools to fulfil their duty of care, respond to **Māori** community needs, and affirm **Māori** identities. As the overarching research question posed in this research focuses on **Māori** cultural engagement, identity, and wellbeing, the insights gained from community members' talk around these themes were used to inform further research questions, addressed in later chapters of this thesis.

Identity Development in State Institutions

Collective identities develop as individuals negotiate their relationships with others, and consider their place in the world. A critical period in the identity development process is adolescence (Erikson, 1968). During this period, social environments and institutions play an influential role in shaping adolescents' identities.

⁸¹ Families

⁸² The metaphorical cloak of love/compassion

Traditional **Māori** social institutions that have played influential roles in cultural transmission, and with **Māori** identity development include **whānau**, **hapū**⁸³, **iwi**⁸⁴, **marae**⁸⁵, **kura**⁸⁶, and **wānanga**⁸⁷. However, colonisation disrupted traditional socialisation processes, as many traditional **Māori** cultural institutions were suppressed by European enforced laws, or subverted by alternative European social institutions.

Colonial processes have had devastating impacts on **Māori** identities (as outlined in Chapter 1). One of the colonial processes most effective at carrying out the Government's assimilation agenda, to the detriment of **Māori** identity, was the implementation of Euro-centric State education. While schools have been sites of identity devastation, they are also sites of resistance. Significant efforts have been made in the past 40 years to make schools more responsive to **Māori** needs, and to create learning environments that affirm **Māori** identities. Significant progress in this area has been achieved through the **Kaupapa Māori** movement. However, most **Māori** students attend mainstream schools. Therefore, more research on how to create culturally safe learning environments in mainstream schools is necessary.

Māori and State Education

The State implemented, Euro-centric education system has had negative impacts on **Māori** language, knowledge, culture and identity. Underpinning the education system (and indeed all European colonial processes) is conviction in European cultural superiority, which is used to justify the annihilation of non-European knowledge systems and the subordination of non-European peoples (Bishop & Glynn, 1998). From their inception, European established schools in **Aotearoa**⁸⁸ were an attempt to displace **Māori** society and culture, and impose European values, beliefs, and social practices onto **Māori**.

The first European school established in **Aotearoa** were the missionary schools (for a comprehensive history of **Māori** schooling, see Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). These schools were popular with **Māori** who were eager to acquire **te reo**⁸⁹ literacy. However, the core objective of these schools was not to share knowledge with **Māori**,

⁸³ Tribe, subtribe

⁸⁴ Tribe, confederation of tribes

⁸⁵ Ancestral meeting houses

⁸⁶ Houses of learning

⁸⁷ Houses of higher learning

⁸⁸ New Zealand

⁸⁹ The **Māori** language

but to convert **Māori** to Christianity and ensure that they were “permanently weaned from Native habits” (AJHR, 1862, p. 15).

The agenda of Government schools was no less subtle than that of the mission schools. However, rather than a Christian mission, government schooling was considered a ‘civilising mission’ (AJHR, 1862; see also Simon & Smith, 2001). As well as importing a European curriculum to native schools, school houses were used explicitly to model European social practices to **Māori** communities, and **Māori** students were required to complete domestic duties in these houses to indoctrinate them to European domestic practices (AJHR, 1900).

In addition to implementing a curriculum based entirely on Western knowledge, *The Education Ordinance 1847* was also to have devastating effect on **Māori** language and knowledge, as it insisted schools deliver the curriculum in the medium of the English language. Those who used **te reo Māori** faced harsh punishment in schools, and, for many **Māori**, **te reo Māori** receded into usage in private settings (Smith, 1989). This established a generation of **Māori** who were fearful of speaking **te reo Māori** and, not surprisingly, many of these **Māori** people chose not to pass **te reo Māori** onto their children, lest their children be punished also (Selby, 1999). This resulted in a steep decline in **te reo Māori** proficiency among **Māori**.

While these school practices were in response to the Government’s assimilation agenda, the purpose of schools for **Māori** was not to integrate **Māori** into European society as equals, but rather to prepare **Māori** for roles of servitude (such as farm labouring, cooking, and cleaning; Hemara, 2000). The purpose of **Māori** schooling was, therefore, to create an underclass of **Māori** people, and was less focused on **Māori** assimilation than it was on **Māori** subjugation.

Māori Additions to Curriculum

Despite **Māori** dissatisfaction with State education from its inception (Hemara, 2000), the curriculum remained largely unchanged for well over 100 years, and, not surprisingly, within this foreign, Euro-centric system designed to produce inequality, **Māori** achievement was low. However, traction was gained in **Māori** efforts to incorporate **Māori** knowledge into school curricula through political activism in the 1970s and 1980s. **Te reo Māori** was introduced as an elective subject in secondary schools and **Taha Māori** programmes based on **Māori** knowledge were introduced to school curricula. While these changes were fairly limited, there was huge resistance to

Māori initiatives from the mainstream, and **Māori** educators who supported these programmes faced open hostility from their non-**Māori** colleagues (Smith, 1986).

Despite the controversy, these additions to school curricula did little to improve **Māori** student outcomes. While **te reo** had been introduced to the curriculum, it was not given the status of other taught languages, as it was not considered an ‘academic subject’. Therefore the pass rates for **te reo Māori** were manipulated to keep them lower than those of the ‘academic’ subjects (Walker, 1990), disadvantaging the **Māori** students enrolled in this subject.

Similarly, the introduction of **Taha Māori** programmes had little effect. While **Taha Māori** programmes reportedly increased non-**Māori** awareness of **Māori** worldviews, and decreased **Pākehā**⁹⁰ prejudice towards **Māori** (Holmes, Bishop, & Glynn, 1993), the programmes received criticism for being designed by non-**Māori**, for the benefit of non-**Māori** (Smith, 1990). **Taha Māori** programmes were criticised further for being under the control of school staff and board members who had limited understanding of what should be included in such programmes, and who lacked the resources to implement the programmes, relying instead on **Māori** community members who were viewed as freely available resources that could be drawn on to facilitate the programmes, but who were not given control over what would be included in the programmes (Holmes et al., 1993).

Education researcher Professor Wally **Penetito** (1986) suggested that the reason **Taha Māori** programmes failed to improve **Māori** student outcomes was because they introduced minor additions to the curriculum, without implementing necessary structural changes. For schools to be responsive to **Māori**, **Penetito** suggested that fundamental structural changes to the education system needed to be made, including changes to the curriculum, evaluation processes, and school administration and organisation. **Penetito** (1986) and Smith (1990) also suggested that more equitable representation of **Māori** within school power structures was necessary to improve **Māori** student outcomes.

Kaupapa Māori

The **Kaupapa Māori** education movement went well beyond implementing surface level initiatives by rethinking educational structures in the creation of **te reo Māori** immersion schools. **Kaupapa Māori** theory and praxis emerged as **Māori**

⁹⁰ European New Zealanders

communities became increasingly conscious of the failure of the education system to meet **Māori** educational needs (Smith, 1999), and was designed to both lift **Māori** educational achievement, and to revitalise **te reo Māori** and **mātauranga Māori**⁹¹ (Smith, 1997). Rather than simply adding a cultural component to an existing structure, **Kaupapa Māori** is “a structural intervention that then makes space for [Māori] cultural practice[s]” (Smith, 1997, p. i).

Perhaps the most fundamental structural change implemented through **Kaupapa Māori** was the establishment of equal power relationships between the school and **whānau**, based on the **Kaupapa Māori** principles of **whanaungatanga**⁹² and **manaakitanga**⁹³. In this relationship, the responsibility for the education of children is placed equally with the school and with **whānau**. Thus **Māori** students and their parents/caregivers are given control over the school environment and curriculum, allowing for the assertion of the validity and legitimacy of **Māori** knowledge, and restoring the **mana**⁹⁴ of **Māori** learners by centring them as ‘normal’ (see Smith, 1990).

Kaupapa Māori schooling also changed the power relationships that were evident within the classroom (Bishop & Glynn, 2000). The mainstream pattern of domination and subordination of teachers over students is challenged at the structural level of **Kaupapa Māori**. Graham Smith’s (2003) six fundamental principles of **Kaupapa Māori** demonstrate the more balanced power relationship between Māori students and teachers. These principles are:

1. **Tino rangatiratanga**: determining one’s own future and the means by which it will be attained
2. **Taonga tuku iho**: centring **Māori** knowledge, language, and cultural heritage as valid, legitimate, and normal
3. **Ako**: learning as a reciprocal process between ‘teacher’ and ‘students’
4. **Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga**: acknowledging socio-economic backgrounds and mediating home difficulties
5. **Whānau**: establishing **whānau**-like, reciprocal, ongoing, committed relationships within the classroom
6. **Kaupapa**: operating according to a collective philosophy and vision

⁹¹ **Māori** knowledge

⁹² Connectedness

⁹³ Nurturing and supporting others

⁹⁴ Power, authority, prestige

The structure of **Kaupapa Māori** schools thus allows for **Māori** educational aspirations to be realised. In this space where **Māori** language, knowledge, and cultural heritage are validated, **Māori** people themselves are validated.

Mainstream Initiatives

While the **Kaupapa Māori** schooling structure provides a culturally enriching environment for **Māori** students that is conducive to the development of secure ethnic identities, over 85% of **Māori** students attend mainstream schools (ERO, 2006). **Māori** in mainstream schools have limited opportunities to acquire **te reo Māori**, study **Māori** knowledge, and develop secure **Māori** identities. Therefore, efforts must be made in mainstream schools to create culturally safe and enriching environments that promote the development of secure **Māori** identities.

Recent Ministry of Education policy for **Māori** in mainstream education more closely reflects **Māori** educational aspirations than earlier policy (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). For example, **Te Whāriki** (the Early Childhood Curriculum; Ministry of Education, 1996) is a bicultural document that incorporates **Māori** and mainstream educational aspirations, while **Ka Hikitia** (the **Māori** Education Strategy, 2008-2012) challenges the entire education system to ensure that education is equitable, accessible, and responsive to the aspirations of different communities, in order to achieve the strategic intent of “**Māori** achieving education success as **Māori**” (Ministry of Education, 2009).

Research reports commissioned by the Ministry of Education have also offered insights into providing culturally affirming environments for **Māori** students. For example, the research project **Te Kotahitanga** (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003), produced by **Waikato** University’s School of Education, revealed that low teacher expectations of **Māori** students was a barrier to **Māori** development and educational success. Bishop and his colleagues constructed a programme of professional development to encourage teachers to respect students’ cultural heritage and build strong relationships with their students, the result of which was improved student outcomes⁹⁵.

A further research report, which built on the findings of **Te Kotahitanga**, was entitled **Te Kauhua** (Tuuta, Bradnam, Hynds, Higgins, & Broughton, 2004). This

⁹⁵ While recognising the benefit of **Te Kotahitanga**, **Pihama** (2011) questions the appropriateness of **Māori** research funding being directed toward what she describes as essentially an anti-racism project for White teachers

report evaluated strategies implemented by schools to improve **Māori** outcomes. These strategies were found to respond well to community aspirations, lead to the professional development of staff and collaborations between professionals, increase the hopes and expectations of those involved, and increase **Māori** representation in decision making roles and staff positions. A common strategy used by schools in this study was to promote students' cultural identity, in order to improve their self-esteem and educational outcomes in turn.

Another initiative to improve **Māori** outcomes in mainstream education, and one which is often overlooked, is the establishment of school-based **marae** (or **marae-ā-kura**). Lee, **Pihama**, and Smith (2012) researched these **Māori** cultural spaces within mainstream schools, and found that **marae-ā-kura** responded to **Māori** aspirations, allowed cultural expression, and promoted 'cultural wellbeing'. Lee et al. highlighted the opportunity for **marae-ā-kura** to enhance the education of **Māori** in the mainstream, but suggested that more research was required to determine the necessary staffing, resourcing and structural support that is needed so that the potential of **marae-ā-kura** can be fulfilled.

These policies and reports are promising steps towards improving the capacity of schools to respond to the needs of **Māori** learners and create culturally appropriate learning environments. However, more research is needed in this area so that effective strategies can be implemented in mainstream schools. This scoping study is focused on a **Māori** community who took it upon themselves to improve **Māori** student outcomes by implementing a cultural initiative.

This initiative took place at a low-decile, urban, mainstream secondary school where **Māori** students were disengaged from the education process, were leaving early with little or no qualifications, and were over-represented in negative school statistics (such as stand-downs and exclusions). The school and community initiated a novel project, which included appointing a **Māori** community liaison, holding regular meetings with **Māori** students' **whānau**, increasing student access to the school **marae**, and offering **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities to students.

In this urban setting, the **Māori** students differed in their proximity to their **iwi** territories. While some participants could **whakapapa**⁹⁶ to local **hapū**, others were removed from their traditional tribal homelands, and were disengaged from tribal

⁹⁶ Connect through genealogy

structures and **Māori** cultural institutions. This context provided an opportunity to explore how **Māori** conceive of their identity in a contemporary, urbanised context where some **Māori** were marginalised from wider society (both **Māori** and non-**Māori**).

Scoping Study

The purpose of this scoping study is to investigate a community-driven **Māori** cultural reintegration initiative at a State secondary school. In this study, an outline is presented of the activities undertaken as part of the initiative that are expected to have a positive impact on **Māori** identities, and a logic model is constructed showing how community members sought to achieve specific aims through implementing these activities. An analysis is then presented, based on community members' talk, which explored some major themes around how schools can become more responsive to **Māori** students and their **whānau**, and can provide an environment that affirms **Māori** identities. Findings from this scoping study will then be used to generate further research questions on **Māori** identity development in the context of State schools, to be explored further in this thesis.

Method

The specific research methods used in this scoping study were chosen to align with the methodological framework that began to emerge through interactions between the research team and community members. For a detailed description of initial community engagement and the development of The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, see the Methodology chapter of this thesis. A qualitative approach was used in this scoping study so that the starting point for this research would privilege community members' voices and realities, and would keep their voice 'intact'.

Participants

Interviews and focus groups were conducted with 23 community members. This face-to-face contact reflected the **Whanaungatanga** (reciprocal relationships) research principle of The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework. Community members were 14 **Māori** secondary school students (8 females) and 9 **whānau** members (some of whom were also working with the **Māori** students in an official capacity as part of the intervention programme). The inclusion of **whānau** as participants reflected the **Whakapapa** (genealogical connections) and **Mana Tīpuna** research principles. **Māori** students and **whānau** members were recruited through the Community Liaison,

appointed as part of the intervention. Participants were given reimbursement for their participation in the form of a movie voucher.

Materials

Interviews followed a semi-structured interview schedule, designed to gain information on community members' views of the cultural intervention at their school. The focus of this scoping study was broad to allow community members the freedom to discuss multiple aspects of their experiences at the school, and to steer the research direction, reflecting the **Kaupapa** (collective research vision) research principle. Interviews were recorded with an Olympus WS-200S Digital Voice Recorder, transcribed, and coded using NVivo software.

Procedure

Ethical approval was given for this research by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee (SoPHEC) at Victoria University of Wellington (refer to Appendix A). Introductory meetings were held to acquaint the research team with key stakeholders, and to discuss the project. Ethnographic data was collected during numerous visits to the college. **Māori** students and their **whānau** were visited at the School both during and outside of school hours, and observed during activities such as **kapa haka**⁹⁷ practices, **te reo Māori** and **kapa haka** classes, mentoring sessions, weekly breakfasts that were held for students involved with mentoring, and at fundraising events. Community members who participated in interviews and focus groups were given information about the research as well as personal consent forms. Parental consent was also gained for student participants.

Interviews and focus groups with **Māori** students and their **whānau** took place at the school-based **marae**, either in the **wharekai**⁹⁸ or in the **wharenuī**⁹⁹. Situating the research in these cultural spaces allowed the acknowledgement of **tapu**, **noa**, **wairua**, **mana atua**, and **mana tīpuna**, and allowed the use of **tikanga**, **te reo**, and **mātauranga Māori** to navigate this cultural space, in accordance with The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework. The duration of the interviews/focus groups ranged from 15 minutes to 72 minutes ($M = 30$ minutes, 47 seconds). Interviews were conducted in English, with occasional **Māori** words and phrases used by researchers and participants.

⁹⁷ **Māori** performing arts

⁹⁸ Dining hall

⁹⁹ Meeting house

Analysis

Field notes were used to provide an ethnographic description of the school and community. The research team met regularly to reflect on field notes and their experiences interacting with the community. These meetings were one part of the research process that opened a space up for the research team to consider the power structures influencing the research, the diverse realities of stakeholders, and our own reflexive awareness of our involvement in the research, in line with research principles outlined in The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework. Information provided from project stakeholders, and gathered through observation and interviews was used to construct an intervention logic model. Finally, an inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was performed on the interview and focus group data (see results for further details). Thematic analysis was selected as it is a commonly used form of analysis in **Māori**-centred research that conforms to **Māori** notions of interconnectedness, as themes are organised into a conceptual whole.

Results and Discussion

Intervention Logic

There were five major activities undertaken by the community in order to create an environment that affirms **Māori** identities (refer to Figure 2). The first of these activities was appointing a community liaison to liaise between **Māori** students and their **whānau**, and school staff. The second major activity was establishing regular **whānau hui**¹⁰⁰ to create lines of communication between **Māori** students' **whānau** and the school, and to increase **Māori** representation on the board of trustees. These activities were consistent with the recommendation given by the Ministry of Education (2009) that schools should increase **whānau** involvement, in order to improve **Māori** student outcomes.

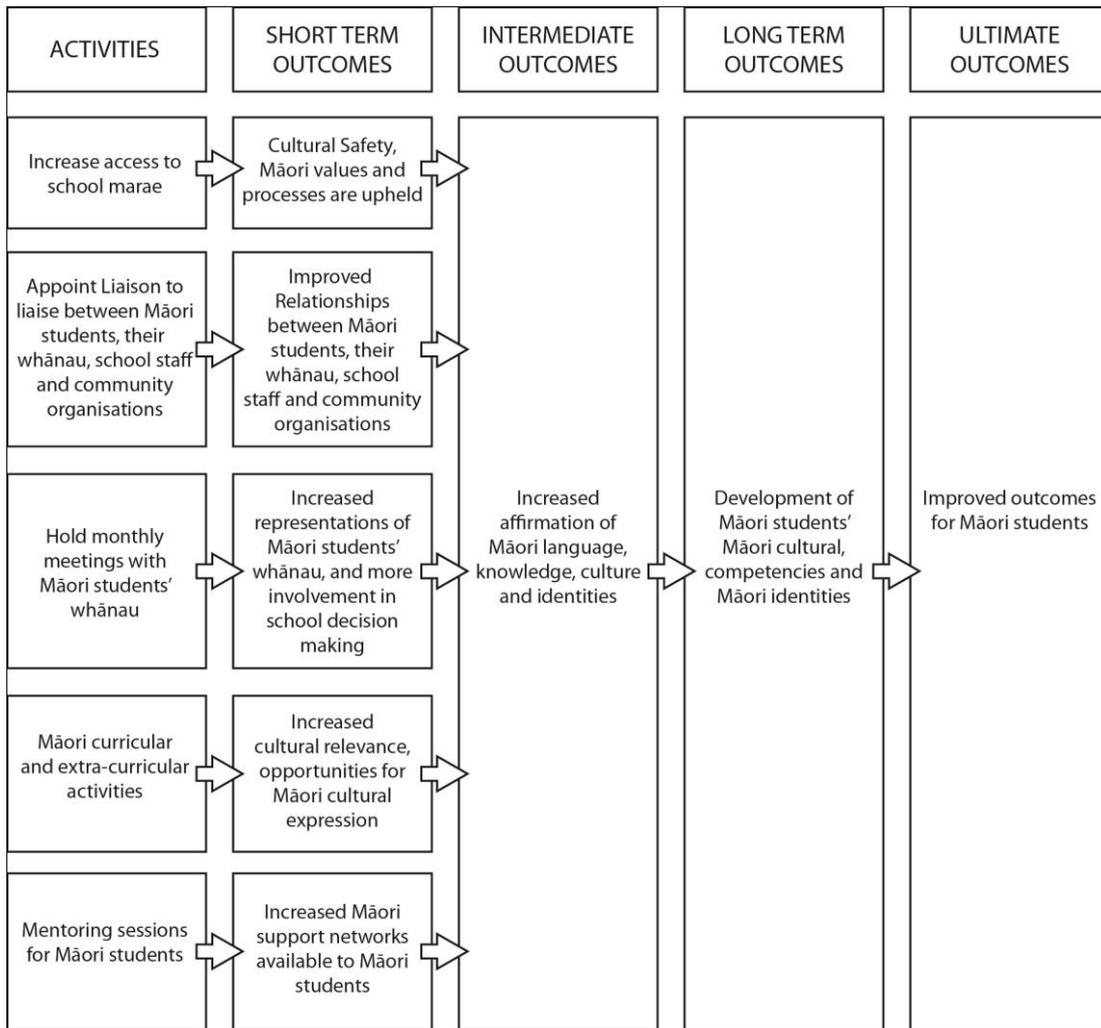
The third major activity undertaken by the school community was increasing the accessibility of the school **marae** to **Māori** students and their **whānau**. As noted by Mead (2003), **marae** are environments where **Māori** values, **Māori** language, and **Māori** protocols are central. Thus, **marae** are spaces where **Māori** are in control, and where **Māori** are able to express themselves as **Māori**. **Marae** are thus conducive to the development and expression of **Māori** identities (Lee, **Pihama**, & Smith, 2012).

¹⁰⁰ Meetings

The fourth major activity was increasing opportunities for students to take part in **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities. This activity was included in order to increase the cultural competence of **Māori** students, and prepare them to participate in and contribute positively towards **Māori** society.

Finally, mentoring sessions were put in place for **Māori** students involved in disciplinary processes. In these sessions, adult **Māori** mentors from the community met with **Māori** students, developed relationships, talked about issues students were facing, and discussed adaptive coping strategies for dealing with issues. As well as building resilience, these sessions responded to a need outlined by the Ministry of Education, in that they provided **Māori** students with positive **Māori** role models who, by their mere presence, challenge negative **Māori** stereotypes and lift **Māori** students' self-esteem and expectations of themselves (Ministry of Education, 1998).

Figure 2. Cultural Reintegration Intervention: Basic Logic Model



Thematic Analysis

An inductive thematic analysis was performed on the interview data to explore any patterned responding. Engagement with education and identity literature occurred after data analysis. The data were firstly coded for basic elements of meaning, resulting in 184 initial codes (see Appendix B). These initial codes were then arranged into higher level, provisional themes. Finally these provisional themes were organised into overarching main themes (refer to Appendix C). The four main themes generated were then reviewed to ensure that: all themes were supported by multiple extracts in the data; there was consistency among extracts within each theme; and there was distinctiveness between extracts between themes. These themes were then organised into a framework. The extracted themes will now be outlined, and a description of the framework these themes were organised into will be presented. Many of the participant quotes that will

be presented in support the themes relate to what participants describe as negative aspects of the school environment that they were working to change through the community intervention.

Mana

Community members identified the concepts of respect, pride, and identity as being both important in the school environment, and interrelated. These concepts are encapsulated by the **Māori** term **mana** (respect, pride or dignity, status, and identity; Williams, 1957). Many participants noted that an ideal school environment would be characterised by pride and respect, and thought that this should be enhanced at the school, as the following extract illustrates:

P6¹⁰¹: *The students... they haven't got a lot of respect. They're not proud of this place like, like I think they should be.*

In the following extract, the importance of these concepts was illustrated further by making reference to **Māori** boarding schools where the students were noted as having pride in their school.

P1: *You go to a **Māori** boarding school, you know, you've got to represent... you would always have all these Nannies there going "tuck you shirt in!" [Laughter] "Straighten your tie up!" Because it's more than a uniform... it's about who you are and who you're representing, and being proud of yourself and the **Kura**. And that's missing from here.*

Community members were also working to increase the level of respect between students and teachers. Some of the students interviewed acknowledged their disrespect of their teachers, and suggested that their lack of respect for their teachers was due to feeling themselves disrespected by their teachers. The following extracts illustrate this position:

P4: *We try respecting them and then they just, I dunno. They just push your buttons I reckon.*

Community members expressed that the intervention was promoting positive, respectful relationships between students and the interventions staff, as is made clear by this student:

P4: *She respects us and we respect her. We don't respect people who don't respect us.*

¹⁰¹ 'P' denotes 'participant', which is followed by the participant number

In order for student outcomes to be favourable, it was seen as essential for students to have dignity, or to hold pride in themselves. Having a secure cultural identity was also seen as a crucial prerequisite to positive student outcomes, and the intervention was acknowledged as having a positive impact on students' cultural identity and self-esteem, as this parent attests:

P6: *They seem more proud. Um they've got respect there, from being involved with the **kapa haka**¹⁰² their confidence has come out.*

The importance of understanding and respecting individual students' cultural identities was also made clear by participants. However it was felt by some participants that their cultural identities were not valued by the institution. In some instances participants' talk demonstrated that they perceived negative stereotyping taking place in the school. For example, the following extracts are from students as they describe their perceptions of how their teachers see them:

P7: *Like, "I'm better than you". Yeah. "You're gonna be a bum. You're gonna go on the dole.*

P4: *He's like "there's no point, you have got no brains anyway.*

In addition to the reported negative stereotyping, community members identified that **Māori** students' competence was often overlooked. This finding supports the suggestion of Jenkins et al. (2004) that giftedness is often overlooked when it comes to **Māori** students in mainstream education. In the following extract, a **whānau** member describes how her son was prompted by the intervention programme to incorporate his **Māori** cultural competence in a mainstream classroom setting. When the competence of this student became visible for the first time, the teachers were reportedly surprised.

P6: *He's totally different. Like never has he ever done a speech. Never. So he did a **haka**¹⁰³ and all that. And the teachers were just overwhelmed by it. Afterwards they said "wow he's right into that". And I thought, he's been like that ever since he's been here and you guys haven't even noticed.*

Māori experience diverse realities (Durie, 2005a) and hold a variety of identity positions (McIntosh, 2005). As well as respecting **Māori** culture in general, participants spoke of the importance of acknowledging and showing respect for individual **Māori** students' unique identity positions. In the following extract, a

¹⁰² **Māori** performing arts

¹⁰³ War dance

participant suggests that some students may choose not to engage in **Māori** cultural practices due to their lack of comfort in **Māori** settings:

P23: *I also see it as one of the reasons why um **Māori** students stand off, because a lot of the **Māori** students that are in **kapa haka** groups, and all that kind of thing, know exactly where they're from, if not speaking **te reo** fluently, you know. So, it is quite scary or intimidating when your peers know everything, and you just know that you're **Māori** because you're brown.*

This participant then goes on to describe the benefits associated with having a strong **Māori** cultural identity. He encourages students to pursue cultural engagement, and at the same time he acknowledges and accepts the identity position of **Māori** students who are not interested in this pursuit:

P23: *I just think that's, like self-esteem type stuff, yeah and identity. Um, 'cause if you know who you are, what your purpose is, everything else falls in to place once you're at one with yourself... if you don't acknowledge your **Māori** side and you don't want to that's cool, you know, you can just identify as whatever you want, but um, a lot kids do want to be not just a brown **Māori** they wanna to be a **Māori Māori**.*

The extract above highlights the importance not only of appreciating individuals' current identity positions, but also respecting their cultural aspirations.

The theme **Mana** calls for the acknowledgement and respect of individuals' inherent power, authority, and potential. This theme is consistent with the **Kaupapa Māori** principle of **Tino Rangatiratanga**¹⁰⁴ (Smith, 2003), which recognises that individuals have a right to determine their own destiny. The theme **Mana** also incorporates respect for individuals' cultural heritage, and thus resonates with the finding of **Te Kauhua** (Tuuta et al., 2004) that importance must be placed on valuing **Māori** students' culture in educational settings.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga¹⁰⁵ is a **Māori** term that can be used to mean relationship or close connectedness. **Whanaungatanga** has been described as, "a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one

¹⁰⁴ **Māori** self-determination

¹⁰⁵ Connectedness

develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship” (Maori Dictionary Online, 2011).

Whanaungatanga was chosen as a theme, as good relationships were mentioned by many community members as essential to improving student outcomes at the college. This theme is consistent with the findings of **Te Kotahitanga** (Bishop et al., 2003), which highlight the importance of the student-teacher relationship to **Māori** student success.

Community members suggested that relationships between students and staff members needed improvement. In addition to necessary improvements in the level of respect between some students and staff noted earlier, some participants indicated that their relationship with staff suffered when staff focused solely on their professional role as teachers, rather than attempting to foster relationships with students, as this parent explains.

P3: *The teachers just- well it's all about work, aye, education. "Do your work, just do your work." There's no separating them and having a bit of time, or fun, or seeing them for who they are as a child, as a teenager... teachers are straight to the work, to the pen, to the paper.*

Students also acknowledged their need to alter their behaviour to improve relationships. When asked how the relationship between staff and students could be improved, one student responded:

P20: *Stop wagging and shit. Like be good in class and do all your work and shit.*

In the following extract two students discuss the types of behaviour they exhibited that was detrimental to the student-teacher relationship, and how, since the initiation of the project, they were now attempting to improve their behaviour in order to get more out of school.

P4: *And see I got over all that kiddie stuff*

P20: *Yeah*

P4: *I just wanna do well... I always used to wag, swear at teachers, don't even care aye.*

P20: *Don't do work*

P4: *Sit in there and talk, throw paper and stuff at them. But now, that was like last year and the year before.*

The relationship between staff members and students' **whānau** was also seen to be essential to positive student outcomes. This finding was consistent with the critical

importance placed on **whānau** in **Kaupapa Māori** theory (Smtih, 1997). In some cases, it was suggested that the relationship between the school and **whānau** needed to be improved, and that contact only occurred when disciplinary issues arose, as this student attests:

P19: *Yeah. The only time they go down there is when we're in trouble. Yeah. Something's- something's wrong.*

Whānau members also expressed their appreciation when staff members made efforts to strengthen relationships with **whānau**, as this participant explains:

P3: *I've had a form teacher ring me up introducing herself and that, which was awesome.*

The following comment from a **whānau** member gives an example of how her strong relationship with staff impacted positively on disciplinary processes involving her child:

P6: *Some of my things my boy has done, he should be out. But I think, I've had a bit of influence there, they wanna keep him here because I do so much.*

Some **whānau** members expressed that they wanted to be more included in the school. Concern was raised that in the past responsibility for establishing a relationship with the school was often left to **whānau**. However, **whānau** expressed that the intervention was increasing **whānau** engagement, particularly due to appointing a community liaison based at the **marae**, as the following extract indicates.

P3: *The only real involvement we get isn't from that part of the school it's from here [the marae], who's in here, that's the involvement we get. Other than that we're uninvolved, unless we make that effort to step in, and still- it's still a bit cold out there.*

The relationship between the school and **whānau** with gang affiliations was noted as being particularly poor. As a large proportion of the students' **whānau** members were affiliated to gangs, improving the relationship with gang affiliated **whānau** was seen as a serious issue that needed improvement. A community member described the situation as follows.

P11: *They [the school] say they'll open the doors to all the parents. But they were seeing his patch first before him being father.*

Some students reported that they were in a difficult position, as they were affiliated with gangs through family members, and not by choice, yet suffered from negative stereotyping due to their affiliations, as the following quotes suggest.

- P7: *We're all related to them [gang members]. We have no choice.*
- P8: *Most of the people here have a gang member in their family.*
- P7: *Really they [the school] shouldn't be dissin the gangs because some of them don't even know what it's like being in a family of gangs*
- P8: *They think they know but they don't*
- P7: *They just expect that this happens and that but it really doesn't*
- P8: *Yeah*
- P7: *Like everyone's gonna fight*
- P8: *Yeah.*

Some students also suggested that there was more their parents could do to strengthen the relationships between **whānau** and the school, as this student explains.

- P15: *My Dad, he don't really know [about the school], because he just drops me off and has nothing to do with the school.*

Community members' comments demonstrated that the intervention was having a hugely beneficial impact on the relationship between the school and **whānau**.

- P9: *My mum gets along with [the Community Liaison and the **Māori** teacher] but she just doesn't like the other bit of the school.*

The good relationship between intervention staff and **whānau** reportedly held true for gang families. In the following extract one of the intervention staff describes their approach to working with students from gang families. Here the intervention staff member describes the subtlety used in dissuading students from a particular lifestyle, without condemning those who do follow that lifestyle:

- P1: *I try to tell them that, you know, you can be somebody else, you don't have to be that person that's in jail or trying to get a patch or- actually I don't talk to them that way about gangs. I say to them "there is something else out there" you know, cause you don't want to **whakaiti**¹⁰⁶ their **whānau**.*

As well as having strong relationships with **whānau**, the relationship between the project staff and **Māori** students was also described as being very strong, as this student professes at two instances in the interview:

- P13: *They try to help us out. The other teachers just take us straight to the principal.*
- P13: *I tell [the **Māori** teacher and the Community Liaison] more than what I tell my own parents.*

¹⁰⁶ Diminish

It is important to note that the intervention staff often used their existing relationships with students' **whānau** members to establish new relationships with students themselves. Many students noted that the respect and closeness they felt for the intervention staff was based on the relationship the intervention staff had built with their **whānau**. In the following extract a student describes why his relationship with the intervention staff is strong and respectful.

P15: *Yeah, um well [the community liaison] knows my dad. A LOT! [Laughter] So if I do anything naughty she will ring my dad up and tell him what I've been up to.*

The **Māori** term **whakawhanaungatanga**¹⁰⁷ is used to describe building personal relationships. For example, when two **Māori** people meet for the first time, it is common for them to immediately enquire as to the ancestral origins of the other, and to attempt to find a shared relative, or to identify a relative of the other that one has an existing personal relationship with. The process of **whakawhanaungatanga** is crucial to social interactions, as the parties involved in the encounter need to know how they relate to one another in order to interact. A further example of the importance placed in the **whakawhanaungatanga** process is evident in formal addresses in **Māori** contexts, as they often begin with the speaker presenting their **whakapapa**, or genealogy, so that the audience know by whom they are being addressed (See Salmond, 1975).

Whanaungatanga requires that **whānau**-like relationships built on mutual respect are established and suggests one way to form relationships with **Māori** students is through their **whānau**, as was also suggested in the report **Te Kauhua** (Tuuta et al., 2004). The focus on establishing **whānau**-like relationships also fits well with the **Kaupapa Māori** principle of **ako** which requires reciprocal interactions between school staff and **Māori** learners (Smith, 1997).

Kotahitanga

Kotahitanga¹⁰⁸, or integrated approaches, was extracted as a theme, as many participants spoke of the importance of taking a unified approach to improve student outcomes. The **Kotahitanga** theme reflects the **Kaupapa Māori** principle of **Kaupapa**, or shared vision (Smith, 1997). **Kotahitanga**, suggests that collaborative efforts be made between members of the school community and external service providers, with whom relationships built on **mana** have been established.

¹⁰⁷ Relationship building

¹⁰⁸ Unity

While the intervention taking place at the school was having a positive impact, many participants felt that the effectiveness of the intervention would be increased if it was integrated more fully with the rest of the school. Participants described that support given to the intervention programme by the school could be increased. Rather than being integrated with the school, the intervention was seen as an add-on, or extra initiative, that was the responsibility of the intervention staff to deliver. The level of respect given to the intervention and the intervention staff needed to be increased, as some staff reportedly questioned the legitimacy of the intervention staff, as they were not fully qualified teachers, as this participants point out.

P6: *Um she hasn't got much respect... she's not qualified secondary teacher.*

These comments suggest that through the intervention, the school attempted to meet its obligations to **Māori** students and their **whānau** by implementing something extra, rather than making any changes to its internal practices and processes. The **Māori** project staff were thus charged to deal with **Māori** issues, and were isolated from the rest of the school. Community members, therefore, suggested that the relationships between the intervention staff and the rest of the school needed to be improved. The need for good working relationships between **Māori** and non-**Māori** staff was also emphasised in the findings of **Te Kauhua** (Tuuta et al., 2004).

As an isolated programme, the intervention did not have buy-in from the school as a whole. This lack of buy-in caused tension, as school staff reportedly saw the **marae** space as being inconsistent with the rest of the school, particularly with regard to the standards of behaviour expected on the **marae**. A **whānau** member described the source of staff disapproval of the intervention as follows.

P6: *It can't just be like the out the country style marae. You can't, you've gotta have the rules... Far too casual... there's one set of rules... and there can be to an extent. But at the moment, I think it's running a bit wild... A bit of wagging. And I know it happens, a bit of covering up for some of the children.*

In the extract above, the community member suggests problems arose due to different processes being followed in the **marae** context, compared with the rest of the school, but concedes that, to an extent, this can occur. What may have been lacking in this arrangement was formal acknowledgement that **Māori** staff were able to implement their own processes in the **marae** context. To aid schools in making these types of structural changes, Bishop and Glynn (1999) suggested that the Treaty of **Waitangi**

should be used to guide power relationships between **Māori** and non-**Māori** in educational settings.

The intervention staff described their involvement with disciplinary matters in a way that differed to that presented in the extract above, suggesting that their role in disciplinary matters was often to act as cultural interpreters, or to provide information on students' circumstances that may have accounted for particular behaviours.

P1: *There's heaps of kids that come to school and mum's just got a hiding from dad so they're not gonna have a good day but when you try and tell the teachers, "ohh, no that kid's being that way cause, you know, there's something happening at home." That's not an excuse for that kind of behaviour. But it's not an excuse but it's a contributing factor as to why they're doing that, you know.*

As well as tensions between the school and the intervention project, there also seemed to be tension between the school and external providers. This finding was consistent with the findings of **Te Kauhua** (Tuuta et al., 2004) which highlight the importance of teachers working together with parents and other professionals involved with **Māori** students' lives. Participants described that students often had needs that could be met by external organisations, and these organisations were willing to work alongside the school, but that the school could improve its relationships with external organisations as this quote captures:

P23: *If it had been more organised and structured then it would have been a lot more successful and more beneficial for the- for the **rangatahi**¹⁰⁹ ... it was a real shame... it was because of the organisational stuff that hadn't been put into place.*

Te Korowai Aroha

The final theme extracted was **Te Korowai Aroha**, defined here as duty of care. The literal translation into English of **Te Korowai Aroha** is "the cloak of love/compassion". The phrase is used here to describe the provision of a supportive, nurturing environment that is necessary to improve student outcomes. The theme **Te Korowai Aroha** was organised into three sub-themes: needs provision, boundaries, and shelter and safety.

1. Needs provision. Participants suggested that while some of the students needs were being met, other of their needs were not. The following extract highlights the

¹⁰⁹ **Māori** youth

sentiments of one **whānau** member who suggested that the school was meeting **Māori** students' Western academic needs.

P6: *I think it's all there, they've just gotta find it themselves... They just gotta get on track and, and ask for help.*

While Western academic needs were described above as being catered for, many participants noted that students' needs pertaining to **Māori** academic disciplines were not being met. In particular, participants noted that the school did not fulfil students' needs to be educated in topics such as **te reo Māori**, **whakapapa**¹¹⁰, and **tikanga**¹¹¹.

The following quote illustrates the importance this participant places on **te reo Māori** education. For this participant, **Te reo Māori** is so essential to student development that it is likened to **kai**¹¹², a basic human need.

P2: *The kids that do go to mainstream, they want to hear it too, they need to, um eat it, they need it for **kai**, um they need it to **pūāwai**¹¹³.*

The importance of education relating to **whakapapa** and **tikanga** is illustrated by the following extract, in which a participant makes explicit that this form of education is essential for **Māori** students to be able to participate in **Māori** society, even at the most basic level.

P23: *Every **hui** you have, you have your **mihihakatau**¹¹⁴, or **pōwhiri**¹¹⁵. You need to know those sorts of things... it should be there. We should be able to go somewhere and learn these things.*

2. *Boundaries.* Participants' feedback indicated that they felt it was important for the school to maintain behavioural boundaries. However, participants noted that the school was oriented toward a 'duty of discipline', as opposed to a duty of care. Many participants, particularly students, expressed their beliefs that the school did not care about them, and that the disciplinary processes undertaken by the school were overly harsh, as the following extracts suggest.

P1: *Some of them don't have ah- any- mum doesn't have the money to buy the shoes or the, and then they get a detention cause they haven't got those shoes then they don't go to that detention, and so now they've got two detentions, they didn't go to that one, next minute you've got seven detentions oh it's just bullshit because it just makes it impossible.*

¹¹⁰ History and genealogy

¹¹¹ Correct procedure

¹¹² Food

¹¹³ Blossom

¹¹⁴ Semi-formal welcome

¹¹⁵ Formal welcome

Despite the harsh discipline described by students in the mainstream school environment, participants presented a very different picture of the way in which disciplinary processes were managed by intervention staff at the **marae**. In the **marae** environment, participants indicated that students were motivated to behave appropriately in order to preserve their strong relationships with the intervention staff. In the following extract, an intervention staff member explains how negative punishment in the form of withholding attention was used by intervention staff to dissuade a student from behaving inappropriately.

- P1: *We don't talk to them*
P2: *Nah we don't, and then they start going "oh no they're not talking to us" yeah, and they freak out and they have a little- like a little **hui** amongst each other, and whoever's the one that's the most outspoken will go "ummm why aren't you talking to such and such?" ... and next minute they're like "oh, what do we do?" "I'm sorry" you know.*

Another insight into the disciplinary processes used by intervention staff is given by a student in the following extract.

- P4: *If we had a problem with wagging, they'll just help us, like they'll put us on report, or um, just encourage us to go to class more often.*

The extract above demonstrates how, although a standard school disciplinary process has been followed (placing the student on daily report), the student does not see this process as harsh disciplinary action, but rather as “help”. Despite reports from students that the mainstream disciplinary processes were somewhat harsh, and that the processes followed by intervention staff were helpful, students still reported having to demonstrate good behaviour with the intervention staff in order to avoid disciplinary consequences, as illustrated by the following exchange between the interviewer and students, whilst discussing an intervention staff member named **Kiri** (pseudonym used here).

- I¹¹⁶: *Who's scarier? Like who are you more afraid of getting in trouble with?*
P4: ***Kiri!***
P19: ***Kiri**, yeah. [Laughter from group]*
I: *What happens if you do something naughty with **Kiri**?*
P19: *She's like a monster*
P4: *And she just won't talk to us or nothing aye. And be like to everyone "nah don't look at them, don't talk to them."*

¹¹⁶ 'I' denotes 'Interviewer'

The style of behaviour management carried out by the intervention staff was seen to have good behavioural consequences by students and the intervention staff alike. The following excerpt suggests that **Māori** students' behaviour was much better in the **marae** setting than in the rest of the school.

P1: *If you read, you know when a kid gets stood down, and you read all of the um- teachers all have a comment about what this kid has done and that. Never ever when you go to the **Māori** teacher or when it comes to my comment, I never- we never see that in those children. So, we're questioning the teachers, "why are they like that to you, but they're not like that to us? You need to ask yourself.*

3. *Shelter and Safety.* Many participants shared their gratitude as the intervention had provided them with an environment where they could gain shelter and feel safe. As the **marae** was a relaxed and comfortable environment for many of the participants, they retreated there to find shelter. The **marae** was also described as an environment where **Māori** could find cultural safety. Participants placed importance on being able to access a **Māori** centred space, as the School was seen as a racialised environment, as this extract affirms:

P7: *I reckon this school's racist. Like you have half **Māoris** down one end, all the other Whites down another end, Samoans down the other end, the Indians by themselves.*

The safety afforded to **Māori** students by the **marae** was explained by a **whānau** member as follows:

P23: *Um, I suppose for me it could be like safety stuff, or just feeling like they- you know at school they're not allowed in this class they're not allowed in this class, "go sit in the hallway" type of thing. Well this [the **marae**] is like, they're always allowed here. As long as **Kiri**'s out here as long as someone's here, you know, they know they can come here, unload. Um so, yeah that's a huge part I think. Just to ahh- just for kids to know that yeah there's space here. No matter what happens. Um no matter what they do, they can come here and chill with **Kiri**.*

The excerpt above talks of the importance of the physical space, combined with the presence of the intervention staff that creates the safe environment for **Māori** students. The following extract from a student lends further support to this assertion, and illustrates the positive effect this safe space is having on student behaviour.

P7: *Ever since [intervention staff member] started here, everything started changing. Everyone started being good girls. Like, save us being bored and trying to find somewhere to smoke, we like come here and chill out.*

Save us getting mental or she'll calm you down, talk to you, or [if you fight] with someone else she'll like bring you here to try and sort it out.

As well as providing a culturally safe environment for students, the **marae** was also the preferred point of contact with the school for many of the **Māori** students' **whānau** members, as this participant explains when asked about how he would feel about visiting the school office.

P21: *Nah, nah I wouldn't even deal with that side [the school office] you know. It's way out of my, like jurisdiction, sort of you know. Nothing over there for me. I didn't last at school that long, so I wouldn't, you know. All the teachers and that, they seem to be ok. But nah, I'd rather just stay where I know, where I understand.*

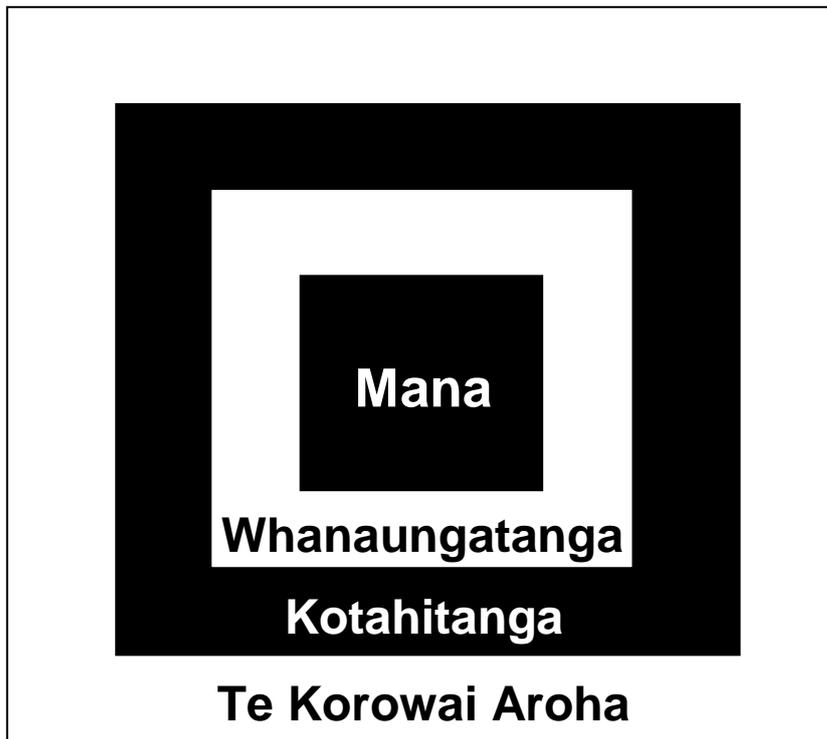
Te Korowai Aroha describes the environment that is created when successful collaborative relationships built on **mana** are achieved, which allows the school community's duty of care for **Māori** students to be fulfilled. When this is achieved **Māori** students will have shelter and safety, barriers, and their needs will be provided for. These needs include knowledge of **tikanga**, **te reo**, and **mātauranga Māori**. These needs resonate with the **Kaupapa Māori** principle of **taonga tuku iho** (cultural heritage; Smith, 1997). Fulfilling these needs then allows **Māori** students to develop secure **Māori** identities, and prepares **Māori** students to participate in, and contribute positively to **Te Ao Māori**¹¹⁷. Creating this environment through collaborative efforts among professionals in **Māori** students' lives also allows **Māori** students' home difficulties to be mediated in accordance with the **Kaupapa Māori** principle of '**kia piki ake i ngararuaru o te kainga**' (Smith, 1997).

Te Korowai Aroha Framework

The four main themes were organised into a conceptual framework (refer to Figure 3). **Te Korowai Aroha** Framework is a new knowledge contribution that can serve as a tool for promoting **Māori** cultural engagement and **Māori** identity development.

¹¹⁷ The **Māori** World

Figure 3. *Te Korowai Aroha Framework*



Mana is placed at the centre of this framework, due to the central importance of respecting the **mana** of all people and peoples. Once this mutual respect is established, it is possible to establish **whanaungatanga** (strong relationships with others).

Whanaungatanga with others and between organisations allow for **Kotahitanga**, or integrated approaches. The integrated approach allows for different service providers to work together to provide **Te Korowai Aroha**, and fulfil their collective duty of care.

Working through an example of how **Te Korowai Aroha** might be provided in a high school setting will allow a clearer picture of **Te Korowai Aroha** to emerge. Following this model, the inherent **mana** of all students who enter the school will be acknowledged and respected. The cultural heritage, cultural knowledge, and cultural identities of all students will also be embraced. **Māori** knowledge and cultural practices will be valued and promoted positively in the school, fostering **Māori** students' interest and development in these areas.

Māori students will be given the right to *be Māori* in the institutional setting, and their educational needs and preferences will be catered to, to a satisfactory standard. These students will be delivered a culturally relevant curriculum that will prepare them to participate in, and contribute to **Māori** society.

Relationships between staff, **Māori** students, and their **whānau** will be actively fostered. Building relationships with students' **whānau** will be recognised as a way of strengthening the relationships with **Māori** students. **Whānau** will be given opportunities to be involved with the school, and efforts will be made to ensure **whānau** members feel comfortable engaging with school. The use of **Māori** centred space and **Māori** staff will be recognised as one way of promoting relationships between the school and **Māori whānau**. The relationships between the school and **Māori** students' and their **whānau** will be based on respect.

In order to ensure that efforts to support **Māori** students are integrated, respectful relationships will also be established with special units that work to achieve these aims. Special programmes established by the school to improve **Māori** outcomes will be given appropriate support, recognition, and respect. As well as respecting these special initiatives, schools will acknowledge that meeting **Māori** educational and cultural needs is a school-wide responsibility.

Respectful working relationships will also be established with external providers. Through this integrated approach, the needs of **Māori** students that fall outside of the school's responsibilities will be provided for. This will allow for the provision of **Te Korowai Aroha**. This **korowai** will include needs provision, encompassing cultural educational needs. This **korowai** will also include the establishment of behavioural boundaries. Behaviour will be managed with a focus on fulfilling a duty of care. Disciplinary processes will focus on punishing bad behaviours rather than 'bad individuals', thereby allowing individuals to restore their **mana** by taking appropriate steps to atone for their misdeeds. Finally **Te Korowai Aroha** will include providing shelter and safety to students. **Māori** students will feel safe and welcome within the school, and will have culturally appropriate avenues of support if they have concerns or issues.

Conclusion

The purpose of this scoping study was to describe a community-driven cultural reintegration intervention at a State secondary school, and to determine major themes in community members' experiences of the intervention. The intervention involved five main activities: (1) increasing access to the school **marae**; (2) appointing a **Māori** liaison; (3) establishing monthly meetings for **Māori whānau**; (4) increase **Māori**

curricular and extra-curricular activities; and (5) establishing mentoring session for **Māori** students. Four major themes were extracted by analysing interviews with community members. These were: (1) **Mana**; (2) **Whanaungatanga**; (3) **Kotahitanga**; and (4) **Te Korowai Aroha**. These themes were organised into a framework, designed to promote secure **Māori** identity development in State schools. These themes highlighted the importance of respecting students and their cultural heritage, building positive relationships with students and their **whānau**, and promoting integrated approaches with school staff and external organisations in order to provide cultural safe environments, promote positive behaviours, respond to **Māori** educational requirements, and prepare **Māori** students to contribute positively to **Māori** society.

The intervention was in line with the **Ka Hikitia** (The **Māori** Education Strategy 2008-2012, Ministry of Education, 2009), as it enhanced the capacity of the school to meet the aspirations of the **Māori** community. Project activities, such as establishing **whānau hui** and sending a representative to school board meetings, led to more equitable representation of **Māori** within the school power structures, as is recommended by **Penetito** (1986) and **Smith** (1990). This activity also affirmed the **Kaupapa Māori** education principles of **tinu rangatiratnaga**, and **kaupapa** (**Smith**, 2003).

Other project activities, such as increasing access to the school marae, and increasing **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities affirmed **Māori** language, culture, knowledge and identities, and created the space for cultural expression (see **Lee et al.**, 2012). These activities were consistent with the **Kaupapa Māori** education principle of **taonga tuku iho**. In addition, the relationships between **Māori** students and their **whānau** and school staff were promoted by the appointment of a **Māori** liaison. This activity reflected the **Kaupapa Māori** education principles of **whānau** (**whānau** like relationships in the classroom) and **ako** (reciprocal learning; **Smith**, 2003).

In this particular intervention there were a number of facilitators and barriers to the success of the project. Facilitators included the availability of a school **marae**, which was used as a focus point of the intervention. **Whānau** members used the marae as their point of contact with the school, and intervention activities were held at the **marae**. Opening up this **Māori** institution within the school created a cultural space where a **Māori** values, beliefs, and practices were central. The intervention was also facilitated by the competence and dedication of the community liaison. The community liaison was very well connected in the community, and established excellent

relationships with **Māori** students, **Māori whānau** members, school staff, and external service providers.

Barriers to the intervention included the lack of cohesion between the intervention taking place at the **marae**, and rest of the school. The intervention was seen to be the responsibility of the intervention staff only, rather than being a school wide intervention. In addition, school staff reportedly expressed concern that different standards of behaviour were expected at the **marae**, and questioned the authority of the intervention staff. In order to improve the intervention, school staff could have been more informed of the intervention, and the authority of the intervention staff could have been formalised. This programme barrier highlights the importance of making structural changes to schools so that integrated approaches can be taken to improve **Māori** education.

Further Identity Research Questions

Community members in the present study wished to transform the school into a culturally affirming environment as they believed this would increase **Māori** students' cultural competence, and promote the development of secure **Māori** identities. Community members suggested that cultural competence increased students' wellbeing (i.e. involvement in **kapa haka** lead to enhanced self-esteem), and suggested that secure **Māori** identity was a resilience factor against adversity. These suggestions lead to the generation of a number of research questions to be addressed in this thesis. These questions were as follows.

1. How are diverse **Māori** identities negotiated in 21st Century **Aotearoa**?
2. What are the relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing?
3. How do school cultural environments influence the development of diverse **Māori** identities?

Chapter 4: Negotiating Māori Identities in 21st Century Aotearoa

Overview

The scoping study presented in the previous chapter focused on a community determined to strengthen the cultural identities of **Māori** students within a mainstream secondary school. The insights of community members were used to construct a framework, **Te Korowai Aroha**, to affirm **Māori** identities in State secondary schools. In this chapter, the focus shifts to look more closely at how **Māori** identities develop.

In 21st Century **Aotearoa**¹¹⁸, **Māori** experience diverse realities (Durie, 2005a), and **Māori** identities may take various forms in response to the context within which they are shaped (Poata-Smith, 1996). **Māori** education researcher Professor Wally **Penetito** (2011, p. 29) explains that “there are multiple ways of being **Māori**,” and outlines many of the different ways that **Māori** identity is defined, for example by ‘**whakapapa**¹¹⁹’, ‘**Māoritanga**¹²⁰’, ‘**iwitanga**¹²¹’, ‘**hapūtanga**¹²²’, and ‘**whānautanga**¹²³’. Professor **Penetito** (2011, p. 40) also describes **Māori** who are disengaged from **Māori** culture, and notes that many **Māori** in this category “don’t know how to join in or how to belong”. **Penetito** (2011, p. 40) highlights that disengaged **Māori** differ in their willingness and ability to access **Māori** culture, noting that “They do not know what that is, where to get it if they want it, or even whether it is something worth wanting”.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how **Māori** undertake the at times difficult task of negotiating **Māori** identities in 21st century **Aotearoa**. A framework describing **Māori** identity development will be put forward. This framework incorporates the **Māori** identity literature outlined in Chapter 1: the framework draws on distinctly **Māori** cultural identity concepts (as outlined by **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team, 1996); incorporates personal cultural identity aspirations (in line with the E-Learning Advisory Group, 2002); accommodates identity transitions in a dynamic framework (as does the **Pūtangitangi** model, Davies et al., 1993); and affirms multiple **Māori** identities (as does the **MMMICE**, **Houkamau** & Sibley, 2010).

¹¹⁸ New Zealand

¹¹⁹ Genealogy

¹²⁰ **Māori** identity

¹²¹ **Iwi**/tribal identity

¹²² **Hapū**/subtribe identity

¹²³ **Whānau**/family identity

In keeping with The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework (the methodological approach to this research presented in Chapter 2), the starting point of this inquiry will be **taonga tuku iho**¹²⁴. Therefore, this chapter will begin by examining notions of **Māori** development expressed in traditional narratives, and by exploring how development processes are carried out through **tikanga Māori**¹²⁵.

Māori Cosmogony

Māori development stems from creation. To appreciate **Māori** development, it is necessary to have familiarity with **Māori** cosmogony, and the ways in which **Māori** cosmogony is referenced and symbolised in **Māori** settings, such as **marae**¹²⁶. Therefore a brief outline of some key phases from **Māori** creation narratives will be presented here, along with a description of the rich symbolism of the **marae** complex.

The novel **Māori** identity negotiation framework that is constructed in this chapter rests on the **pōwhiri**¹²⁷ process, which is a ritual re-enactment of creation. Therefore a description of the **pōwhiri** process will also be presented here. The aspects of **Māori** knowledge that have informed this research are deliberately presented at the start of this chapter in order to privilege and validate **Māori** knowledge. There is great variability between the creation narratives and rituals of different **iwi**¹²⁸. Therefore, it is important to note that the account presented here is not endorsed by all **Māori** peoples.

Māori creation narratives begin in the infinite aeons of nothingness, before the existence of life. The first phase of creation was **Te Kore** (the void). Numerous descriptors of **te kore** are given in **Māori** narratives (see the chant presented below), accentuating the absolute nothingness of this phase (**Hiroa**, 1949). While **Te Kore** was an aeon of vast emptiness, it was imbued with energy, or potential.

Out of **Te Kore** came **Te Pō** (the night). This was a period of darkness and ignorance. The vastness of this aeon is referred to in the many titles used in reference to **Te Pō** (see the chant presented below). During **Te Pō**, the primal parents, **Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui**, came into being.

Papatūānuku and **Ranginui** were locked in a matrimonial embrace, and their progeny dwelt in the spaces between them (**Hiroa**, 1949). A number of these progeny grew tired of being confined to this small, dark space, and conspired to escape. **Tū-**

¹²⁴ **Māori** cultural heritage including knowledge, language, and custom

¹²⁵ **Māori** protocols

¹²⁶ **Māori** meeting houses

¹²⁷ Formal welcome

¹²⁸ Tribes, confederation of tribes

mata-uenga wished to slaughter his parents to escape, while others attempted to separate their parents by pushing them apart. **Tāne-Māhuta** was successful in this pursuit, and, in separating **Ranginui** and **Papatūānuku**, he brought light into the world.

Tāne went on to create the first woman, **Hine-ahu-one**, from earth. **Tāne** breathed life into **Hine-ahu-one**'s nostrils, at which point she exclaimed “**Tihei mauri ora!**” (I sneeze, there is life). The union of **Tāne** and **Hine-ahu-one** resulted in **Hine-tītama**, who went on to become **Hinenui-te-pō, kaitaki**¹²⁹ of the night and of death. The following chant (sourced from **Himona**, 1995) refers to various stages of creation from **Te Kore**, through to the creation of humankind.

Ko Te Kore	the void, energy, nothingness, potential
Te Kore-te-whiwhia	the void in which nothing is possessed
Te Kore-te-rawea	the void in which nothing is felt
Te Kore-i-ai	the void with nothing in union
Te Kore-te-wiwhia	the space without boundaries
Na Te Kore Te Po	from the void the night
Te Po-nui	the great night
Te Po-roa	the long night
Te Po-uriuri	the deep night
Te Po-kerekere	the intense night
Te Po-tiwhatiwha	the dark night
Te Po-te-kitea	the night in which nothing is seen
Te Po-tangotango	the intensely dark night
Te Po-whawha	the night of feeling
Te Po-namunamu-ki-taiao	the night of seeking the passage to the world
Te Po-tahuri-atu	the night of restless turning
Te Po-tahuri-mai-ki-taiao	the night of turning towards the revealed world
Ki te Whai-ao	to the glimmer of dawn
Ki te Ao-marama	to the bright light of day
Tihei mauri-ora!	[I sneeze] there is life

Marae Symbolism

The **marae** complex is a rich representation of **Te Ao Māori**¹³⁰ (**Māori** Marsden, cited in Royal, 2001) and includes many references to creation narratives (refer to Figure 4). The area outside the **whare tīpuna**¹³¹, known as the **marae ātea**, is associated with **Te Pō**. This is the domain of **Tū-mata-uenga** (**atua** of warfare), and is therefore a space of conflict. The **whare tīpuna** itself is associated with **Te Ao Mārama**¹³². The **whare tīpuna** is the domain of **Rongo** (**atua** of peace), and is therefore a space of peace and reconciliation. The floor of the **whare tīpuna** represents

¹²⁹ Guardian

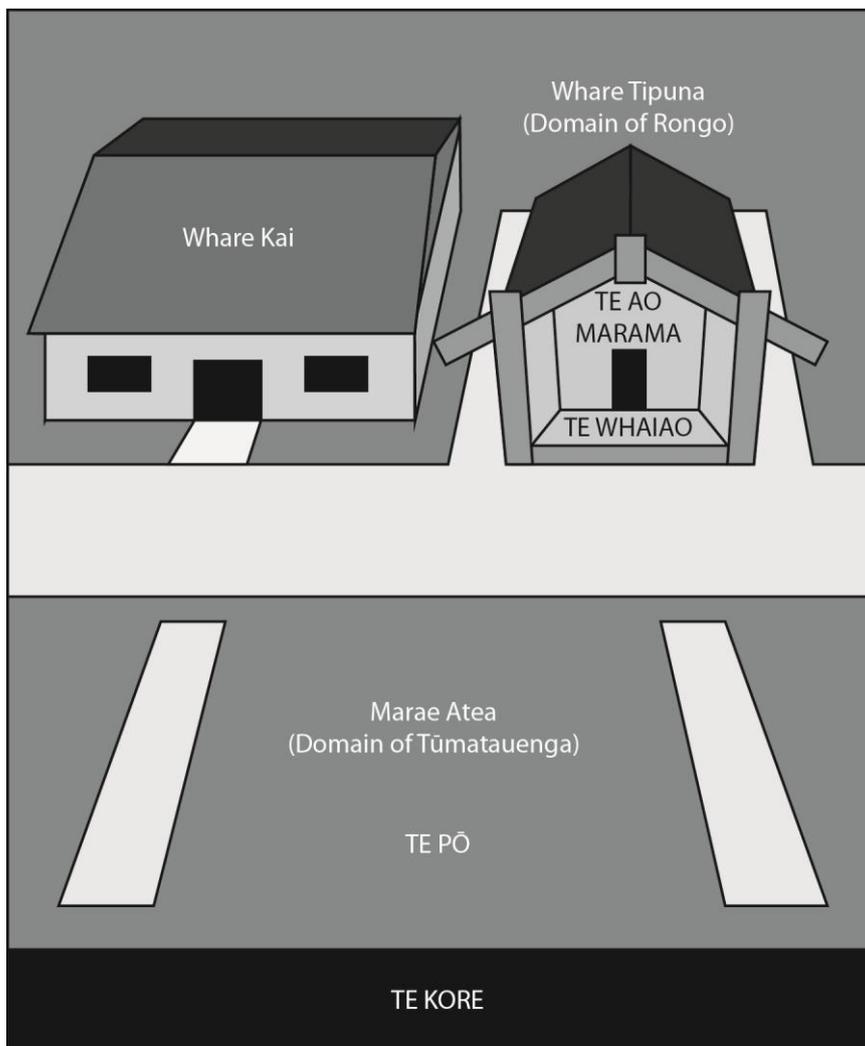
¹³⁰ The **Māori** World

¹³¹ Ancestral house

¹³² The World of Light, the World of Understanding

Papatūānuku, while the ceiling represents **Ranginui**. Located between the **marae ātea** and the **whare tīpuna**, the **mahau**¹³³ is associated with **Te Whaiao**¹³⁴. The door of the **whare tīpuna**, threshold between **Te Ao Mārama** and **Te Pō**, is guarded by **Hinenui-i-te-pō** (guardian of death), whose carved figure is located above the door.

Figure 4. *Marae Complex*



¹³³ Porch

¹³⁴ The Pre-dawn

The Ritual Significance of the Pōwhiri

The word **pōwhiri** is often translated to mean ‘welcome’ (Williams, 1957). However, by breaking the word into its constituent parts, **pō** and **whiri** (or rather **whiriwhiri**), insights into the function of this process can be gained. The word **pō** means night, darkness, or place of departed spirits, whilst **whiriwhiri** means to deliberate, to consider, or to bind together (Royal, 2001). In this context, when the two words are brought together, reference is made to the process of moving from the night, or from ignorance, to a space where discussions take place, decisions are settled upon, people are bound together, and higher knowing can be attained. The significance of this process of moving from **Te Pō** (the night, or ignorance) to **Te Ao Mārama** (the day, understanding) originates from **Māori** cosmogony, when **Tāne-Māhuta** separates **Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui**, letting light into the world.

As visitors are welcomed through the **pōwhiri** process, they move slowly through the **marae** spaces associated with **Te Pō**, inching ever closer to spaces associated with **Te Ao Mārama**. The **pōwhiri** is thus a ritual re-enactment of the creation of the universe and of people. An outline of the main processes that make up the **pōwhiri** will be presented here. The ritual significance and practical function of the following processes will be discussed:

1. **Waerea**
2. **Wero**
3. **Karanga**
4. **Tangi**
5. **Whaikōrero**
6. **Waiata**
7. **Koha**
8. **Hongi**
9. **Kai**

The Pōwhiri Process

When a group visits a **marae** for the first time, it is customary for that group to be welcomed onto the **marae** through the **pōwhiri** process. Until the **pōwhiri** process has been completed, new visitors are considered **waewae tapu**, which literally means forbidden feet and refers to the precarious state of visitors who have not been welcomed (Walker, 1975). In traditional times, the identity of the visiting group may not have been known, and their intentions for visiting may have been suspect. Therefore, the **pōwhiri** process was used to both ascertain the intentions of the visitors, and gain information of the visiting group’s identity. Having established that the visiting group

has come in peace, ritualised processes of coming together are enacted, and the **tapu**¹³⁵ of the visitors is lifted.

Before the **pōwhiri** begins, the visitors gather outside the **marae** complex, and the **tangata whenua**¹³⁶ gather on the **marae ātea** (Royal, 2001). After a time, the visitors then move towards the boundary of the **marae ātea**, the area associated with the creation stage **Te Pō**. Before the **pōwhiri** process has been completed, the **manuhiri**¹³⁷ are said to be in a state of **Pō**, and the purpose of the **pōwhiri** is to affect a transformation of consciousness. As they approach the **marae ātea**, the visiting group may recite a **waerea**, or incantation, designed to ward off **matuku**¹³⁸ as an unfamiliar **marae** is considered highly **tapu** (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004).

As the visiting group move towards the **marae ātea**, a domain associated with **Tū-mata-uenga**, a **wero**¹³⁹ may take place. Traditionally, the **wero** functioned to establish whether the visiting group had intentions of peace, or war (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). During this process, a skilled **toa**¹⁴⁰ from the **tangata whenua** group approaches the visiting group, putting on an impressive and frightening display of his (or, very occasionally, her) proficiency with his or her weapon. The **toa** then places a token on the ground before the visiting group. This token is often in the form of a dart, or sprig of leaves. The **toa** then puts on a fierce display of his or her fighting ability, challenging the visitors to pick up the token. If the visitors do not pick up the token, it is a declaration of war. If the visiting group picks up the token, it signals that they have peaceful intentions. In this case the **toa** will return to the **tangata whenua** and the **pōwhiri** proceeds with the **karanga**¹⁴¹ (Salmond, 1975).

The **karanga** begins with a cry of welcome, performed by a high standing woman or women of the **tangata whenua** group (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). Upon hearing the **karanga**, the visiting group begins to slowly make its way across the **marae ātea**, with the females at the front of the group, as a sign of peace (as war parties were traditionally comprised mostly of men). A woman or women from the visiting group will then call in response. During these exchanges, references are often made to the environment, to the other group, to the dead, to the identity of the visiting group and to

¹³⁵ Sacredness, prohibition

¹³⁶ Local people

¹³⁷ Visitors

¹³⁸ Curses

¹³⁹ Challenge

¹⁴⁰ Soldier

¹⁴¹ Welcome call

the purpose of the visit (Royal, 2001). During the **karanga**, a **haka**¹⁴² **pōwhiri** may be performed by the **tangata whenua**, and the **manuhiri** may respond with a **haka** of their own. At the end of the **karanga** process, the visiting group will stop and **tangi**¹⁴³ in remembrance of those who have passed on (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). The visitors will then move to their seating, opposite the **tangata whenua**. At this stage of the **pōwhiri** process, the two groups have been ritually brought closer together, but are still separated by space, and are still on the **marae ātea**, a domain of conflict. At this stage, the **whaikōrero**¹⁴⁴ begins.

The **kawa**¹⁴⁵ dictating the order of speakers differs between **marae** but usually follows the format of **paeke**, or **utuutu**. The **paeke** format dictates that all the **tangata whenua** speakers deliver their **whaikōrero**, followed by the **manuhiri** speakers. The **utuutu** format dictates that a **tangata whenua** speaker begins, followed by a **manuhiri** speaker, and speaking rights are passed back and forth in this manner until all the speakers have delivered their **whaikōrero** (Salmond, 1975). **Whaikōrero** usually begin with a **whakaaraara** (shout, or warning cry), followed by a **tauparapara** (traditional chant). **Tauparapara** often begin and/or end with the words “**Thei mauri ora**”, in reference to the first words spoken by **Hine-ahu-one**. The **tauparapara** are then followed by general oration (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004).

During the **whaikōrero**, references are made to the opposite group, to geographic, genealogical, and historic connections, and to issues of the day. During the **whaikōrero**, due to the sacred knowledge that is involved in **whaikōrero**, speakers transcend into **tapu** states. For this reason, each **kōrero**¹⁴⁶ is followed by a **waiata**¹⁴⁷ to **whakanoa**, or remove the **tapu**, of the speechmaker, and make the speaker safe again. These **waiata** also serve the functions of embellishing the **kōrero**, and demonstrating whether or not the speaker has the support of the people; If other members of the speaker’s group sing the **waiata** they indicate that they support what was said (Salmond, 1975). After the **waiata** a few closing remarks are often made by the speaker.

When the last speaker from the **manuhiri** group completes their speech, a **koha**¹⁴⁸ is laid for the **tangata whenua**. In traditional times, this **koha** was usually in

¹⁴² War dance

¹⁴³ Cry

¹⁴⁴ Formal oratory

¹⁴⁵ **Marae** protocol

¹⁴⁶ Speech making

¹⁴⁷ Song

¹⁴⁸ Donation, contribution

the form of **kai**¹⁴⁹. However today, the **koha** is most often money. The purpose of the **koha** is to cover the costs incurred by the **tangata whenua** as a result of hosting the **hui**¹⁵⁰ (Salmond, 1975). The **koha** process serves to establish and maintain reciprocal, mutually beneficially relationships between parties.

Following the **whaikōrero** and the laying of the **koha**, the **tangata whenua** line up outside the **whare tūpuna**, the domain associated with **Te Ao Mārama**. The **manuhiri** line up opposite the **tangata whenua** and move to each of the **tangata whenua** in order to greet them with a **hongi**. The **hongi** is a greeting that involves the pressing of noses in order that the breath of life can be exchanged between two people. This practice symbolises the moment when **Tāne** breathed life into **Hine-ahu-one**, and thus the creation of humanity. At this point, the **manuhiri** have been brought through **Te Pō** and into the state of consciousness known as **Te Ao Mārama**, or the world of understanding. This is also the point at which the two parties finally come together. For this reason, this part of the **pōwhiri** process is also referred to as **hohou rongō**, meaning to bind together in peace (Royal, 2001).

While the **hongi** marks the coming together of the **tangata whenua** and **manuhiri**, the **pōwhiri** process is not complete until **kai** has been shared (Royal, 2001). Members of both groups proceed to the **wharekai**¹⁵¹ to share a meal. As food is **noa**¹⁵², the sharing of **kai** serves to **whakanoa** both parties, and make it safe for the visitors to be on this new **marae** (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). Once the process has been completed the **manuhiri** are no longer considered **waewae tapu**. They are often acknowledged thereafter as **tangata whenua**. However this title is honorary, and any associated privileges are by invitation only.

Identity Theory

Many authors have tackled the topic of social identity. In describing how social identities develop, some theorists focus on individual experience, while others incorporate relationships and interconnectedness into analyses. When describing how adaptive social identities are achieved, some authors have taken a trait based approach, and described what they consider the components of a secure identity. Other authors have taken a stage based approach to identity, and described the developmental stages that must each be achieved, in turn, in order to develop a secure identity. However, few

¹⁴⁹ Food

¹⁵⁰ Meeting

¹⁵¹ Dining house

¹⁵² Safe, profane

authors, if any, have attempted to describe the processes involved in **Māori** identity transitions, and how these processes are influenced by the social context. A review of some of these identity theories will be presented here, followed by an account of how the present study will address existing **Māori** research needs.

Identity Development

Identity development can be a stressful process. While identity stress is considered a normal part of adolescent development (Erikson, 1968), extreme identity stress is recognised as a psychological problem that could require clinical attention (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Domains of identity that are developing in adolescence are multiple, and include career goals, sexuality, and moral value systems. While there are many domains of identity, for adolescents who are members of ethnic minorities, ethnic identity is a central identity concern (Phinney & Chavira, 1992).

Social Identity Theory

Prominent Western social psychology researcher Henri Tajfel (1982, p.24) defines social identity as “that part of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance of that membership”. He suggests that social identities develop as people are categorised into groups, come to identify with their in-group, and then attempt to derive positive distinctiveness by evaluating their in-group in comparison with out-groups.

Constructing a positive social identity may be challenging for members of minority groups, or ‘low-status’ groups. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), when barriers between groups are permeable, members of ‘low status’ groups will attempt to join ‘high status’ groups. If barriers between groups are impermeable, ‘low status’ group members will respond in one of two ways, depending on how entrenched the unequal group relations are. If group relations are perceived as ‘secure’ (stable and legitimate), ‘low status’ group members will respond creatively, either by constructing their own set of criteria with which to compare themselves with the ‘high-status’ group, or by choosing to compare themselves with an alternative group. If group relations are considered ‘insecure’ (unstable and/or illegitimate), the superiority of the ‘high-status’ group will be challenged and attempts will be made by ‘low status’ group members to redefine group boundaries and power dynamics (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The benefit of Social Identity Theory in understanding **Māori** identity development is that it includes an analysis of the influence of socio-political landscapes. Therefore the diverse realities that **Māori** experience can be accommodated by the theory. The influence of context on social identification is extended in Self Categorisation Theory.

Self Categorisation Theory

Self Categorisation Theory presents a more fluid description of how social identities take shape. In Self Categorisation theory, multiple social identities are available at any one time, and the social context will determine which social identity will become salient (Turner, 1982). For example, at any one time, an individual could choose between a number of identities, such as their identity as a human being, their national identity, their regional identity, their gender identity, or their ethnic identity. The social identities that are available to an individual may also seem contradictory, for example an individual may be able to choose between being 'Black' or 'White', or between being a 'man' or a 'woman'. The identity a person adopts will be influenced by their social environment.

In a given context, categorisation occurs through the cognitive process of comparing the variance within and between various social groups, and organising people in a way that maximises the between-group variation, and minimises within-group variation. Once categorisation has occurred, between-group differences are exaggerated further, and within-group differences are underestimated, which leads to the formation of stereotypes. When a social identity has been selected, and category members come into contact, social reality testing takes place; Members negotiate shared values, aspirations, and views on reality (Turner, 1982). This theory is useful when considering the colonial reality within which **Māori** exist, as people of **Māori** descent may move between identifying as **Māori** in some contexts, and identifying with mainstream New Zealand society in other contexts. This theory also suggests that **Māori** identities are more likely to develop in contexts where the category '**Māori**' is useful in accounting for group differences.

Self-construal

As well as being influenced by context, the type of social identity that an individual is likely to adopt is also influenced by their self-construal style. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), members of individualist societies tend to have an

independent self-construal, which is markedly different from the *interdependent* self-construal held commonly by members of collectivist societies. For those with an *independent* self-construal, the self is viewed as being unique from others, and is seen as the focus of individual experience. According to this construal, what defines individuals and motivates their actions are a set of stable, inner attributes.

In stark contrast, for those with an *interdependent* self-construal, the self is viewed as being very much interdependent with others, and with situational contexts. The focus of experience for the *interdependent* self is not the individual self, but the self in relation to others. According to this *interdependent* self-construal, the essential self is the public, *interdependent* self, and behaviours are motivated by the consideration of others. Rather than being seen as stable, the inner attributes are seen as situation specific, and therefore not particularly useful to defining the self, or relevant to motivating action (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

These different styles of self-construal have also been labelled as the referential self, and indexical self. Landrine (1992) notes that the referential (independent) self is seen as distinct from others and the environment, autonomous, and motivated towards establishing independence and mastery over the environment, whereas the indexical (interdependent) self is seen as having blurred boundaries with others and the environment, influenced by external forces (both physical and spiritual), and motivated towards maintaining harmonious relationships, and fulfilling social obligations.

Brewer and Gardner (1996) refined the notion of self-construal by constructing a framework for considering cultural differences that focused on how individuals define not only themselves but also their relationships with others. Their Trichotomisation of Self Theory posited that distinct representations of the self are available, centred on the individual self, the relational self (the self in relation to significant others), and the collective self. This framework was extended on by Brewer and Chen (2007) to incorporate individual agency beliefs (whether the events in the social world are caused through individual autonomy, relational interdependence, or collective interdependence) and values (based on rights and responsibilities to the individual, reciprocal exchange, or collective cooperation).

These frameworks seek to clarify discussion around group affiliation by distinguishing between relational interdependence and collective interdependence. For Brewer and Chen (2007, p. 137), the relational self “is personalised, incorporating dyadic relationships between the self and particular close others and the networks of

interpersonal connections via the extension of these dyadic relationships”, whereas the collective self “involves depersonalized relationships with others by virtue of common membership in a symbolic group”. These definitions are intended to distinguish between close personal relational networks with friends and family, and membership of larger collectives. While these definitions may be useful, the differences between **Māori** forms of group affiliation may be harder to categorise according to these definitions.

Māori collectives are often based on familial relationships, as membership of **iwi** is based on descent from founding ancestors of the **iwi**. However, **iwi** often constitute large collectives. Therefore, while all **iwi** members can **whakapapa**¹⁵³ back to common ancestors, and may refer to each other as **whanaunga**¹⁵⁴, they do not have personal relationships with all other members of their **iwi**. In this sense, **iwi** identities are relational, but not personal, and, therefore, may sit uncomfortably between the relational and collective identities proposed by Brewer and Chen (2007).

Another important aspect of **Māori** collective identities to consider is the interconnectedness *between* collectives. For example, complex relationships between **iwi** are built through shared lineage, and histories of conflict or assistance. The interconnectedness between collectives is both salient and influential for many **Māori**, as they acknowledge their collective responsibility for the actions of their group, and take seriously their obligations to maintain balanced relationships with other groups (**Rata**, Liu, & Hanke, 2008). The relational nature of inter-group interaction is then highlighted in the **Māori** context.

The self-construal theories presented above suggest that the salience of a person’s ‘**Māori** identity’ might be influenced by their self-construal style. In the context of colonial New Zealand, **Māori** experience diverse realities and the extent to which they could be described as ‘individualist’ or ‘collectivist’ varies wildly between individuals and groups. Collectivist **Māori** may place emphasis on their relational selves, making their extended **whānau**, **hapū**, and **iwi** identities salient. If these **Māori** perceive a great deal of interconnectedness between their own **iwi** and other **iwi**, their **Māori** identity might also be salient, whereas if they see their **iwi** as largely independent of other **iwi**, their **Māori** identity may not hold a great deal of significance to them.

¹⁵³ Connect through genealogy

¹⁵⁴ Relations, cousins, family members

In contrast, individualist **Māori** may place more emphasis on their individual identity than their relational identities, such as their **whānau**, **hapū**, and **iwi** identities. However, individualists often identify strongly with symbolic collectives (Brewer & Chen, 2007). Therefore, individualist **Māori** may identify strongly with the social category ‘**Māori**’.

Individual Identity Development

The theories presented above (i.e. Social Identity Theory, Self Categorisation Theory, and Self-construal Theory) acknowledge the interplay between an individual and collectives in the construction of social identity. In contrast, Marcia (1966) focused on individual identity development, without incorporating analyses of collectives or the social environment. He categorised identity into four statuses, according to an individual’s level of identity commitment and the extent to which an individual was actively exploring their identity. Marcia’s classification system was refined by Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, and Geisinger (1995), who categorised individuals in the following way: individuals who were low on both identity exploration and commitment were said to have a ‘Diffuse’ identity status; individuals who were low on exploration, but high on commitment were said to have a ‘Foreclosed’ identity status; individuals who were high on exploration, but low on commitment were said to have a ‘Moratorium’ identity status; and individuals who were high on both commitment and exploration were said to have an ‘Achieved’ identity status, which Marcia suggested was the most psychologically adaptive position to occupy.

Extending on Marcia’s (1966) theory, Berzonsky (1989) theorised that individuals developed the particular identity statuses presented above, due to their identity development style. According to his model, individuals with a ‘Diffuse Orientation’ (characterised by avoiding issues) tended to develop a ‘Diffuse’ identity status; those with a ‘Normative Orientation’ (characterised by following internalised standards) tended to develop a ‘Foreclosed’ identity status; and those with an ‘Informational Orientation’ (characterised by seeking information on issues) tended to go through a period in the transitional ‘Moratorium’ status, before finally reaching an ‘Achieved’ identity status. This individualistic theory presumes that identity development is an internal process that is not affected by the external context.

Ethnic Identity Development

To determine whether the developmental sequence suggested above could describe ethnic identity development, Phinney and Chavira (1992) conducted a longitudinal study of Black, Hispanic, and Asian-American adolescents' ethnic identities. They produced a stage model suggesting that adolescents tended to progress from 'Unexplored' identity statuses, to the transitional 'Moratorium' status, and then to the 'Achieved' status, supporting Marcia's (1966) theory. They also noted that those individuals who progressed along this developmental sequence tended to have higher self-esteem, and stronger peer and family relations than those who did not progress throughout the course of the study.

While the stage based models produced by Marica (1966), Balistreri et al. (1995), and Phinney and Chavira (1992) suggest that the 'Achieved' identity status is the most psychologically adaptive, the effect of identity exploration on psychological distress appears complicated. Berman, Montgomery, and Kurtines (2004) measured the identity statuses and identity development styles of American university students and compared the rates of identity disorder (using diagnostic criteria in the DSM-III-R, American Psychiatric Association, 1987) found in each identity status group, and each identity style group. The highest rate of identity disorder was found in the Moratorium group, followed by the Achieved group, then the Diffused group, and finally the Foreclosed group. Correspondingly, comparisons between identity development style groups revealed that the highest rate of identity disorder was found in the Informational Orientation group, followed by the Diffuse Orientation group, then finally by the Normative Orientation group.

Berman et al. (2004) also constructed a measure of identity development distress and found that participants in the Foreclosed identity status group, and the Normative identity development style group reported the lowest levels of identity distress. Berman et al. justified their results with a 'no pain, no gain' explanation, suggesting that in order to achieve a secure identity position it is necessary to go through a potentially distressing identity development process. An alternative interpretation of these results is that there might be psychological benefits of having a Foreclosed or even a Diffuse identity status as individuals who occupy these positions might be less likely to experience identity distress. Therefore, following the linear developmental sequence of ethnic identity development described above may not be universally advisable.

This alternative interpretation would resonate with descriptions of **Māori** identity offered by Durie et al. (1996), McIntosh's (2005), and Davies et al. (1993). McIntosh uses the term 'Fixed' to describe the identity position of **Māori** who have grown up immersed in **Māori** culture, while Durie et al. (1996) and Davies et al. (1993) note the psychological benefits of being immersed exclusively in **Māori** society. Individuals immersed in **Māori** society may not have engaged in active identity exploration, as their **Māori** identities may be 'taken for granted'. The identity positions described by these authors might then map onto Marcia's (1966) 'Foreclosed' identity status. However, this fixed position is considered a 'secure' **Māori** identity status.

A possible explanation for the disagreement over whether the 'Foreclosed' identity status is adaptive may be based on whether researchers promote the goals associated with the indexical or the referential self-construal. It is possible that Marcia's (1966) model, which focuses on individual identity exploration, is appropriate for those with a referential self, for whom self discovery and self-actualisation is a priority (Landrine, 1992). For those with an indexical self, maintaining harmonious relationships with members of one's group is seen as more important than asserting one's individuality (Landrine, 1992). Therefore, for those with an indexical self-construal, the Foreclosed identity status might be considered the most adaptive.

Webber's (2008) research might also warn against prescribing a linear identity development pathway. She notes that occupying an identity position in the margins allows individuals to be creative. The marginal identity she describes is that of people of **Māori** and **Pākehā**¹⁵⁵ descent who do not identify with either of these ethnic groups. While this marginal identity position resonates with Marcia's (1966) 'Diffuse' identity status, Webber acknowledges that people with this marginal identity are in a position to generate new, hybrid identities. Thus, advocating that people of **Māori** descent follow a linear developmental sequence to achieve a secure **Māori** ethnic identity might interrupt the identity trajectory they would themselves create, had they first come to accept their marginal identity.

Racial/Cultural Identity Development

A stage based model of racial/cultural identity development was offered by Sue and Sue (1999). In this model, individuals are categorised into one of five stages of identity development, based on their attitudes towards themselves, members of their

¹⁵⁵ European New Zealander

own ethnic group, members of other minority groups, and the White majority. In the ‘Conformity’ stage, individuals hold positive perceptions of the White majority, and negative perceptions of all others. In the ‘Dissonance’ stage, individuals become confused about their perceptions of all groups. Individuals then move into the ‘Resistance and immersion’ stage, in which they view only themselves and their own group positively, they immerse themselves in their own ethnic group, and experience shame and guilt for their former negative views of their own ethnic group. Following this stage individuals enter the ‘Introspection’ stage, in which they seek to assert their distinctiveness from their own group, and become unsure of their perceptions of all groups. Finally, individuals reach the stage of ‘Integrative awareness’ where they view all groups positively. Sue and Sue (1999, p. 142) suggest that this final stage “represents a higher form of healthy functioning” and offer suggestions for how this type of identity can be promoted through counselling and therapy.

There are a number of reasons why this model may be inappropriate for describing **Māori** identity development. Firstly, the model focuses on rigid ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ attitudes. Using rigid social categories fails to appreciate the dynamic nature of **Māori** identities in 21st century **Aotearoa**. The focus on group attitudes also excludes factors that **Māori** consider important to identity such as language competencies, cultural practices, cultural knowledge, **Māori** spirituality, and relationships with other **Māori** and with the environment.

Secondly, the model assumes that all people start at the same point and progress through the same stages before reaching a secure identity. The starting point of this identity development process is characterised by individuals having negative perceptions of all groups, except for the White majority. This is not the identity development trajectory of all **Māori**, as many **Māori** may develop positive and secure **Māori** identities without first progressing through stages in which **Māori** are viewed negatively.

Thirdly, the model implies that ethnic minorities within a society have similar experiences. This fails to appreciate the unique experiences of **Māori**, as the Indigenous people of New Zealand, whose population, resource base, and social structures have been devastated by colonisation, and who are currently engaged in political struggles to have their resources returned, to gain compensation from the Government for historical and contemporary injustices, to improve the quality and delivery of State services to **Māori**, and to achieve cultural revitalisation.

Fourthly, the model prescribes that all people should develop a certain identity position, without factoring in individual aspirations. The identity position that the model encourages is one where integrative awareness is achieved, and to some extent positive views of all groups, including the powerful majority, are held. This position may be inappropriate in situations of ongoing oppression, such as that of New Zealand, as balanced relationships might need to be achieved before the relationship between the two groups can be healed (see **Rata** et al., 2008).

Fifthly, the model emphasises individual development of autonomy and independence. Indeed, the model stipulates that a healthy identity has not been achieved until the individual has achieved distinctiveness from their ethnic group. The emphasis on individual distinctiveness conforms to the aspirations of the referential (independent) self, but not the indexical (interdependent) self. In the colonial context of **Aotearoa** in the 21st century, some **Māori** may hold a referential (independent) self-construal, while others may hold an indexical (interdependent) self-construal (for more on **Māori** self-construal see Love, 1999). For those **Māori** with an indexical self-construal, Sue and Sue's (1999) model may be inappropriate.

Finally, the model may not conform to **Māori** priorities, as the model suggests it is the individual who must develop, or must be 'fixed', in order to adapt positively to a racist society. The model therefore assumes that the racist nature of society is stable, and fails to question how society could be challenged in order to eliminate racial discrimination.

Conscientisation and Māori Identities

The interaction between individual and society is explored in Freire's (1970) "Pedagogy of the Oppressed". Freire adopts neither an essentialist nor a constructionist position, but rather believes that individuals and social reality are in a dialectical relationship, in which individuals co-construct social reality, which, in turn, shapes individuals. He describes how the optimal development of oppressed individuals is achieved by changing social reality, rather than attempting to change only the oppressed individuals themselves. Freire describes how individuals become aware of their ability to transform social reality through the process of conscientisation, which involves "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970, p. 17).

Freire describes the way in which unequal power relationships are created and overturned in his theories of antidiological and dialogical action. Antidiological action, which creates oppression, involves the processes of ‘conquest’, ‘divide and rule’, ‘manipulation’, and ‘cultural invasion’. During these processes, the conqueror dispossesses the vanquished, and makes the vanquished their possessions. The conqueror strips the vanquished of their culture and imposes themselves onto the vanquished. The vanquished then internalise the conqueror and become ‘dual beings’. In order to maintain unequal power relations, legitimising myths are generated by the oppressors. These include the myths that reality is fixed, that society is free and individuals are equal, and that the oppressors are naturally superior to the oppressed.

In contrast, dialogical action involves ‘co-operation’, ‘unity for liberation’, ‘organisation’, and ‘cultural synthesis’. During these processes the oppressed deconstruct legitimising myths; discover the oppressor and, in doing so, discover themselves; become aware of their ability to change reality; and challenge unequal power relations. Thus dialogical action is both a political and an identity development project.

Freire’s theories are useful in analysing **Māori** identity development in the 21st century. European colonisation, as antidiological action, involved dispossessing **Māori**; devaluing and suppressing **Māori** knowledge, language, and cultural expression; imposing a Western worldview on **Māori** people; and maintaining unequal power relations through legitimising myths. Many **Māori**, in turn, have internalised a Western worldview and see themselves through the eyes of the coloniser. Following these antidiological processes it becomes clear why many **Māori** might hold negative views of their ethnic identity, and might choose not to identify strongly as **Māori**.

Alongside these antidiological processes, **Māori** have engaged in dialogical action, uniting to challenge unequal power relations and achieve self determination. Developing a positive **Māori** identity can be part of that dialogical action. For many **Māori**, the process of identity development is similar to the process of conscientisation described by Freire, as before a positive sense of identity can develop, negative stereotypes may need to be deconstructed, and the oppressive nature of social reality that has resulted in **Māori** subjugation may need to be exposed and challenged. Promoting positive **Māori** identities can then be viewed as a project to transform reality, rather than a project to transform **Māori** individuals.

Freire describes the process of becoming more human as a linear pathway from conscientisation, to resistance, to transformative praxis. Following from Freire's work, **Kaupapa Māori** researcher Graham Smith (1999) created a model in which conscientisation, resistance, and transformative praxis are all connected with bi-directional arrows. Smith's model highlights that these processes can occur simultaneously, and suggests that progression from component of the model to another need not be linear. For example, an individual may take part in political activity, which may lead to political conscientisation, and conscious participation in resistance.

Constructing a Māori Identity Development Framework

Due to the diverse experiences of **Māori** in the 21st century, people of **Māori** descent may differ in their desired identity position. They may hold different views over what constitutes an 'ideal' **Māori** identity, and they may prioritise other social identities over their **Māori** identity, such as their **iwi** identity (Penetito, 2011) or hybrid identities (Meredith, 1998; Webber, 2008). Therefore the purpose of this study is not to suggest that a particular form of **Māori** identity is desirable, but rather to describe processes involved in developing a positive view towards one's **Māori** identity, for those who choose to identify as **Māori**.

Despite different identity motivations, **Māori** identity exploration and development is a priority for many people of **Māori** descent, as evidenced by the motivations behind the community-driven **Māori** cultural engagement initiative presented in the previous chapter. In the present study, a subset of the data analysed in the scoping study presented in the previous chapter will be selected for further analysis. All data relating to **Māori** identity will be selected and analysed in order to identify major themes in **Māori** identity development. As identity development can be a psychologically challenging process (Berman et al., 2004), the purpose of the present study is to put forward a **Māori** identity development framework that might benefit those people wishing to become more culturally engaged.

The framework presented in this chapter will be a new knowledge contribution that better reflects **Māori** identity development than the models presented earlier in this chapter. Unlike trait based models that prescribe particular identity positions, multiple ways of being **Māori** will be affirmed, and those who do not wish to identify as **Māori** will also be affirmed. Unlike stage based models that suggest individuals must pass through particular states in a particular order, the framework presented in this chapter

will accommodate different developmental trajectories, as it will allow for individuals to enter and exit the process at any point, and will allow for the order of identity development processes to differ between individuals.

The framework presented in this chapter will also benefit **Māori** as the experience of **Māori** as an Indigenous people in a colonial reality will be recognised. The framework will acknowledge the importance placed by **Māori** on cultural heritage, will recognise power structures operating on identity, and will affirm interconnectedness, as the framework acknowledges the perpetual interplay between individuals and the social context. In addition, the framework presented in this chapter will recognise the challenges involved in identity transitions. It is hoped that by basing the research on **Māori** knowledge and **Māori** experiences, the resulting framework of identity development will reflect **Māori** realities, will capture the fluid and relational nature of **Māori** identity, will be inclusive of the multiple identity motivations of people of **Māori** descent, and will be aligned to **Māori** cultural aspirations and development priorities.

Method

The present study used the same data corpus described in the previous chapter. See the method section of the previous chapter for the participants, materials, and procedure. In the scoping study presented in the previous chapter, an inductive thematic analysis of the entire data set was performed. In the present chapter, a smaller dataset was constructed by selecting all data that related to culture and identity (see Appendix D for a list of the codes that were selected into the data set for this study). This smaller data set was analysed to address the more specific research question: How are diverse **Māori** identities negotiated in 21st Century **Aotearoa**?

Analysis

There were two phases of data analysis used in the present study. In the first, inductive phase, 12 codes relating to identity states were identified in the dataset, and organised into provisional themes, using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The constructed themes related to stages within **Māori** creation narratives. Codes were organised into these themes as presented in Table 3.

Table 3. *Identity Position Themes*

THEME	CODE
Te Kore	Many Māori don't identify as Māori OK if you don't identify as Māori Whānau , lack of cultural knowledge Tikanga, no knowledge of
Te Pō	Desire to engage in Te Ao Māori Perceived cultural inadequacy Barrier to participation, lack of cultural knowledge Te reo Māori , barrier to inclusion for those who can't speak
Te Whaiao	Cultural reintegration Benefits of kapa haka to identity and wellbeing
Te Ao Mārama	Pride in Māori identity Pākehā Māori (belonging)

The provisional organisation of codes into these themes raised the question, how does one progress from one identity state to another during identity development? As outlined in the introduction, progression through the stages of creation is ritually re-enacted through a number of processes that comprise the **pōwhiri** (a **Māori** ceremonial welcome). A deductive thematic analysis was therefore applied to the data to determine whether identity development incorporated processes similar to those involved in **pōwhiri**. The hypothesised **pōwhiri** framework will be presented first in the results section, followed by excerpts from the data that support this conceptualisation of the identity negotiation process.

The Waka Hourua Research Framework

The methods used in this study were selected to adhere to the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework that was developed for this thesis (components of the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework are italicised here). The research question was generated to conform to the research priorities of the **Māori** community who were involved as participants in the research, in accordance with the values *kaupapa* (collective vision), and *whanaungatanga* (reciprocal research relationships). The analysis was based on **Māori** creation narratives, which validates both *whakapapa*, and *taonga tuku iho* (*te reo*, *tikanga Māori*, and *mātauranga Māori*).

By using the **pōwhiri** as a metaphor for identity development, a number of **Māori** processes, such as **haka**, **karanga**, **waiata**, and **whaikōrero** are also validated. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, these processes are important to knowledge creation and transmission in **Te Ao Māori**. Using the **pōwhiri** process as a metaphor also allows an analysis of that which is *tapu* and *noa* in the identity development

process, and an analysis of how *tapu* and *noa* can be safely navigated through the use of *tikanga Māori*. In addition, by basing this research on Māori customs, *mana atua*¹⁵⁶, *mana tīpuna*¹⁵⁷, *mana whenua*¹⁵⁸, and *mana tangata*¹⁵⁹ are upheld, and are evident throughout the analysis.

The crucial research considerations outlined in the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework also inform this study. These research considerations are *diverse realities*, *power structures*, and *reflexive awareness*. The *diverse realities* of Māori in the 21st century are acknowledged, as this research affirms multiple identity positions and aspirations. The influence of *power structures* on Māori identity positioning is also included in the analysis. These *power structures* include both those internal and external to Māori social collectives. Finally, *reflexive awareness* will be demonstrated as I will acknowledge my positioning in the research as follows.

In this research I position myself politically alongside the research participants in this study, who value Māori knowledge and cultural practices and who were committed to increasing access to Māori cultural institutions, and promoting the development of Māori identities. However, as a Māori person who was raised with limited access to **Te Ao Māori**, I recognise the barriers that prevent many Māori from engaging in the Māori world, and the motivations many people of Māori descent have for identifying with other social collectives. Therefore I affirm and respect the way in which people of Māori descent choose to identify, and at the same time I am committed to helping Māori who wish to become more engaged in **Te To Māori** to do so.

Results

A deductive thematic analysis (as outlined by Braun & Clarke, 2006) was performed to organise all identity related codes into themes corresponding to processes involved in **pōwhiri** (refer to Table 4). These themes were **waerea**, **wero**, **karanga**, **tangi**, **whaikōrero**, **waiata**, **koha**, **hongiri**, and **kai**. The theme ‘**i mua**¹⁶⁰’ was added to describe a state an individual is in prior to being involved in a **pōwhiri**.

¹⁵⁶ Power and authority of deities/natural elements

¹⁵⁷ Power and authority of ancestors

¹⁵⁸ Power and authority of the land, and of those with territorial rights

¹⁵⁹ Power and authority of people

¹⁶⁰ Before

Table 4. *Deductive Thematic Analysis Based on Pōwhiri Processes*

THEME	SUB-THEME	CODE
Te Kore	I mua (prior to engagement)	Māori have a choice to engage in Te Ao Māori OK if you don't identify as Māori Māori cultural inclusion symbolic only Limited opportunities to engage
		Te Pō
Te Pō	Waerea (desire to engage)	Students want to engage Barrier to participation, lack of cultural knowledge Whānau , lack of cultural knowledge Racism at School (barrier to identifying as Māori)
	Wero (challenge to engage)	Teachers are racist (stereotyping) Low expectations (stereotyping) Stereotypes Kapa haka confused with mentoring programmes (i.e. programmes for 'naughty kids') Kapa haka and mentoring should be separated (due to negative stereotyping) Māori feared by Pākehā , violence (stereotyping) Rest of School for White students Benefits of being Māori at School - instil fear (stereotyping)
Te Whaiao	Karanga (call of welcome)	Pōwhiri for new staff (for tikanga training) Students to invite staff to marae (for tikanga training)
		Parents find marae welcoming and comfortable Students find marae welcoming and comfortable
	Tangi (loss, despair hurt)	Low decile challenges Colonisation Urbanisation Painful history Perceived cultural inadequacy
	Whaikōrero (negotiation)	Glad not White Being Māori Being Pākehā
Te Whaiao	Waiata (coping strategies)	Benefits of kapa haka to identity and wellbeing Come to school for kapa haka Come to school for Māori studies Cultural reintegration Staff need tikanga training Different rules on marae Te reo Māori , barrier to inclusion for those who can't speak Tikanga , no knowledge of Whakapapa needs to be taught Māori knowledge needs to be taught Strengthen kapa haka Māori studies, students enjoy it Mainstream Māori need more help with cultural engagement
	Koha (reciprocity)	Unpaid work Students should take care of the marae

		Respect Fundraising Students mentoring other students Different backgrounds of staff and students - not being able to relate
	Hongi (coming together)	Whanaungatanga Pākehā Māori (belonging) Marae punishments, negative punishers used, based on caring relationships Joking, close informal relationships Programme staff open with students Programme staff same as students
Te Ao Mārama	Kai (secure identity)	Better student behaviour at marae Identity impacts self-esteem Identity impacts behaviour Pride in Māori identity

Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework

The themes were used to form a framework of identity development. This **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework likens journeys of identity development with the movements visitors to a **marae** make through **pōwhiri** processes.

While many authors have produced identity models that categorise **Māori** into identity positions and indicate that movement between identity positions is possible (for examples see Durie et al., 1996; Davies et al., 1993), the **pōwhiri** framework is particularly useful as it moves away from categorising individuals, and presents identity as a dynamic process of negotiating relationships.

While the framework is presented here as a linear sequence aligned to the **pōwhiri** process, the stages described might not occur in this sequence, and individuals may enter and exit the process at any point. For example individuals might develop a secure **Māori** identity without passing through all stages of the framework. It should also be noted that this identity development process is iterative, as individuals and groups develop different identities in various contexts.

Components of the Framework

Just as visitors re-enact the stages of creation as they move through the **pōwhiri** process, in the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework people move through identity states. These four identity states are presented on the following page.

1. **Te Kore**
2. **Te Pō**
3. **Te Whaiao**
4. **Te Ao Mārama**

People move from one state to the next as they complete processes within the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework. These processes are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. *Stages of the Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework*

IDENTITY STATE	IDENTITY PROCESS
Te Kore	I mua – prior to engagement with Māori
Te Pō	Waerea – developing curiosity, desire to engage in Te Ao Māori Wero – challenge to engage in Te Ao Māori , acceptance/rejection of challenge
Te Whaiao	Karanga – call of welcome Tangi – feelings of loss and despair, historical hurt, compromised relationships Whaikōrero – identity negotiation Waiata – coping strategies Koha - reciprocity Hongi – coming together, acceptance, hohou rongo
Te Ao Mārama	Kai – secure identity achievement

In the following section I will outline the basic elements of **pōwhiri**, and draw parallels to stages of identity development that **Māori** experience.

Te Kore

I Mua. People with no intention to engage in a **pōwhiri** process could be said to be in a state of **Kore**, of nothingness, of complete unknowing and immobility. This is however a state of great potential. In the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework this state is likened to those who have no current desire to engage in **Te Ao Māori**. This could include people of **Māori** descent who do not know of their **Māori** ancestry, as well as people who are aware of their **Māori** ancestry yet choose not to identify as **Māori**. These **Māori** might not have a relationship with their **Māori** relatives and may not have visited their tribal territories. This stage is therefore similar to Durie et al.’s (1996) ‘Compromised’ identity position. In this framework, this state is seen as a valid and legitimate identity position. In addition, the development potential of this state is also emphasised, should individuals in this state choose to become more engaged in **Te Ao Māori**. In the following quote, a participant describes how he sees this state as a valid, acceptable identity position.

P23: *If you don't acknowledge your **Māori** side and you don't want to that's cool, you know, you can just identify as whatever you want.*

In the following section a participant discusses how **Māori** may be dissuaded from identifying as **Māori** or participating in **Māori** cultural activities, due to the negative stereotypes associated with being **Māori** in Western settings. The way in which some people of **Māori** descent distance themselves from the **Māori** social category resonates with Tajfel's (1982) description of how 'low status' group members attempt to migrate to the 'high status' group. In the following excerpt a community member discusses why some **Māori** students chose not to join their school **kapa haka** group.

P6: *There's a lot of talented people back in the school that want to join but they're being put-off because they don't want to be classed as the naughty people.*

Te Pō

Waerea. Prior to engagement with the **pōwhiri** process, potential visitors could be said to be in a state of **Pō**. This is a state of uncertainty and unknowing but, again, of great potential: a state not characterised by immobility, but by anarchy, or disorganised action. This stage maps onto the **pōwhiri** process when visitors have arrived, and gather outside the **marae**, but have not yet begun to **whakaeke**¹⁶¹. At this stage they may perform a **waerea**¹⁶² to protect themselves. In the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework, this stage can be used to describe **Māori** who begin to have curiosity with engaging further in **Te Ao Māori**. This state can be likened to Sue and Sue's (1999) Dissonance stage of identity development when a person begins to question their perception of social groups, and Freire's (1970) process of developing critical consciousness when a person begins to observe contradictions in their social world. In the **Pō** state of the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework, a person is still uncertain, unknowing, and perhaps apprehensive, but has the potential and the desire to engage in **Te Ao Māori**.

In the following interview excerpt, a community member describes how some people of **Māori** descent wish to embrace **Māori** culture and immerse themselves in **Te Ao Māori**.

P23: *A lot kids do want to be not just a brown **Māori**. They wanna to be a **Māori Māori**.*

¹⁶¹ Walk onto the **marae ātea**

¹⁶² Incantation

By using the term “**Māori Māori**” the speaker presumes that there are different ‘types’ of **Māori**, and that some **Māori** are ‘more **Māori**’ than others. He contrasts the “**Māori Māori**” to those who must be ‘less **Māori**’, in this case the “brown **Māori**”. The use of the adjective ‘brown’ may signify that the “brown **Māori**” is a group who have been categorised according to race, rather than by distinct language, beliefs, or cultural practices. The speaker also shows preference for the “**Māori Māori**” position over the “brown **Māori**” position, by using the phrase “just a brown **Māori**”.

Wero. **Māori** who become open to engagement with **Te Ao Māori** will often receive a challenge. Cultural revitalisation is a high priority for many **Māori** people, and the challenge to become more culturally competent, and more engaged in **Te Ao Māori** can be heard clearly, strongly, and frequently in **Māori** settings. At this stage some **Māori** may choose not to accept the challenge. The following quote illustrates how feelings of inadequacy can prevent **Māori** from wishing to engage in **Māori** settings.

P23: *I also see it as one of the reasons why **Māori** students stand-off [stay away from **Māori** cultural settings], because a lot of the **Māori** students that are in **Kapa** groups and all that kind of thing know exactly where they’re from, if not speaking **te reo** fluently. So it is quite scary or intimidating when your peers know everything and you just know that you’re **Māori** because you’re brown.*

The quote above reveals internal power structures within Maoridom, and suggests that cultural competence is a form of power that can be used to exclude people from the social group. **Penetito** (2011, p. 39) also describes this phenomenon, noting that those adept in **Māori** knowledge and culture “make up a distinct minority within Māoridom and this is their power.” The motivations behind this practice could be varied, and could include, for example, maintaining control over limited resources, or ensuring the cultural integrity of the group. However, the practice of separating **Māori** could be considered anti-dialogical, according to Freire (1970) as cooperation and unity are necessary to achieve emancipation from oppression.

Te Whaiao

Karanga. Although some **Māori** may reject the challenge to become more immersed in **Te Ao Māori**, for those who accept the challenge and pick up the metaphorical dart laid before them, the **karanga** welcoming them home will follow, and their **whakaeke**, or their journey of identity development, will begin. In the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework, responding to the **karanga** marks the transition from

Te Pō into **Te Whaiao**, where engagement is actively pursued. In the following quote a community member describes her efforts to encourage **whānau** to participate in school trips. Her efforts represent a **karanga** of welcome to engage in **Te Ao Māori**.

P1: *We have our end of year trip, to take them away so that they'll experience something that they'll never forget. 'Cause a lot of them don't know what **iwi** they come from. We try and find that out for them... we go to a **marae**. It's got to be on a **marae**. That's what it's based around, a cultural experience... and the other thing we do is we involve all our **whānau** and their kids, 'cause we try to make it accessible to everybody. So they don't have an excuse not to come... they still try and come up with some excuse [laughter]. And we'll even do the, "we'll pick you up", you know. We want the kids to bring their little brothers and sisters with them.*

Tangi. Just as visitors are considered **waewae tapu** as they **whakaeke**, **Māori** who begin the process of identity development can also be considered to be in a precarious state, as any shift in identity can be psychologically challenging (Berman et al., 2004). The process of engaging with **Te Ao Māori** can be psychologically challenging for several reasons. Learning **Māori** history can challenge preconceived notions formulated in the mainstream around the history and legitimacy of the State, around the relationships between **Māori** and **Pākehā**, and around **Māori** stereotypes. Sue and Sue (1999) note how minority group members often see themselves from the perspective of the powerful majority, and describe how it can be a painful process to come to the realisation that racial discrimination exists, despite previous efforts to deny or justify that fact. They also note that realising one's internalised racism towards one's own ethnic group can be painful.

While learning more about **Māori** histories and worldviews can be liberating for **Māori**, it also reveals the extremely painful history that our **tīpuna**¹⁶³ were forced to endure (e.g. the unlawful confiscation and misappropriation of land, forced migration away from tribal areas, massive loss of life, rape, and imprisonment). Recognising this history can lead to emotions such as disbelief, grief, anger, or despair. This process of coming to terms with our painful national, familial, and personal histories can be likened to the **tangi** stage in the **pōwhiri** process.

In the following quote, a participant describes how students she works with have internalised stereotypes about **Māori** people, which prevent them from developing positive aspirations. She then describes how she helps students develop critical

¹⁶³ Ancestors

consciousness as she challenges these internalised stereotypes by presenting the historical and social origins of State dependency amongst **Māori**, which causes a paradigm shift to occur in her students' thinking, but can also be difficult to accept.

P1: *A lot of our kids, are like, "I'm not going to university. Doubt it! I can't go to university." We have a talk. We'll say "Right... who knows what Housing New Zealand is?" Everybody knows what Housing New Zealand is. Our kids know what Housing New Zealand is, WINZ. All of them have got a **whānau** that's been in jail, every single one of them... They've all got one of their cousins that's had a baby under the age of 17. And so we go on that, and then we go into urbanisation. Now, "What's urbanisation?" [the students ask] "Housing New Zealand and WINZ" [we reply]. You know, things like that, and that starts to get their mind working like, "Oh really?!" [the students say]. It sort of freaks them out that, 'cause that's the norm for us. It shouldn't be that way. That's what I try to tell them, that you can be somebody else, you don't have to be that person that's in jail or trying to get a patch.*

Whaikōrero. Having been called onto the **marae ātea** through **karanga**, the **whaikōrero** begin. In this framework, the **whaikōrero** process is likened to the process of identity negotiation. **Māori** engaging in cultural reintegration are met with acceptance and encouragement at times, but with challenges to their identity at other times. Challenges to identity can be based on any number of factors. Challenges based on appearance, cultural competence, and connectedness are common examples. As the process of identity development can be marked by feelings of inadequacy, uncertainty, and unfamiliarity, this can be a painful process. But just as **kaikōrero** must respond to each other, **Māori** must also learn how to deal with challenges in the identity negotiation process. Experience with these types of negotiations and improving cultural competence can further strengthen identity position.

The following exchange between two participants demonstrates an example of identity negotiation.

P7: *I'm glad I'm Black. I'd rather be Black than White [laughter]*
P8: *You are White! [laughter]*
P7: *That's on the outside! You know [laughter]. I'm blacker on the inside!*

In the excerpt above, the first participant comments on her reaction to being labelled "Black" by a non-**Māori** person. In this example the first participant reclaims the label "Black", intended to be negative, and positively embraces it. The first participant is then challenged by the second participant who has a darker complexion, and the first participant negotiates her identity further in response.

A further illustration of identity negotiation follows. In this excerpt, contrasts are drawn between a **Māori** setting (a **te reo Māori** immersion school) and a Western setting. In **Māori** settings, membership of the **Māori** social category is often seen as **whakapapa** based, and therefore pre-determined. Whereas in Western settings, the **Māori** social category is often seen as an ethnic group that one must self-identify with, in order to be a member.

P2: *At a **Kura Kaupapa**¹⁶⁴ they all interact in **Māori** things, but in a mainstream they've got the choice whether they want to or they don't want to*

P1: *Whereas here [a mainstream school]... if they don't want to be **Māori** they don't have to be **Māori**. We have like 200 kids that are **Māori**, from **Māori** descent, yet only about 100 of them recognise themselves as **Māori**, which is sad, 'cause they don't want to be **Māori**. But at the **Kura**-*

P2: *You have to!*

P1: *You have to [laughter]*

P2: *You've got no choice [laughter]. You're **Māori** ! [laughter]*

Waiata. As mentioned in the preceding section, **waiata** follow **whaikōrero** to **whakanoa** the speaker, and bring the people together following highly **tapu** speechmaking. In the identity negotiation process, reconciling worldviews can be difficult, and interpersonal interactions can become heated. Therefore the process can take people in potentially psychologically challenging directions. For this reason, the process of identity development can be aided by use of coping strategies. These strategies include gaining social support, or giving artistic expression to the emotions that are aroused. Gaining cultural competence is another strategy that can be used to feel more secure. In the following quote, a participant describes how having limited **Māori** cultural competencies makes engagement in **Māori** settings difficult, and how she has opted to learn a **Māori** craft.

P6: *It was really hard at the start. I don't understand the language. I can pick-up a few things now, believe it or not. But I can't pronounce anything. I, I, I don't know a lot of the rules... But it's a big learning thing for me. I love it... There's so much more you can do, the weaving... I love the feel of a **marae**.*

These strategies to facilitate identity development are more than simply therapeutic. Developing **Māori** cultural competence and practicing **Māori** arts validates **Māori** knowledge, language, and customs. Interacting socially with **Māori**

¹⁶⁴ Māori language immersion primary school

people affirms one's own **Māori** identity and centres social experiences on **Māori** worldviews. This type of social action resists colonisation and is transformative, and resonates with the dialogical action of cultural synthesis described by Freire (1970). This type of action can also be a form of resistance, which, as Smith (1999) notes, can occur before or after developing critical consciousness.

Koha. Identity development often involves coming into contact with new people, and may involve 'returning' to tribal territories. During encounters with people and environments, it is important that mutually beneficial, reciprocal relationships are established and maintained. Just as generosity is required in the **pōwhiri** process, it is also required in the identity development process. In a **Māori** context, claiming a birth right to particular resources comes with corresponding responsibilities. For example, if a claim to a particular **marae** is made, responsibilities to take care of the **marae**, and host visitors to that **marae** should also be fulfilled. Similarly, if a claim is made to a particular waterway, mountain, or other natural feature, responsibility to take care of those environments should be fulfilled.

For some **Māori**, political consciousness is an important component of their **Māori** identity (Rata et al., 2008; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). One way in which reciprocal relationships are established is through individual **Māori** aligning themselves politically with other **Māori**. Thus the **koha** process can involve resistance and transformative action (see Freire, 1970; and Smith, 1999). In the following excerpt a non-**Māori** mother of a **Māori** student describes being given a responsibility, which to her was an indication that she was accepted by the **Māori** community.

P6: *I'm also the **kaitiaki** of the **marae**, that must be the first **Pākehā** one they've had. Wow what an eye-opener for me, I was honoured to be offered it. Not realising it wasn't paid [laughter]. Anyway still doing it.*

Hongi. Having completed the **whaikōrero**, **waiata**, and **koha** processes, the **hongī** process begins. At this stage connectedness with other **Māori** is strengthened. This stage of identity development is marked by close proximity, acceptance, warmth, familiarity, and balanced reciprocal relationships with other **Māori**. This process of coming together resonates with Freire's (1970) theory of dialogical action which includes the components unity and cooperation. In the following quote a participant describes the close bonds that form with other group members following identity development, as she lists the benefits of her son's participation in **kapa haka**.

P6: *Knowing their culture. Helping them to respect one another. Also bringing that **whānau** together, that's everybody from your home, in school, out of school. The concerts that they hold, they touch us in here [point to chest]. When they perform, the togetherness when you see them all act as one.*

Te Ao Marama

Kai. In the **Pōwhiri** process, having completed the **hongi**, the **tangata whenua** and **manuhiri** share a **kai**. This final stage of the **Pōwhiri** is likened to the stage of identity development where the associations made are strengthened, and reciprocal or interdependent relationships are solidified. The new perspectives gained in the identity development process have been reconciled and a new experience of reality has been normalised. Just as the **kai** at the end of the **Pōwhiri** process serves to lift the **tapu**, this stage of identity development is marked by relief from psychological stress and the achievement of a secure identity position. In the following excerpt a participant describes how engaging with **Te Ao Māori** and becoming culturally competent has led to positive psychological changes for her sons.

P6: *They seem more proud. They've got respect there, from been involved with the **Kapa Haka**. Their confidence has come out.*

For **Māori**, the term **tūrangawaewae** (literally, 'place to stand') is used to describe one's ancestral home, or the "place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and **whakapapa**" (Maori Dictionary Online, 2011). **Māori** describe their **tūrangawaewae** as a source of identity and strength. The strength that **Māori** derive from having a strong identity, a strong connection to their land, and from knowing their history and their place in the world, is described by a community member as providing resilience in the face of adversity, as follows.

P23: *Identity aye. If you know who you are, you know how to deal with things. These kids have situations that they have to learn how to deal with, and they don't know who they are. I just think that's self-esteem type stuff, yeah, and identity. 'Cause if you know who you are, you know what your purpose is, everything else falls in to place once you're at one with yourself.*

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to gain an understanding of how diverse **Māori** identities are negotiated in 21st Century **Aotearoa**. By analysing interviews and focus groups with community members involved in a cultural integration initiative at a

State secondary school, insights into identity development experiences were gained, and the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework was constructed. This framework likens stages in identity development to stages in the **pōwhiri** process, in which creation narratives are re-enacted, moving from **Te Kore**, to **Te Pō**, to **Te Whaiao**, and finally to **Te Ao Mārama**.

In the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework, the state **Te Kore** describes those who have no current desire to engage in **Te Ao Māori**. This state is similar to Marcia's (1966) 'Diffuse' ethnic identity status, as well as the 'Compromised' identity position that Durie et al. (1996) use to describe those people of **Māori** descent who do not identify as **Māori**. The benefit of use of the label '**Te Kore**' in this model is that the label does not have undesirable connotations, and there is an emphasis on the development potential within this state. Therefore, this model affirms this identity position, and at the same time recognises development potential, should anyone in this position choose for themselves to transition to become more engaged in **Te Ao Māori**.

Insights as to why individuals may choose not to identify as **Māori** or engage in **Te Ao Māori** can be gained from Social Identity Theory and Self Categorisation Theory. According to Tajfel's (1982) Social Identity Theory, members of devalued social groups are motivated to withdraw and migrate to 'high status' groups, if possible, in order to enhance self-esteem. While the present research affirms those of **Māori** descent who choose not to identify as **Māori**, this research also encourages the elimination of racism and inequality, both at the individual level and the societal level. Destroying negative **Māori** stereotypes and recognising **tino rangatiratanga** is likely to have the effect of removing some barriers that have prevented people from identifying as **Māori**.

Turner (1982) described processes involved with ethnic identification and noted that salient social categories emerge through the cognitive process of maximising between-group differences and minimising within-group differences. For people of **Māori** descent who do not evaluate themselves to be culturally distinct from non-**Māori** New Zealanders, the social category '**Māori**' may not hold much personal significance. Similarly, people who consider there to be more variation between **iwi Māori**¹⁶⁵ than there is between **Māori** and non-**Māori** may choose to identify with their **iwi**, rather than as **Māori**. Webber (2008) also notes that people with mixed heritage may consider

¹⁶⁵ **Māori** tribes

themselves distinct from the social categories ‘**Māori**’ and ‘**Pākehā**’, and may choose to create distinct hybrid identities. By affirming the identity position of **Te Kore** with relation to **Māori** identity, The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework affirms these various ways that people of **Māori** descent may choose to identify.

The second identity state in The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework is **Te Pō**, described as a period where engagement with **Te Ao Māori** is low, yet desire to engage has begun to develop. The state that follows **Te Pō** is **Te Whaiao**, in which active effort to engage in **Te Ao Māori** is occurring. These two states involve ethnic identity exploration, and are consistent with Marcia’s (1966) ‘Moratorium’ identity status. As these two states are characterised by desire to engage in **Te Ao Māori**, **Māori** cultural reintegration interventions could be targeted to **Māori** occupying these identity states.

Berman et al. (2004) found that American university students classified as having a Moratorium identity status had the highest rates of identity disorder. The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework is consistent with this finding, as **Te Pō** and **Te Whaiao** are characterised as psychologically challenging states. The term **waewae tapu** is used in the **pōwhiri** model to recognise the precarious position of people in the states of **Te Pō** and **Te Whaiao**. During **Te Pō** and **Te Whaiao**, people making identity transitions may be exposed to different worldviews, different knowledge systems, and different cultural practices, which may challenge their preconceptions. These differences may need to be negotiated, in order to solidify relational identities. This process resonates with Turner’s (1982) ‘social reality testing’ where members of a social group negotiate shared perspectives, and to Freire’s (1970) process of conscientisation.

Due to the psychologically challenging nature of the identity development process, a number of coping strategies might be employed. These could include gaining social support from friends and family members, artistic expression, and the development of **Māori** cultural competencies. Developing cultural competencies might be particularly important as it may increase the ease with which cultural encounters can be navigated, allow people to overcome feelings of cultural inadequacy, and may also promote the development of positive distinctiveness around their ethnic identity, which, according to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982), will enhance self-esteem. **Māori** cultural expression also constitutes cultural synthesis, a form of dialogical action that is liberating (Freire, 1970), and can also be viewed as resistance, whether or not those

taking part in the action are conscious that the act resists colonial oppression (Smith, 1999).

The final state in The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework is **Te Ao Mārama**, when a secure social identity has been achieved. Through the **koha**, **hongī**, and **kai** processes, commitment to the social group has been demonstrated and interdependent relationships have been established and normalised. Secure relationships with ancestral lands and waterways, enhanced understanding of cultural heritage, and close relationships with other **Māori** give **Māori** people a greater understanding of themselves and their place in the world. This act of coming together resonates with Freire's (1970) dialogical action of 'uniting'. The rights, responsibilities, and relationships strengthened through this identity development process enhance the sense of **tūrangawaewae**, which is a source of strength for **Māori**, and may act as a resilience factor against stress.

The **Te Ao Mārama** identity state is similar Marcia's (1966) 'Achieved' identity status (characterised by high commitment to ethnic group, and high ethnic identity exploration). However, it may also be similar to Marcia's 'Foreclosed' identity status (characterised by high commitment to ethnic group, and low ethnic identity exploration) for those **Māori** who have been immersed in **Māori** culture from a young age. While the 'Foreclosed' identity status is not promoted as beneficial in Marcia's model, in the present framework the **Te Ao Mārama** state is affirmed as an adaptive **Māori** identity. It is possible that Marcia's construction of a healthy identity incorporates ethnic identity exploration due to that fact that it conforms to the goal of attaining independence through individual exploration, which is associated with the referential (independent) self-construal, typically held by members of individualist societies. In contrast, some **Māori** may hold an indexical (interdependent) self-construal, and may therefore be motivated to maintain balanced relationships with their extended **whānau**. Therefore the foreclosed identity status may reflect their goals. By encompassing both the 'Achieved' and 'Foreclosed' statuses (Marica, 1966), the **Te Ao Mārama** state affirms the identity goals of both **Māori** with referential (independent) self-construals, and **Māori** with indexical (interdependent) self-construals.

The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework may be limited in that it emphasises the development of social relationships, and may therefore downplay the significance of relationships with the environment that is central to **Māori** identity (M. Durie, 1998). This may be the result of the present research being conducted within a

State secondary school, and with a community of urban **Māori**, many of whom live away from their ancestral territories. Future studies could investigate the significance of environment to **Māori** identity by researching with **Māori** living within their tribal territories, or could focus on **iwi** identities instead of **Māori** identities, as **iwi** identities are likely to be more closely linked with physical environments. While these findings might be limited to those **Māori** making identity transitions in mainstream settings, the capacity of **Māori** cultural spaces within mainstream institutions, such as school-based **marae**, to be catalysts for **Māori** identity development that might better equip **Māori** to then develop their **iwi** identities should not be underestimated.

Through this framework, identity development has been framed as a process of negotiating relationships. The benefits of this framework is that it constructs identity as a dynamic process and allows for individuals to make identity transitions, and it affirms multiple identity positions. The framework describes processes involved in identity development, highlighting common sources of psychological distress encountered during these processes, and suggests strategies for overcoming psychological distress. This framework acknowledges the experience of **Māori** as Indigenous people within a colonised reality, and recognises the political implications of identity development for oppressed peoples. The utility of The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework is that it can help identify those people of **Māori** descent who might benefit from investing in **Māori** identity development, and prepare those wishing to undertake an identity development journey.

Chapter 5: Māori Cultural Engagement, Ethnic Identity, and Psychological Wellbeing in State Secondary Schools

Overview

Clear links between ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing have been demonstrated in research (e.g. Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999; Smith et al., 1999). Commenting on the social conditions necessary for secure **Māori** identity development, Durie (2003b, p.68) noted, “cultural identity depends not only on access to culture and heritage but also on the opportunity for cultural expression and cultural endorsement within society’s institutions.” However longitudinal evidence of causal relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing remains scarce. Furthermore, there is a dearth of research that explores the impact of contextual institutional factors, such as secondary school characteristics on ethnic identity development. This chapter addresses these research questions, focusing on **Māori** identity development in the context of State secondary schools.

This chapter uses longitudinal survey data from **Māori** students (n = 354), collected for the Youth Connectedness Project. In Study 1, data were subjected to Structural Equation Modelling. It was hypothesised that **Māori** cultural engagement would predict ethnic identity at subsequent measurement occasions, and that ethnic identity would predict psychological wellbeing at subsequent measurement occasions. Results indicated that the hypothesised model fit the data very well. In Study 2, Hierarchical Linear Modelling was used to assess the impact of the level of **Māori** cultural promotion at State secondary schools on **Māori** students’ ethnic identity development. Results confirmed the hypothesis that the higher the level of **Māori** cultural promotion at a State secondary school, the higher the ethnic identity of **Māori** students at the school was likely to be. Results from these studies imply that **Māori** ethnic identity is relevant to psychological wellbeing, and that cultural interventions at the individual or institutional level could be used to promote ethnic identity.

This thesis incorporates both **Māori** and Western psychological knowledge. As **Māori** and Western psychological notions of identity and wellbeing can differ, definitions of terms used in this thesis were given in Chapter 1. The previous two chapters have dealt with definitions of ‘**Māori** identity’ and ‘wellbeing’ constructed for this thesis, in reference to **Māori** identity literature (such as Durie, et al., 1996). ‘**Māori**

identity' has been used as a broad term that captures multiple ways of constructing identity. Within this term, identity can be considered as something we 'are', something we 'do', something we 'develop', or something we 'belong to'. This broad term also encompasses both traditional **Māori** concepts that locate identity within relationships with the social and the geographical world, as well as social identity approach that focuses on the self-concept of individuals. The term "secure **Māori** identity" has been defined for this thesis as any **Māori** identity that meets the identity aspirations of the person holding the identity. In addition, the term 'wellbeing' has been used in this thesis to refer to a holistic notion of health, in line with **Te Whare Tapa Whā** (Durie, 1989).

In this chapter, the focus shifts to definitions constructed in Western psychology. As outlined in Chapter 1, 'ethnic identity' will be used to refer to a narrower definition of identity based on one's sense of themselves as a member of an ethnic group (in line with the Social Identity Approach, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This definition can be seen as one aspect of the broader term '**Māori** identity' used in earlier chapters of this thesis. The psychological experience of being a member of the **Māori** ethnic group is an important part of '**Māori** identity'. Therefore analysing **Māori** ethnic identity can be useful. In this chapter, those who view their ethnic identity positively, and have high scores on measures of ethnic identity will be said to have a 'secure ethnic identity'. In addition 'psychological wellbeing' will be used in reference to a Western psychological definition of wellbeing, which focuses on the psychological health of the individual, as measured by quantitative indicators.

Defining Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity research developed from earlier psychological studies on racial identity. Race is a way of categorising social groups based on biologically determined physiological characteristics. Racial identity then is the effect physiological features have on a person's sense of self. In contrast, culture is a way of categorising social groups based on values, beliefs, and behaviours. Cultural identity then is the effect membership of a cultural group has on a person's sense of self. Finally, ethnicity is a way of categorising social groups based on factors which may or may not include culture, language, religion, and physical characteristics. Ethnic identity then is the effect membership of an ethnic group has on a person's sense of self. As ethnicity can accommodate both cultural factors and physical characteristics, ethnicity is a useful

social category. A major utility of applying an analysis of ethnic identity is that it allows for the exploration of differences not only between ethnic groups, but within ethnic groups (i.e. within ethnic group variation that can be explained by strength of ethnic identity). This type of analysis is particularly useful for social groups, such as **Māori**, that include diverse people.

Measuring Ethnic Identity

Contention prevails over how ethnic identity should be measured. However, components central to ethnic identity have been proposed and include: how one ethnically identifies, one's sense of belonging to their ethnic group, one's attitude towards their ethnic group, one's commitment to their ethnic group, one's level of ethnic knowledge, and one's participation in ethnic practices (Grant, 2008).

The most commonly used measure of ethnic identity is Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Along with ethnic self-identification, the MEIM measured three domains of ethnic identity: attitudes towards one's ethnic group; ethnic identity achievement (i.e. lack of unresolved ethnic identity issues); and ethnic behaviours. However, when revisiting the structure of ethnic identity, Phinney and Ong (2007) offered a revised version of the MEIM with a two factor structure consisting of exploration, and commitment. They proposed that ethnic behaviours, as external actions, were not part of the internal experiences that make up ethnic identity. Rather than being a component of ethnic identity, they suggested that ethnic behaviours were a contributor to ethnic identity, while Roberts et al. (1999) suggested that ethnic behaviours were indicators of acculturation as opposed to ethnic identity. Consequently, ethnic behaviours are not often used as a measure of ethnic identity in contemporary research (Grant, 2008).

Measuring Māori Cultural Engagement

Māori identity research often incorporates cultural components, such as cultural knowledge and behaviours. For example, **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team (1996) produced a measure of cultural identity, consisting of seven indicators. These indicators were: self-identification, **whakapapa**¹⁶⁶, **marae**¹⁶⁷ participation, **whānau**¹⁶⁸ associations, **whenua tipu** (access to tribal lands), contact with **Māori** people, and **Māori** language. More recently, **Houkamau** and Sibley (2010) produced the Multi-

¹⁶⁶ Ancestry

¹⁶⁷ **Māori** meeting house

¹⁶⁸ Family

dimensional Model of **Māori** Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMMICE) that consisted of six dimensions, including ‘cultural efficacy and active identity engagement’. To recognise the importance of cultural engagement found in **Māori** identity research, a measure of **Māori** cultural engagement was constructed, and **Māori** cultural engagement was analysed alongside **Māori** ethnic identity in this chapter.

Ethnic Identity Development

Some researchers have taken a developmental approach to ethnic identity (see Chapter 3 for more details). For example Phinney (1989) suggests that individuals may move from unexplored/unexamined ethnic identity positions, to a period of ethnic identity exploration, until finally reaching an achieved ethnic identity position. The exact features of an achieved ethnic identity will differ across ethnic groups. However, those with an achieved identity will feel secure in their identity as a member of their ethnic group, will feel they belong in their ethnic group, and will feel committed to their ethnic group. Some ethnic groups also include participation in ethnic practices as a feature of a secure ethnic identity, while other groups do not (Phinney, 1990).

Adolescence is a critical period in ethnic identity development (Erikson, 1968). Many authors have reported increases in ethnic identity during this period. For example Perron, Vondracek, Skorikov, Tremblay, and Corbiere (1998) measured adolescents’ ethnic identity over a three year period and reported a linear increase in minority group members’ ethnic identity during this time. In addition Phinney (1992) reported higher ethnic identity scores in college students than high school students, and suggested that this was due to ethnic identities increasing through late adolescence. Saylor and Aries (1999) also found that the ethnic identity scores of college students increased over the course of their first year at college. The increase in ethnic identity was particularly pronounced for those students who were involved in ethnic organisations. This finding highlights the key role played by social context in identity formation. As adolescence is an important stage in identity development, and institutional contexts such as schools are important in shaping ethnic identity, this study into **Māori** ethnic identity focuses on **Māori** adolescent school students.

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Wellbeing

Numerous studies have reported links between ethnic identity and indicators of psychological wellbeing, for example, self-esteem (Phinney, 1992; Bracey, Bámaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999), self-efficacy

(Smith et al., 1999), satisfaction with personal life (**Houkamau** & Sibley, 2011), quality of life (Utsey et al., 2002), self-confidence, and purpose in life (Martinez & Dukes, 1997). However, longitudinal evidence of causal pathways between **Māori** ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing remains scarce. In addition, while it has been suggested that culture contributes to the development of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007), causal pathways between **Māori** cultural engagement and ethnic identity have yet to be explored through longitudinal analysis. The present research will address these research needs, as a measure of cultural engagement will be constructed, informed by the work of **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team (1996), and the causal relationships between of cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing will be explored.

Ethnic Identity, Psychological Wellbeing, and Resilience

While ethnic identity has been linked to psychological wellbeing, the mechanisms by which ethnic identity affect psychological wellbeing are unclear. One possibility is that ethnic identity might act as a resilience factor by promoting positive behaviours. Durie (2003b, p. 62) suggested that **Māori** culture “provides a value system and a framework for living”. Similarly, **Houkamau** and Sibley (2010) suggested that increased cultural knowledge and engagement might lead to increased community interconnectedness, and more access to social support and positive role models, which could, in turn, promote positive behaviours and lead to increased psychological wellbeing.

To explore how ethnic identity might predict positive behaviours, Smith et al. (1999) used Structural Equation Modelling to show that young people’s ethnic identity and self-esteem predicted self-efficacy, which then predicted prosocial attitudes. They suggested that “a strong sense of belonging to one’s ethnic group and espousing the norms and mores of one’s group may serve as a protective factor directly reducing involvement in behaviours contrary to the group’s values” (p.871). In a similar vein, McCubbin (2006) measured the ethnic schema (that is the cultural values, beliefs, expectations, and priorities) of Native Hawaiian families, and found that family ethnic schema predicted individual psychological wellbeing. McCubbin (2006) accounted for this relationship between ethnic schema and psychological wellbeing by suggesting that a strong ethnic schema provided the family with a shared worldview, determining how

information and behaviours were to be evaluated, and guiding problem solving behaviours.

Additionally, having a strong ethnic identity might promote psychological wellbeing by acting as a resilience factor, for example against negative impacts of discrimination. Tajfel (1981) noted that members of minority groups face discrimination, which might impact negatively on psychological wellbeing. Health studies have supported this suggestion, as racial discrimination has been found to predict hypertension (Kaholokula, Iwane, & Nacapoy, 2010) and ill-health (Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys, Waldegrave, Karlsen, & Nazroo, 2006). The effect of discrimination on psychological wellbeing might depend on the coping strategies employed to deal with discrimination. Phinney and Chavira (1995) assessed the coping strategies employed by adolescents to deal with discrimination and found that those adolescents who used active coping strategies, such as discussion, disproving discrimination, and self-affirmation, had the highest levels of self-esteem. It is possible that having a strong ethnic identity (i.e. knowledge of ethnic group and commitment to ethnic group) better enables the use of these active coping strategies. In this way, ethnic identity might act as a resilience factor against discrimination.

A number of researchers have tested this assumption directly. Lee (2005) measured perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and depressive symptoms in a sample of Korean Americans and found that ethnic identity was a protective-reactive factor; ethnic identity moderated the effect of discrimination on depressive symptoms in such a way that in conditions of low discrimination, those with high ethnic identity reported less depressive symptoms than those with low ethnic identity, while in conditions of high discrimination, those with high ethnic identity reported more depressive symptoms than those with low ethnic identity. Lee explained these findings by suggesting that discrimination causes more distress for those with highly salient ethnic identities than for those with less salient ethnic identities.

To tease out the potentially different effects of ethnic identity salience, and ethnic pride, Bombay, Matheson, and Anisman (2010) conducted a study similar to Lee's (2005) study, outlined above. In addition to measuring perceived ethnic discrimination, and depressive symptoms, Bombay and colleagues measured both in-group affect (i.e. ethnic pride), and ethnic identity centrality (how central one's ethnic identity is to one's sense of self, i.e. ethnic identity salience). Bombay et al. found that ethnic identity salience exacerbated the negative impact of discrimination on depressive

symptoms, while ethnic pride had the opposite effect, as it buffered against the negative impact of discrimination on depressive symptoms. Bombay et al. suggested that those with highly salient ethnic identities might be likely to detect discrimination and take such issues seriously. At the same time those with high ethnic pride might be equipped to dismiss discrimination.

Due to the established links between ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing, and the potential of ethnic identity to act as a resilience factor, a number of researchers have suggested that **Māori** cultural interventions be implemented to reduce ill-health and promote psychological wellbeing. Secure **Māori** cultural identity has been implicated as a key component of, youth suicide prevention (Lawson-**Te Aho**, 1998), **Māori** health promotion, and offender rehabilitation (Durie, 2003b). However, as yet there is little quantitative evidence that cultural engagement interventions might promote positive outcomes, for example by enhancing psychological wellbeing.

Ethnic Identity in Context

While ethnic identity has been fairly consistently linked to psychological wellbeing, disparities have been observed in the level of ethnic identity, and in the relationship ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing between ethnic groups. These disparities may be due to contextual variables. Differences in ethnic identity scores across ethnic groups have been attributed to the socio-political context in which ethnic identities develop. Phinney (1992) assessed ethnic identity in Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White high school and college students in the US, and found Whites to have significantly lower ethnic identity scores than all other ethnic groups. Phinney also found that the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem was significant for ethnic minority college students, but not for White college students, unless those White students attended a high school where Whites were a numerical minority. Phinney interpreted these results by stating that the salience of ethnic identity, and relevance of ethnic identity to psychological wellbeing is greater for members of minority ethnic groups.

To test the assumption that minority status influences ethnic identity development, Umaña-Taylor (2004) researched the influence of the ethnic composition of schools on the identity development of Latino adolescents. As predicted, Umaña-Taylor reported higher ethnic identity scores for Latino adolescents attending a school with a low percentage of Latino students, compared with Latino adolescents at schools

with a medium or high percentage of Latino students. In line with Phinney (1992), Umaña-Taylor explained these results by suggesting that the fewer Latino students there were in a social context, the higher the salience of Latino students' ethnic identity.

However, the opposite pattern of results was observed by Lysne and Levy (1997). They measured the ethnic identity exploration and commitment of 9th and 12th grade Native American adolescents attending schools that consisted predominately of either Native American students, or White students. While there was no difference in the ethnic identity scores between the 9th graders at the two types of schools, 12th graders at the predominantly Native American school had significantly *higher* ethnic identity exploration and commitment scores than 12th graders at a predominantly White school. Lysne and Levy suggested that the higher ethnic identity scores at the predominantly Native American school may have been due to the characteristics of the school, as the school was embedded within a Native American community, offered programmes and activities designed specifically for Native American students, and therefore provided more opportunities for ethnic identity exploration and commitment.

French, Seidman, Allen, and Aber (2000) also studied the effect of ethnic congruence on ethnic identity and reported results that differed across the ethnic minority groups surveyed. They measured the ethnic identity exploration of adolescents as they transitioned into high schools with student populations that were either more congruent with their own ethnicity than their former school had been, or less congruent with their own ethnicity than their former school had been.

French et al.'s (2000) results for White students were consistent to the findings reported by Umaña-Taylor (2004), as those who experienced a decrease in ethnic congruence reported higher ethnic identity exploration than those who experienced an increase in ethnic congruence. French et al. (2000) explained this result in a similar way as Phinney (1992), stating that contact with ethnically different peers increased the salience of White students' ethnic identity, which then increased their ethnic identity exploration.

In the sample of Black and Latino students, however, French et al. (2000) found no difference between students who experienced decreased ethnic congruence and students who experienced increased ethnic congruence as they transitioned to high school. They explained these results by describing cultural and historical differences between the ethnic groups surveyed. According to French et al., contact with ethnically different others is not always a consciousness raising experience that will lead to

increased ethnic identity salience and development. They suggested that interactions between ethnic groups are more likely to be consciousness raising events if there is a history of unequal power relations between groups. For this reason, decreased ethnic congruence, and presumed increased contact with ethnic others, was likely to be a consciousness raising event for the White students, as Whites have historically occupied the position of powerful majority in the US. In contrast, French et al. noted that the Black and Hispanic students who experienced a decrease in ethnic congruence were transitioning into schools that were ethnically diverse. While there were many ‘ethnic others’ in their schools, there was only a small percentage of White students. Therefore, presumably, these students would have increased contact with other ethnic minority students, whom they did not have a long history of unequal power relations with, and therefore this increased contact with ‘ethnic others’ would not constitute a consciousness raising event. French et al. also suggested that for Latino students, contact with one’s own ethnic group promotes ethnic identity development, as Latinos have a distinct language and culture, which is promoted in culturally embedded environments.

The findings presented above highlight that consideration of context is necessary in understanding ethnic identity development. The role of context in psychological development was explored by Bronfenbrenner (1979). In his ecological systems theory, Bronfenbrenner proposed that a number of environmental systems interact to affect development. The systems Bronfenbrenner described included microsystems, or contexts that the individual directly experiences, such as interactions in the family or at school; the mesosystem, or interaction between microsystems; the exosystem, which describes social factors that the individual does not directly participate in that still influence the individual’s experience (e.g. the effect school policies have on an individual); the macrosystem, or culture an individual belongs to; and, finally, the chronosystem which incorporates both the individual’s personal history, as well as the socio-politico-historical context.

Applying Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological systems theory to ethnic identity development allows the influence of contextual factors outlined above to be interpreted. Phinney’s (1992), and Umaña-Taylor’s (2004) suggestion that contact with ethnically different others promotes ethnic identity development can be considered a phenomenon that occurs at the level of the micro-system, as an individual interacts with others, and at

the meso-system, as there may or may not be consistencies between personal interactions within the family, within the school, and within peer networks.

In contrast, Lysne and Levy's (1997) finding that Native American students at a predominantly Native school had higher ethnic identities than their counterparts at a predominantly non-Native school could be due to influences at the level of the exo-system, as the school policies at the Native schools and non-Native schools were vastly different. These schools also differed as the Native schools were located within reservations, while the non-Native schools were located outside of reservations. It is possible that students at the non-Native schools were embedded in mainstream United States culture, while students at the Native schools were embedded in the Native American sub-culture. Therefore differences at the level of the macro-system might be useful in explaining Lysne and Levy's results.

Finally, French et al.'s (2000) suggestion that the socio-political landscape, and in particular the historical relationship between ethnic groups influences ethnic identity development can be understood as a phenomenon that occurs at the level of chrono-system. As all of these systems influence individual development, studies focused on ethnic identity might benefit by applying Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory.

The Present Research

While many researchers have suggested links between ethnic identity, cultural engagement, and psychological wellbeing, there is a dearth of longitudinal evidence to support claims of causal relationships between these constructs. In addition, few studies have gone beyond investigating individual level variables by exploring the contextual variables that shape ethnic identity development. This research addresses these needs by applying cutting edge statistical analyses to an unparalleled, extensive, longitudinal dataset on **Māori** adolescents, obtained from the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP).

In Study 1, longitudinal survey data gathered at three time-points from **Māori** secondary school students were analysed. A measure of **Māori** Cultural Engagement was constructed, based on indicators identified by **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team (1996). These indicators were **whakapapa** knowledge, **marae** participation, and **te reo Māori**¹⁶⁹ proficiency. Ethnic Identity was measured using indicators from Phinney's (1992) MEIM, and psychological wellbeing was measured using an adapted version of

¹⁶⁹ **Māori** language

the Ryff Wellbeing Scale (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Three of The Ryff Wellbeing subscales were combined to give a measure of Psychological Wellbeing. These three subscales were Confidence, Aspirations, and Positive Relations with Others.

Latent variables were constructed for all of these measures, and Structural Equation Modelling was used to explore causal relationships between these latent variables. Based on Durie's (2003b) assertion that cultural heritage is crucial to identity, and Phinney and Ong's (2007) suggestion that cultural behaviours contribute to ethnic identity, within the proposed structural equation model it was predicted that Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement would positively predict Time 2 Ethnic Identity (*Hypothesis 1*), and that Time 2 **Māori** Cultural Engagement would positively predict Time 3 Ethnic Identity (*Hypothesis 2*). In addition, based on findings that minority group members' ethnic identity is positively associated with psychological wellbeing (Phinney, 1992; Umaña-Taylor, 2004, Bracey et al., 2004; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999; Smith et al., 1999; Utsey et al., 2002) it was hypothesised that Time 1 Ethnic Identity would positively predict Time 2 Psychological Wellbeing (*Hypothesis 3*), and that Time 2 Ethnic Identity would positively predict Time 3 Psychological Wellbeing (*Hypothesis 4*).

In Study 2 the effect of the institutional context of State secondary schools on **Māori** ethnic identity development was explored. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory states that micro-systems that individuals interact with directly, along with exo-systems, such as institutional policies, impact on individual development. In line with this theory, Lysne and Levy (1997) suggested that school factors such as curricula can impact on ethnic identity development. To explore the impact of school context on ethnic identity development, a measure of school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion was constructed using publically available data on the extent of **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities offered in schools. Ethnic identity scores from the YCP were analysed alongside this measure of school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion. As the material resources of a school community might impact on the ability of a school to provide **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities, school decile ratings were included in analyses. Predictors of ethnic identity identified in Study 1 were also included in analyses. These data were analysed using Hierarchical Linear Modelling (HLM). It was hypothesised that school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion would positively predict individual level Time 3 Ethnic Identity, having

partialled out the effects of individual level Time 1 Ethnic Identity, individual level Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement, and school decile rating (*Hypothesis 5*).

Study 1 Method

Design and Procedures

Data from the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP) was obtained from the Roy McKenzie Centre at Victoria University. The YCP was a three year, longitudinal survey of 2,174 adolescents, selected from 78 North Island schools, using stratified random sampling. Most of these schools were located in Wellington, the **Kapiti** Coast, the **Wairarapa**, Palmerston North, **Taranaki**, the Hawkes Bay, and Auckland. The YCP was designed to allow researchers to assess the effects of connectedness to family, schools, and communities on adolescent development. The survey included questions relating to **Māori** ethnic identity, access to **Māori** cultural institutions, and **Māori** cultural knowledge and behaviours.

A sequential design was used. Three cohorts (aged 10, 12, and 14) were surveyed at three points in time (in 2006, 2007, and 2008), with intervals between surveys of approximately one year (refer to Table 6). This design allowed individual development trajectories to be tracked over time, and inferences of causality to be made.

Table 6. *YCP Sequential Design Showing the Inclusion of Three Cohorts at Three Points in Time*

	2006	2007	2008
Cohort 1	10 yrs	11	12
Cohort 2	12	13	14
Cohort 3	14	15	16

The YCP research team contacted 102 schools across the North Island and 78 schools (75.6% of schools) agreed to participate in the research. Information sheets and consent forms were provided to adolescents' parents/caregivers. Research assistants visited schools where participants who had assented and had parental consent completed electronic surveys on laptop computers. Participants were reimbursed for their participation with small items such as drink bottles and stationery. For more information on the YCP, visit www.vuw.ac.nz/youthconnectedness/index.aspx.

Participants

Participants who identified as **Māori** consistently over the three time points were selected. This resulted in the inclusion of 354 participants, of whom 58% were female and 42% were male. Participants' ages ranged from 10 to 15 years at Time 1. There were 151 participants aged 10-11, 103 participants aged 12-13, and 100 participants aged 14-15 at Time 1. The number of participants in each gender by age group is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. *Female and Male Participants' Years of Age at Time 1*

	10 Years	11 Years	12 Years	13 Years	14 Years	15 Years	Total
Female	53	27	35	21	49	21	206
Male	51	20	30	17	19	11	148
Total	104	47	65	38	68	32	354

Students at schools of all decile ratings were included in the sample, with 70.8% of students attending schools with decile ratings ranging from 1-5 (refer to Table 8).

Table 8. *Number and Percent of Participants from Schools with Decile Ratings 1 to 10*

Decile	Frequency	Percent
1	32	9.0
2	56	15.8
3	59	16.7
4	83	23.4
5	20	5.6
6	21	5.9
7	38	10.7
8	16	4.5
9	13	3.7
10	15	4.2
Missing	1	.3
Total	354	100.0

An analysis of the school locations showed 55.4% of the participants' schools were in major urban locations, 41.5% were in secondary urban or minor urban locations, and 3.1% were in rural locations (refer to Table 9).

Table 9. *Number and Percent of Participants at Schools in Urban and Rural Areas*

Location	Frequency	Percent
Major Urban	196	55.4
Secondary Urban	47	13.3
Minor Urban	100	28.2
Rural	11	3.1
Total	354	100.0

Measures

To view the YCP survey items used in this study, refer to Appendix E. Psychological Wellbeing was measured using ten modified items combined from The Ryff Wellbeing Scale (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). In its original form, The Ryff Wellbeing scale consisted of 6, 14-item sub-scales. These subscales measured autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance, and were found to have good internal reliabilities, with Cronbach's alphas of .83, .86, .85, .88, .88, and .91 respectively. An abbreviated version of The Ryff Wellbeing Scale scale was administered for the YCP in the interests of keeping the survey length to a minimum. The abbreviated scale included three items from the positive relations with others sub-scale (Positive Relations), four items from the self-acceptance subscale (Confidence), and four items from the purpose in life subscale (Aspirations). Examples of the items used from these three scales, respectively, were "I find it easy to get on well with other people," "I am confident and positive about who I am," and "I work hard now to create a good future for myself". Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Scale scores and subscale scores were calculated by finding participants' mean scores on the scale items and subscale items, respectively, with higher scores indicating higher Psychological Wellbeing, Positive Relations, Confidence, and Aspirations. In the present study, the internal reliabilities of the overall scale and the subscales were found to be good. The Cronbach's alpha for the Psychological Wellbeing scale was .87 at Time 1, while the subscales measuring Positive Relations, Confidence, and Aspirations yielded Cronbach's alphas of .74, .80, and .78 respectively at Time 1.

Māori students' Ethnic Identity was measured using 6 items adapted from the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). Phinney (1992) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .81, indicating good internal reliability. This scale assessed participants' attitudes towards their ethnic group, with items such as "I am happy that I am a member of this ethnic group". Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Scale scores were constructed by

calculating participants' mean scores on the scale items, with higher scores indicating higher ethnic identity. In the present study, a test of reliability at Time 1 yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .82, indicating good internal reliability

A scale measuring **Māori** Cultural Engagement was generated for this study. This scale included 3 questions on knowledge of personal **whakapapa** (heritage), for example "Do you know the name(s) of your **Iwi**¹⁷⁰/**Hapū**¹⁷¹?", and 2 questions on involvement with **Māori** cultural institutions, for example "Do you go to your **marae** with your **whānau**?" Participants responded to these questions by ticking either "yes" or "no". This scale also included 2 items measuring **te reo Māori** proficiency, for example "How well can you speak **te reo Māori**?" Participants responded on a 6-point scale from 1 (Cannot speak **te reo Māori**) to 6 (Can confidently speak fluent **te reo Māori** in any situation). Due to the different scales used to measure the items (dichotomous items versus items measured on a 6-point scale), standardised scores for each item were calculated. Scale scores for each participant were calculated by finding participants' mean standardised scores on the scale items, with higher scores indicating higher **Māori** Cultural Engagement. A test of reliability at Time 1 showed this scale to have good internal reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of .80. Demographic questions were also included in the survey, along with a range of other measures pertaining to the broader aims of the Youth Connectedness Project.

Missing Data and Outliers

Listwise deletion was used for cases where 10% or more of the values were missing. A missing values analysis on the remaining missing values suggested these values were missing completely at random (Little's MCAR $\chi^2 = 1121.67$, $DF = 1046$, $p = .05$). Missing values were imputed using estimation maximization (EM).

Univariate outliers were identified as those with absolute z-score values greater than 3.3. These were changed to the nearest non-outlier value for that variable. Mahalanobis distances for each case were calculated to detect multivariate outliers. Nineteen cases had Mahalanobis distances with $p < .000001$. These extreme cases were deleted. Cases with less extreme Mahalanobis distances were not deleted in order to maximise statistical power. Missing values and outlier treatments reduced the number of cases to 305.

¹⁷⁰ Tribe, confederation of tribes

¹⁷¹ Subtribe, tribe

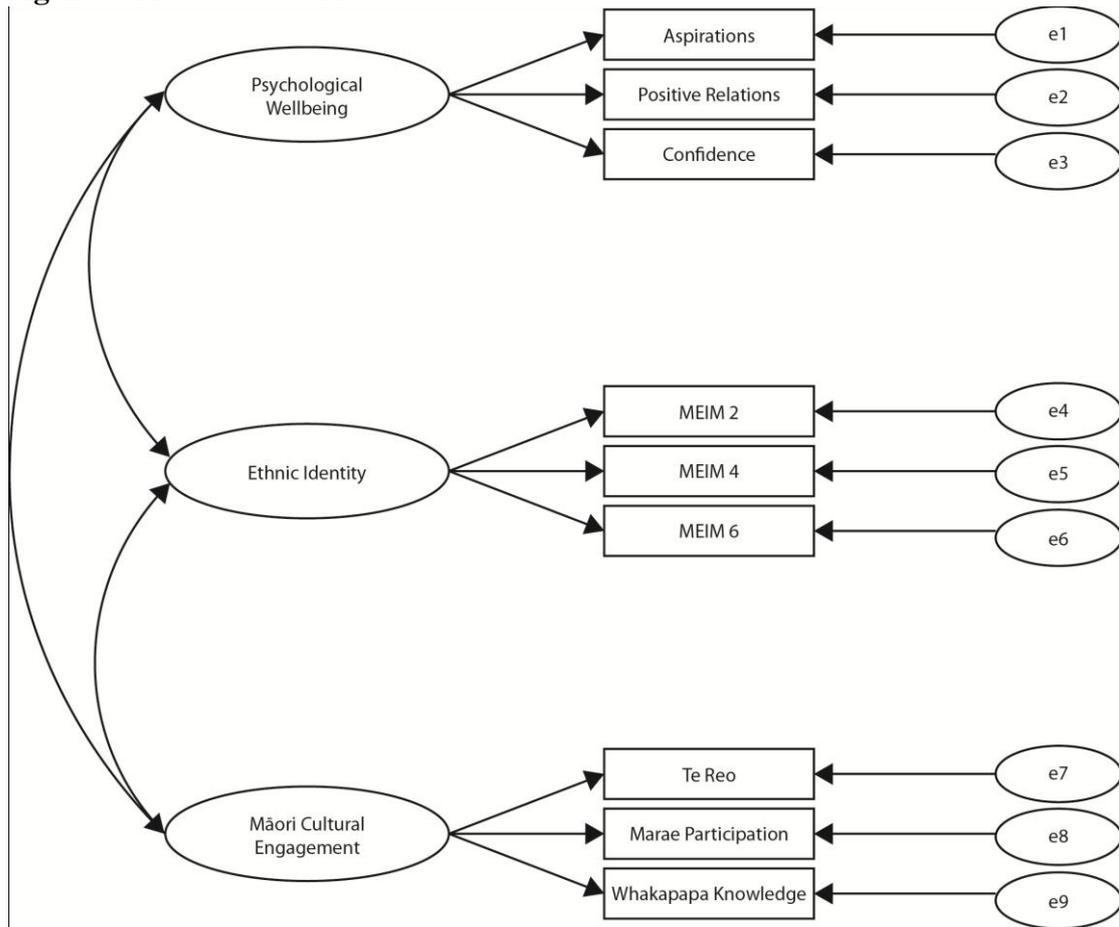
Measurement Model

At each measurement occasion, the latent constructs Psychological Wellbeing, **Māori** Identity, and **Māori** Cultural Engagement were indicated by 3 items each, conforming to the recommendation that latent variables have at least 3 indicators to ensure structural equation models are not over- or under-identified (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). The use of item parcelling also reduces the affect of non-normal items (Marsh, Hau, Ball, & Grayson, 1998), and reduces the number of parameters that need to be estimated whilst still incorporating information from each item in the analysis.

Psychological Wellbeing was indicated by an aspirations parcel (mean score from the four Aspirations subscale items), a positive relations parcel (mean score from the three Positive Relations subscale items), and a confidence parcel (mean score on the four Confidence subscale items). **Māori** Ethnic Identity was indicated by the three items of the MEIM that best reflected the ethnic identity construct (i.e. those that measured the individual's sense of pride in their ethnic identity, as opposed to cultural behaviours and cognitive exploration). **Māori** Cultural Engagement was indicated by a **te reo** parcel (mean z-score from the two items assessing competence in speaking and understanding **te reo**), an access to cultural institutions parcel (mean z-score from the two items assessing **marae** participation), and a **whakapapa** knowledge parcel (mean z-score from the three items assessing knowledge of personal heritage).

Confirmatory factor analyses were performed for each measurement occasion to ensure observed variables indicated the intended latent constructs well and did not indicate other latent constructs (see Figure 5). The results indicated that the proposed three factor structure fit the data well at Time 1 ($\chi^2(24) = 20.59, p = .66$), Time 2 ($\chi^2(24) = 27.84, p = .27$), and Time 3 ($\chi^2(24) = 22.66, p = .54$).

Figure 5. Measurement Model



Statistical Analyses

Structural Equation Modelling. Longitudinal structural equation modelling was performed using the software package AMOS 18. Three models were created and compared: a Stability Model (in which cross lag paths were constrained to zero, refer to Figure 6), the hypothesised model (refer to Figure 7), and a fully saturated model (with cross lags and stability indices, refer to Figure 8). In all models covariance estimations between each observed variable’s residuals over the three time points were included in the model, to better model autocorrelations.

Model fit was tested using CFI and RMSEA fit indices. RMSEA values less than or equal to .05 indicated good fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993), and CFI values greater than or equal to .95 indicated good fit. The goodness of fit of each model was compared using the chi-squared difference test.

Figure 6. *Stability Model (simplified to show latent constructs only)*

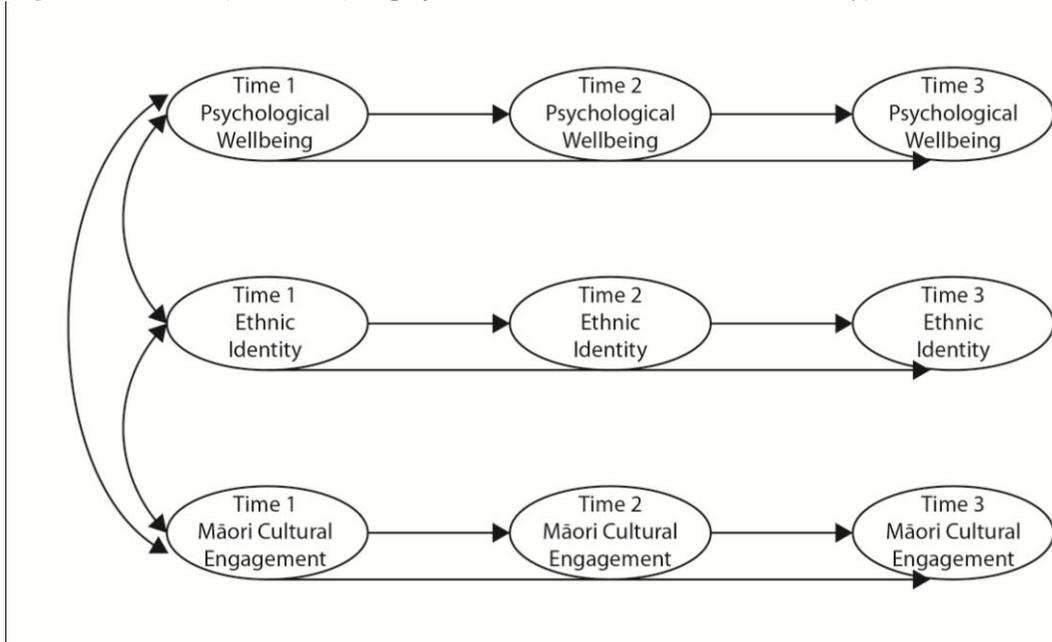


Figure 7. *Hypothesised Model (simplified to show latent constructs only)*

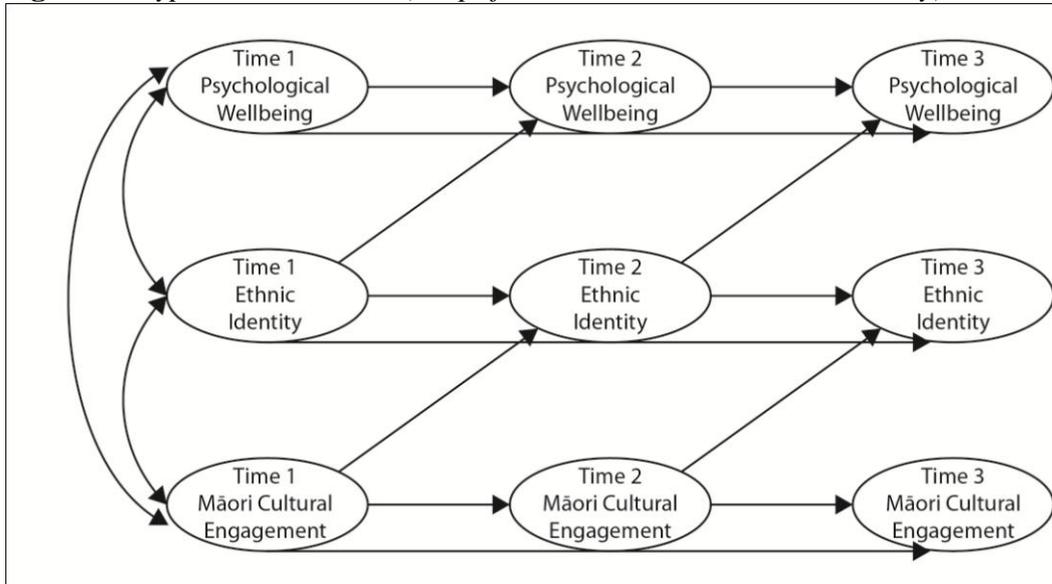
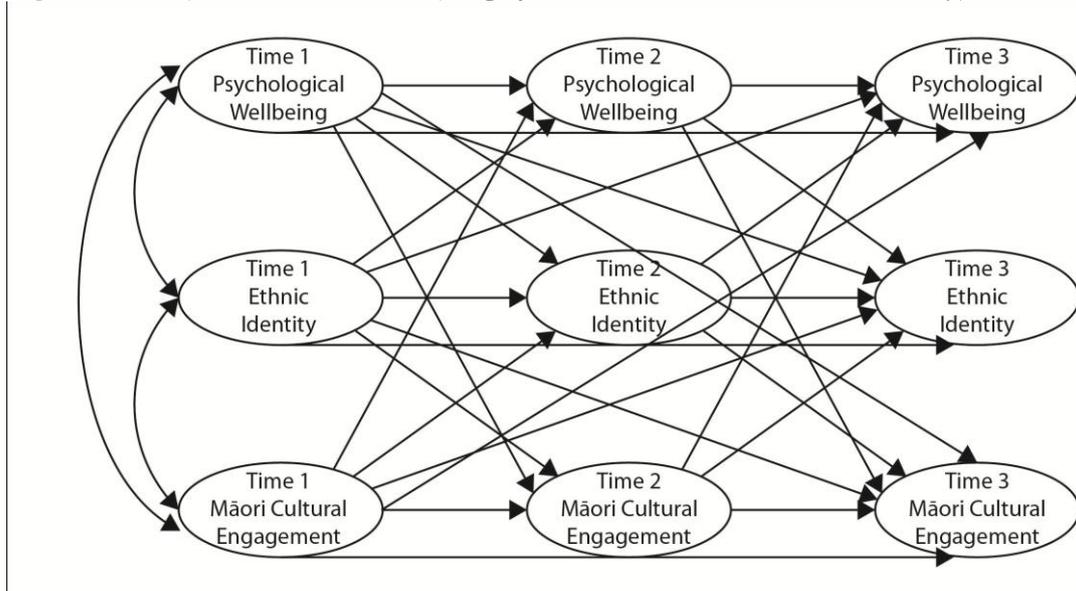


Figure 8. Fully Saturated Model (simplified to show latent constructs only)



Hypothesised Model. It was hypothesised that **Māori Cultural Engagement** at Times 1 and 2 would predict Ethnic Identity at Times 2 and 3 respectively, and that Ethnic Identity at Times 1 and 2 would predict Psychological Wellbeing at Times 2 and 3 respectively (i.e. these cross-lags would be positive and significant). The Hypothesised Model (depicted above in Figure 7) included partial cross-lags between consecutive measurement occasions to test the predicted unidirectional relationships, having partialled out the variance explained by the covariance between variables at each time point, and the correlations between each variable’s three scores across measurement occasions.

Study 1 Results

Descriptive Statistics

The mean score for Psychological Wellbeing (4.12, $SD = .50$) was greater than the neutral midpoint of 3. The mean Ethnic Identity score (3.67, $SD = .72$) was also slightly above the neutral midpoint of 3.

Māori Cultural Engagement

An analysis of raw Time 1 data showed that 62.4% of participants went to their marae with their **whānau**, 54.2% went to other **marae** with their **whānau**, 68.9% knew the name of their **iwi/hapū**, 59.6% knew the name of their **marae**, and 61.0% knew the

names of their **maunga**¹⁷²/**awa**¹⁷³/**moana**¹⁷⁴/**waka**¹⁷⁵. The mean scores for speaking **Māori** proficiency (2.72, $SD = 1.18$) and understanding **Māori** proficiency (2.69, $SD = 1.33$) were below the scale midpoint of 3.5. As the **Māori** Cultural Engagement scale was generated using standardised item scores, the mean scale score was .05 ($SD = .66$).

There was some evidence of violations to normality as all parcels yielded significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov values, and significant Shapiro-Wilk values. However Maximum Likelihood Estimations are robust to small violations in large samples (Schermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger, & Müller., 2003).

Gender and Time Effects

A Repeated Measures Multivariate Analysis of Variance was performed to assess whether time and gender interacted to predict Psychological Wellbeing, Ethnic Identity, and **Māori** Cultural Engagement. In this analysis the within-subjects factor was Time (Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3), and the between-subjects factor was gender (refer to Table 10 for descriptive statistics).

Repeated Measures Multivariate Analysis of Variance rests on the assumption of constant variance. Box's test provided no evidence of non-equal covariance matrices ($p = .14$). The Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances showed no evidence of non-constant variance for Psychological Wellbeing at Time 1 ($p = .89$), Time 2 ($p = .73$), or Time 3 ($p = .85$). This test also showed no evidence of non-constant variance for Ethnic Identity at Time 1 ($p = .83$), Time 2 ($p = .31$), or Time 3 ($p = .24$). The Levene's test also showed no evidence of non-constant variance for **Māori** Cultural Engagement at Time 1 ($p = .72$), Time 2 ($p = .23$), and Time 3 ($p = .61$).

The Wilks Lambda test revealed no significant interaction between gender and time at the 5% level ($Wilks\ Lambda = .98, F(6,298) = .81, p = .56$). A main effect for Gender was detected at the 5% level ($Wilks\ Lambda = .96, F(3,301) = 4.74, p < .01$). Between-subjects effects showed a significant difference between males and females on Ethnic Identity ($F(1, 303) = 6.79, p < .05$), and **Māori** Cultural Engagement ($F(1, 277) = 12.67, p < .001$). Females had slightly higher levels of Ethnic Identity ($M = 3.72, SE = .04$) than males ($M = 3.54, SE = .05$). Females also had higher levels of **Māori** Cultural Engagement ($M = .18, SE = .04$) than their male counterparts ($M = -.06, SE$

¹⁷² Mountain

¹⁷³ River

¹⁷⁴ Ocean, lake

¹⁷⁵ Ancestral migratory sailing vessel

= .05). There was no significant difference between the Psychological Wellbeing scores of males and females in this study ($F(1, 303) = .17, p = .68$).

A main effect for Time was detected at the 5% level ($Wilks\ Lambda = .95, F(6,298) = 2.37, p < .05$). The test of within subjects contrasts revealed a significant main effect of Time on Psychological Wellbeing ($F(2,606) = 3.39, p < .05$). Post hoc comparisons using Bonferroni adjustment showed Time 1 Psychological Wellbeing ($M = 4.12, SE = .03$) was significantly higher than Time 2 Psychological Wellbeing ($M = 4.05, SE = .03$). There were no significant differences between Time 2 and Time 3 Psychological Wellbeing, or between Time 1 and Time 3 Psychological Wellbeing.

There was no main effect of Time on either Ethnic Identity ($F(2,606) = 1.82, p = .16$) or **Māori** Cultural Engagement ($F(2,606) = 2.06, p = .13$).

Table 10. Descriptive Statistics for Males and Females Over Time

		Time 1		Time 2		Time 3	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Psychological Wellbeing	Male	4.12	.51	4.07	.53	4.08	.51
	Female	4.13	.49	4.04	.55	4.04	.52
Ethnic Identity	Male	3.58	.73	3.51	.88	3.54	.77
	Female	3.74	.71	3.65	.77	3.77	.69
Cultural Engagement	Male	-.12	.66	-.3	.68	-.04	.66
	Female	.17	.63	.17	.63	.20	.64

Correlations

Correlation coefficients were calculated to assess the bivariate linear relationships between Psychological Wellbeing, Ethnic Identity, and **Māori** Cultural Engagement at each Time (Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3). Ethnic Identity was positively correlated to **Māori** Cultural Engagement at all time points (refer to Tables 11-13). Ethnic Identity was also positively correlated with Psychological Wellbeing at Times 1 and 3. No relationship between **Māori** Cultural Engagement and Psychological Wellbeing was detected at any time point.

Table 11. Pearson's Correlation Coefficients between Psychological Wellbeing, Ethnic Identity, and **Māori** Cultural Engagement at Time 1

	1	2	3
1. Year 1 Psychological Wellbeing	---	---	---
2. Year 1 Ethnic Identity	.22**	---	---
3. Year 1 Māori Cultural Engagement	-.02	.36**	---

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 12. Pearson's Correlation Coefficients between Psychological Wellbeing, Ethnic Identity, and Māori Cultural Engagement at Time 2

	1	2	3
1. Year 2 Psychological Wellbeing	---	---	---
2. Year 2 Ethnic Identity	.08	---	---
3. Year 2 Māori Cultural Engagement	.05	.35**	---

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 13. Pearson's Correlation Coefficients between Psychological Wellbeing, Ethnic Identity, and Māori Cultural Engagement at Time 3

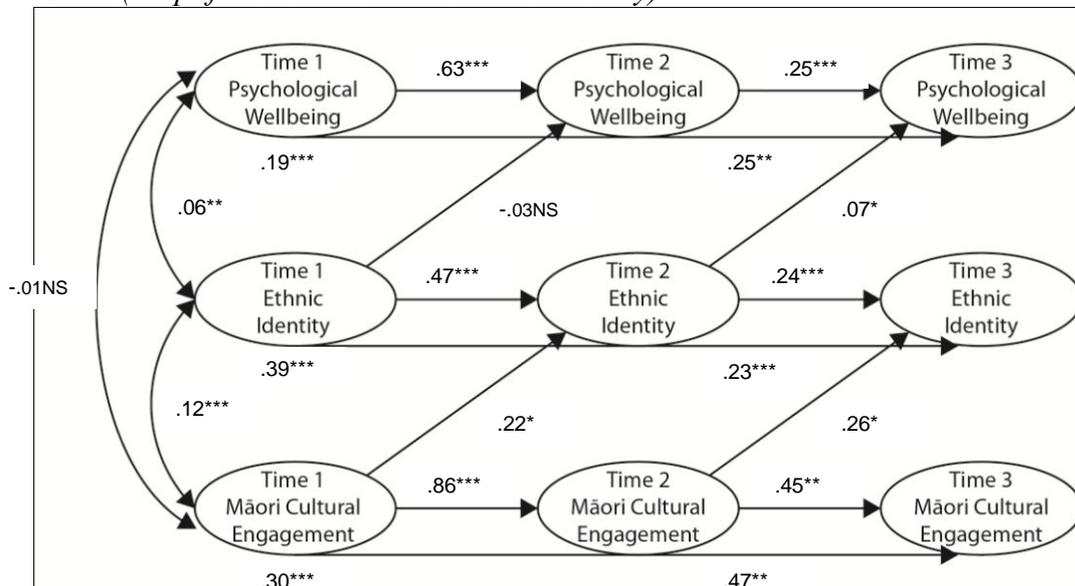
	1	2	3
1. Year 3 Psychological Wellbeing	---	---	---
2. Year 3 Ethnic Identity	.26**	---	---
3. Year 3 Māori Cultural Engagement	.04	.40**	---

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Structural Equation Modelling

Model Fit. Fit indices revealed the hypothesised model fit the data very well (refer to Figure 9), as the CFI was greater than .95, and the RMSEA statistic was less than .05 (see Browne & Cudeck, 1993; and Bentler & Bonnet, 1980).

Figure 9. Maximum Likelihood Estimates for the Hypothesised Structural Equation Model (simplified to show latent constructs only)



Fit statistics: χ^2 (293, $N = 305$) = 342.54, $p = .03$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .02

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Model comparisons based on χ^2 difference showed significant deterioration of model fit between the hypothesised and stability models ($p < .001$). However, there was no significant deterioration of model fit between the fully saturated and hypothesised

models ($p > .10$). In this case the more parsimonious model (the hypothesised model) is preferred (see Schermellah-Engel, Moosbrugger, & Muller, 2003). This means that the hypothesised model was a better representation of the actual data than the stability model or the fully saturated model.

Hypothesised Model

The **Māori** Cultural Engagement stabilities over time were high, ranging from .86 to .45. This high stability indicates that this variable did not have much variance to be explained by other variables in the model. The stabilities for Ethnic Identity (ranging from .47 to .23), and Psychological Wellbeing (ranging from .63 to .25) were only moderately high, and therefore could be influenced by other variables.

The path leading from Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement to Time 2 Ethnic Identity was positive, moderate in magnitude, and significant, which supported Hypothesis 1. The path from Time 2 **Māori** Cultural Engagement to Time 3 Ethnic Identity was also positive, moderate, and significant, which supported Hypothesis 2. The path from Time 1 Ethnic Identity and to Time 2 Psychological Wellbeing was not significant, which did not support Hypothesis 3. However, the path from Time 2 Ethnic Identity to Time 3 Psychological Wellbeing was positive and significant, supporting Hypothesis 4.

Overall, the results suggest a causal relationship leading from **Māori** Cultural Engagement to Ethnic Identity, and provide some evidence for a causal relationship leading from Ethnic Identity to Psychological Wellbeing. The results also suggest that there could be a path leading from **Māori** Cultural Engagement (that is, **te reo Māori** competence, **marae** participation, and **whakapapa** knowledge) to Psychological Wellbeing that is mediated by Ethnic Identity.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 was designed to explore the relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing. Longitudinal survey data were obtained from **Māori** adolescents at schools across the North Island. At three measurement occasions, each separated by one year, psychological wellbeing was measured using The Ryff Wellbeing Scale (Ryff & Keyes, 1995), ethnic identity was measured using the MEIM (Phinney, 1992), and **Māori** cultural engagement was measured using a scale developed for this study that included indicators of **whakapapa**

(ancestry) knowledge, **marae** participation, and **te reo Māori** proficiency. These variables were chosen to reflect indicators of **Māori** cultural identity constructed by **Te Hoe Nuku Roa** Research Team (1996). These observed variables were used to construct latent variables.

It was hypothesised that **Māori** cultural engagement at Times 1 and 2 would predict ethnic identity at Times 2 and 3 respectively, and that ethnic identity at Times 1 and 2 would predict psychological wellbeing at Times 2 and 3 respectively. Results of analyses using structural equation modelling showed that the hypothesised model fit the data very well. The paths from **Māori** cultural engagement to ethnic identity from Time 1 to Time 2, and from Time 2 to Time 3 were both significant, suggesting that **Māori** cultural engagement predicted ethnic identity. This finding is consistent with Durie's (2003b) suggestion that cultural heritage is a precursor to secure identity, and Phinney and Ong's (2007) suggestion that cultural behaviours contribute to ethnic identity. However, the path between ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing was only significant between Times 2 and 3, and did not reach significance between Times 1 and 2. These findings provide some support that ethnic identity predicts psychological wellbeing, and is consistent with previous research demonstrating links between ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing (e.g. Phinney, 1992).

It is possible that the path from ethnic identity to psychological wellbeing was non-significant over the first two measurement occasions, but significant over the last two measurement occasions due to developmental changes that take place during adolescence. Research into adolescent psychological development has shown that the use of adaptive coping strategies tends to increase as individuals progress through adolescence (Williams & McGillicuddy-De Lisi, 1999). Previous research also suggests that ethnic identity acts as a protective factor (Smith et al., 1999), increases social support networks (**Houkamau** & Sibley, 2010), and facilitates adaptive problem solving (McCubbin, 2006), thereby leading to enhanced psychological wellbeing. If ethnic identity acts as a resilience factor by enabling adolescents to adopt these coping strategies to deal with life stress, it is possible that these coping strategies are only adopted in later adolescence, and, therefore, that these coping strategies only affect psychological wellbeing during later adolescence. Therefore, ethnic identity would only affect psychological wellbeing in later adolescence also.

In the present study, ethnic identity did not increase over time. This finding is inconsistent with previous research suggesting that ethnic identity tends to increase

during adolescence (e.g. Perron, et al., 1998; Phinney, 1992; Saylor & Aries, 1999). More research is needed to determine why ethnic identity did not increase over time in the present study. One possible explanation of there being no effect of time on ethnic identity in the present study is that aggregated data from all students in the sample may have concealed differing effects of time on ethnic identity for different groups of students. For example, students of particular schools might tend to experience increases in ethnic identity, while students of other schools might tend to experience decreases in ethnic identity. Previous research has shown that school type can influence ethnic identity development (Lysne & Levy, 1997). This might be due to the characteristics of schools that may or may not render them conducive to ethnic identity development. The possible impact of school characteristics on ethnic identity development will be explored in Study 2.

Results of the present study also indicated that **Māori** cultural engagement was stable over time. As mentioned above, **Māori** cultural engagement was measured by indicators of **te reo Māori** proficiency, **whakapapa** (ancestry) knowledge, and **marae** participation. It would be reasonable to expect that language proficiency and cultural knowledge might increase during adolescence, and that these competencies might develop as **Māori** adolescents begin to participate more frequently at **marae** based occasions as they near adulthood, thereby leading to increased **Māori** cultural engagement scores. However, the results indicate that this is not occurring. Rather, it seems as though levels of **Māori** cultural engagement develop prior to adolescence, presumably in the home and other cultural institutions, and remain unchanged during adolescence.

The present study found evidence that **Māori** cultural engagement predicts ethnic identity, which in turn promotes psychological wellbeing. However, the present study also found that, on the whole, **Māori** adolescents' **Māori** cultural engagement and ethnic identity are not increasing throughout adolescence. The results imply that interventions to increase adolescents' **Māori** cultural engagement could be used to enhance ethnic identity, which could then increase psychological wellbeing.

The present study may have been limited by the *ad hoc* construction of the measure of **Māori** cultural engagement. Given the financial and time limitations of PhD research, independently conducting a National, longitudinal survey of **Māori** adolescents was not feasible. Therefore, data for this study were obtained from the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP). A measure of **Māori** cultural engagement was

constructed *ad hoc*, from the YCP data. The **Māori** cultural engagement measure included indicators of **te reo Māori** proficiency, **marae** participation, and **whakapapa** (ancestry) knowledge. These indicators are all highly relevant to **Māori** cultural engagement (Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team, 1996). However more research is needed in the development of an appropriate measure of **Māori** cultural engagement.

Summary

Study 1 explored the causal relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing. Through Structural Equation Modelling, **Māori** cultural engagement was found to predict ethnic identity, which in turn predicted psychological wellbeing, in line with the hypothesised model. Despite the potential psychological benefits of ethnic identity, in this sample, overall, **Māori** cultural engagement and ethnic identity did not increase over time. Therefore, interventions to increase the cultural engagement of **Māori** adolescents could be implemented in order to enhance **Māori** ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing.

Study 2 Method

Design, Procedure, Participants, and Measures

Data from the Youth Connectedness Project (YCP) was also used in Study 2. Refer to the Study 1 Method section presented earlier in this chapter for details on design, procedure, participants, and measures. The ethnic identity measure (adapted from the MEIM; Phinney, 1992), and the **Māori** Cultural Engagement measure were used for this study. School decile information from the YCP was also used for Study 2.

In addition to YCP data, a measure of school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion was constructed for Study 2, using publically available information. This measure of **Māori** Cultural Promotion focused on whether or not schools offered **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities between 2006 and 2008 (see Appendix F for a full list of items). Example items included whether or not **Māori** medium education was provided by the school (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*), and the number of times the school participated in the **Pei Te Hurinui** Jones competition (a national **te reo Māori** speech competition). Scale scores were calculated by summing the item scores. The resulting 9-item scale showed good internal reliability ($\alpha = .72$).

The **Māori** Cultural Promotion variable used in this study is only relevant to secondary schools (with items such as participation in national secondary school **Māori**

sporting and cultural competitions). Therefore, only Study 1 participants who attended high schools at all three measurement occasions were selected into this study (some participants were in primary or intermediate schools when data was collected). The resulting number of participants was 180.

Analyses

The purpose of this study was to assess the effect of school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion on individual level Ethnic Identity. The outcome variable in this study was Time 3 Ethnic Identity. The Time 3 measurement was used, as at this measurement occasion students had been immersed in the school environment for the longest. Therefore any school level effects are likely to be most pronounced at this measurement occasion.

In Study 1, presented earlier in this chapter, results indicated that both Ethnic Identity and **Māori** Cultural Engagement at Time 1 predicted Ethnic Identity at a subsequent measurement occasion. Therefore, Time 1 Ethnic Identity, and Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement were entered into analyses predicting Time 3 Ethnic Identity in this study. School decile and **Māori** Cultural Promotion were also entered into the analyses to determine if these variables accounted for differences in mean Time 3 Ethnic Identity scores between schools.

Hierarchical Linear Modelling (HLM) was used for analyses in this study. Analyses were performed using HLM 6.08 software (Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, Congdon, & du Toit, 2004). HLM is similar to regression. However, HLM does not rest on the assumption that observations are independent. In the present study, individual **Māori** students were not considered independent, but rather nested within schools. **Māori** students who attended the same school were expected to be more alike than **Māori** students who attended different schools. HLM accounts for these group effects.

The hierarchical models in this study had 2 levels. In HLM terminology, the individual observations (in this case **Māori** students) were termed 'level-1 units', and individual level variables (in this case Time 3 Ethnic Identity, Time 1 Ethnic Identity, and Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement) were termed 'level-1 variables'. The schools were termed 'level-2 units', and school level variables (in this case school Decile, and **Māori** Cultural Promotion) were termed 'level-2 variables'.

HLM is useful for analysing grouped data when groups differ in the number of observations they contain, and when some groups have small numbers of observations (Nezlek, Richardson, Green, & Schatten-Jones, 2002). In this study there were 180 participants, across 41 schools. The number of participants per school varied from 1 to 25. In this study there was 1 level-1 outcome variable, and 2 level-1 predictors. Given the number of participants, the sample size was adequate, as Raudenbush and Bryk's (2002) 10-to-1 rule of observations-to-predictors was satisfied.

A forward step process of model building was used, as outlined by Luke (2004). In this study, the model building process consisted of 3 steps. In step 1, a Null Model containing no predictors was tested to determine whether there was enough variance in the outcome variable to be explained by level-1 and level-2 predictor variables. In step 2, a Random Coefficients Model was tested. This model contained level-1 predictors and random error terms. In step 3, a Contextual Model was tested by adding level-2 predictors. As there was no theoretical justification for testing for an interaction between level-1 and level-2 variables, an interaction model was not tested. According to this model building process, the explained variance at level-1 and level-2 is tested at each step, to determine whether there is enough variance remaining to justify the addition of predictors in further steps, and at each step, any non-significant predictors are removed from further analyses.

Grand-mean centring was used on all predictor variables. Grand-mean centring involves subtracting the overall mean from each observation. This technique minimises potential estimation problems caused by multicollinearity (correlated predictor variables), and is the most appropriate centring technique given the theoretical motivation of this study (i.e. to determine the effect of a level-2 predictor variable on a level-1 outcome variable, having partialled out the effect of level-1 predictor variables; Hofman & Gavin, 1998). Maximum Likelihood Estimation was used, as this estimation technique allows for model fit comparisons to be made between models, using a likelihood ratio test (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Study 2 Results

Descriptive Statistics

The means and standard deviations for the level-1 and level-2 variable are presented in Table 14.

Table 14. Descriptive Statistics for Level-1 and Level-2 Variables

	Mean	Standard Deviation
<i>Level-1 Outcome Variable</i>		
Time 3 Ethnic Identity	3.74	.70
<i>Level-1 Predictor Variables</i>		
Time 1 Ethnic Identity	3.75	.70
Time 1 Māori Cultural Engagement	.16	.65
<i>Level-2 Predictor Variables</i>		
Decile	6.02	3.39
Māori Cultural Promotion	2.39	2.01

Hierarchical Linear Modelling

A 4-step process of model building was followed, as outlined above.

Step 1: Null Model. The Null Model, containing no predictor variables, was tested to determine the variance in the outcome variable at level-1 and level-2. Refer to Figure 10 for the null model equation.

Figure 10. Ethnic Identity Null Model

Level 1 Model	$y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + r_{ij}$
Level 2 Model	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j}$

In the Level 1 Model, the y_{ij} term represents an observed Time 3 Ethnic Identity value. The subscript i represents the level-1 unit, in this case the student, and the subscript j represents the level-2 unit, in this case the school. Therefore, in this model, y_{ij} is the Time 3 Ethnic Identity score of student ‘ i ’ at school ‘ j ’.

The β_{0j} term represents the mean y_{ij} across all students at each school, i.e. the mean Time 3 Ethnic Identity score for all students at school ‘ j ’. The term r_{ij} represents error, i.e. the variability in the Time 3 Ethnic Identity score of student ‘ i ’ that is not explained by the school that the student attends.

In the Level 2 Model, γ_{00} represents the overall mean across all schools, and u_{0j} represents error, i.e. the difference between the overall mean, and the mean for school ‘ j ’.

Results showed variance at level-1 was .42, and variance at level-2 was .07. The intra-class correlation (ICC) was calculated to determine the proportion of variance explained by the grouping of data. The following formula, presented in Figure 11, was

used, where ρ equals the ICC, τ_{00} equals the variance at level-2, and θ^2 equals the variance and level-1.

Figure 11. ICC Formula

$$\rho = \frac{\tau_{00}}{\tau_{00} + \theta^2}$$

The ICC for the null model ($.07/ (.42 + .07)$) was .14, indicating that schools accounted for 14% of the variance in Time 3 Ethnic Identity. The chi-square test of variance between groups also yielded a significant result ($\chi^2(40) = 72.13, p < 0.01$), indicating that schools differed significantly in Time 3 Ethnic Identity. These results justify the use of multi-levels in further models presented in this study (Kreft & De Leeuw, 1998).

Step 2: Random Coefficients Model. Level-1 predictor variables were added in the Random Coefficients Model to assess if they significantly predicted Time 3 Ethnic Identity. The Random Coefficients Model equation is presented in Figure 12 below. In the Random Coefficients Model, y_{ij} , β_{0j} , r_{ij} , γ_{00} , and u_{0j} are defined as above, and β_{1j} represents the regression coefficient for Time 1 Ethnic Identity for school ‘j’, and β_{2j} represents the regression coefficient for Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement for school ‘j’. γ_{10} and γ_{20} represent the regression coefficients for Time 1 Ethnic Identity and Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement across all schools, respectively, while u_{1j} and u_{2j} represent the error terms, i.e. the difference between the overall regression coefficient and school ‘j’ regression coefficient for Time 1 Ethnic Identity and Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement, respectively.

Figure 12. *Ethnic Identity Random Coefficients Model (with Level-1 Predictors)*

Level 1 Model	$y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{Time 1 Ethnic Identity}) + \beta_{2j}(\text{Time 1 Māori Cultural Engagement}) + r_{ij}$
Level 2 Model	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j}$
	$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + u_{1j}$
	$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + u_{2j}$

The Random Coefficients Model results showed that Time 1 Ethnic identity significantly positively predicted Time 3 Ethnic identity ($\gamma_{10} = .29, t = 4.91, p < .001$). Coefficients in HLM are interpreted like coefficients in regressions, as they represent the amount of change in the outcome variable for every 1 standard deviation of change in the predictor variable (Nezlek et al., 2002). In this case, for every 1 standard deviation of increase in Time 1 Ethnic Identity, Time 3 Ethnic Identity increased by .29.

The Random Coefficients Model results also showed that Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement significantly positively predicted Time 3 Ethnic identity ($\gamma_{20} = .31, t = 4.73, p < .001$), which means that for every 1 standard deviation of increase in Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement, Time 3 Ethnic Identity increased by .31.

The Random Coefficients Model variance at level-1 was .33, and the variance at level-2 was .03. The ICC ($.03/ (.33 + .03)$) was .08, indicating that school differences accounted for 8% of the variance in Time 3 Ethnic Identity. Despite the decrease in the proportion of variance explained by school differences resulting from the addition of level-1 predictors in Model 1, the between school variance remained significant ($\chi^2(40) = 58.72, p < 0.05$). Therefore, there is variance in Time 3 Ethnic Identity that could potentially be explained by adding level-2 predictor variables to the model.

Step 3: Contextualised Model. Level 2 predictor variables were added in the Contextualised Model (refer to Figure 13). In this model the additional terms γ_{01} and γ_{02} represent the effect of School Decile on Time 3 Ethnic Identity, and the effect of School level **Māori** Cultural Promotion on Time 3 Ethnic Identity, respectively.

Figure 13. *Ethnic Identity Contextualised Model (with Level-1 and Level-2 Predictors)*

Level 1 Model	$y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{Time 1 Ethnic Identity}) + \beta_{2j}(\text{Time 1 Māori Cultural Engagement}) + r_{ij}$
Level 2 Model	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{Decile}) + \gamma_{02}(\text{Māori Cultural Promotion}) + u_{0j}$
	$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + u_{1j}$
	$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + u_{2j}$

Results showed that school decile did not significantly predict Time 3 Ethnic Identity ($\gamma_{01} = .02, t = 0.82, p = .42$). However, school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion significantly predicted Time 3 Ethnic Identity ($\gamma_{02} = .06, t = 2.23, p < .05$). This means that in this sample, the higher the school level of Māori Cultural Promotion, the higher the students' level of Time 3 Ethnic Identity was likely to be. This finding confirms the hypothesis of this study.

The results for the Contextualised Model showed variance at level-1 was .33, and the variance at level 2 was .01. The ICC ($.01 / (.33 + .01)$) was .03, indicating that school differences accounted for 3% of the remaining variance in Time 3 Ethnic Identity. In this model with the level-2 predictors added (and therefore the effect of school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion accounted for), the between school variance was no longer significant ($\chi^2(38) = 53.04, p > .05$). As the results of the Contextualised Model suggested there was no longer significant variance in Time 3 Ethnic Identity to be accounted for, Step 4 of the model building process (where interaction terms between level-1 and level-2 variables are included) was not justified.

Model Fit

To see which of the three models presented above fitted the data best, assessments of model fit were conducted (fit statistics presented in Table 15). The Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) was calculated for each of the three models, using the formula presented in Figure 14, where 'Deviance' is a measure of likelihood.

Figure 14. AIC Formula

$$\text{AIC} = (\text{Deviance}) + (2 * \text{number of estimated parameters})$$

Lower AIC values represent better fit (Bickel, 2007). Results of this analysis showed that Model 2 had the best fit ($AIC = 333.72$, refer to Table 15).

Table 15. Ethnic Identity Models

	Null Model	Random Coefficients Model	Contextualised Model
Level-1 Variance	.42	.33	.33
Level-2 Variance	.07	.03	.01
Estimated parameters	3	5	7
DF	40	40	38
Deviance	373.44	324.09	319.72
AIC	379.44	334.09	333.72

A likelihood ratio test was then performed to determine whether the fit of the Contextualised Model was significantly different from the Null Model (where $\chi^2 = [(\text{Deviance}_{\text{Null Model}}) - (\text{Deviance}_{\text{Final Model}})]$, and degrees of freedom = $[(\text{DF}_{\text{Null Model}}) - (\text{DF}_{\text{Final Model}})]$). The result of this test showed that the Contextualised Model was significantly different from the Null Model ($\chi^2 = 53.73(2)$, $p < .001$). The Contextualised Model was therefore selected as the final model.

Summary

The final model included level-1 and level-2 predictors of Time 3 Ethnic Identity. At level-1, both Time 1 Ethnic Identity, and Time 1 **Māori** Cultural Engagement positively predicted Time 3 Ethnic Identity. At level-2, **Māori** Cultural Promotion positively predicted Time 3 Ethnic Identity. However, School decile did not predict Time 3 Ethnic Identity. The results of this study demonstrate that the higher the level of **Māori** Cultural Promotion at a school, the higher the level of students' Ethnic Identity is likely to be, having controlled for the effects of students' prior Ethnic Identity scores, prior **Māori** Cultural Engagement scores, and school decile. Therefore, the results support Hypothesis 5.

Study 2 Discussion

Study 2 was designed to explore school contextual influences on adolescent identity development. Measurements of ethnic identity, and **Māori** cultural engagement were collected at three occasions, each separated by one year, from **Māori** adolescents at a number of schools across the North Island. As schools are institutions that are influential to ethnic identity development (Lysne & Levy, 1997), school characteristics that might influence **Māori** ethnic identity development were assessed. A scale measuring the level of **Māori** Cultural Promotion at the schools was constructed, using publically available information, such as whether the school offers classes in **te reo Māori**, and whether the school participated in **Māori** cultural and sporting events.

Hierarchical linear modelling (HLM) was used to assess the effect of **Māori** Cultural Promotion in schools on ethnic identity development, having controlled for the effects of school decile, and students' prior **Māori** cultural engagement and ethnic identity scores. It was hypothesised that school level **Māori** Cultural Promotion would be a significant predictor of Time 3 Ethnic Identity.

The results of Study 2 supported this hypothesis. School level **Māori** cultural promotion was found to significantly predict ethnic identity. This finding is consistent with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, which states that contextual factors within systems external to the individual influence individual development. This finding is also consistent with research demonstrating an effect of school environment on ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, 2004), and Lysne and Levy's (1997) suggestion that culturally embedded schooling promotes ethnic identity development.

This finding indicates that institutions such as schools shape individuals' psychological development. Therefore, interventions at the level of the school could be undertaken in order to improve the psychological wellbeing of individual students. For example, a school intervention to increase levels of **Māori** cultural promotion could be implemented in order to increase the strength of **Māori** students' ethnic identity. This type of intervention could then have positive flow-on effects, as ethnic identity has been linked to a range of positive outcomes, such as psychological wellbeing and perceptions of academic achievement ability (Smith et al., 1999).

This study was limited as it used a measure of **Māori** cultural Promotion based on publically available information only. Future studies could gain more in-depth information on **Māori** Cultural Promotion by contacting schools directly and requesting that a survey on the school be completed. As well as determining the **Māori** curricular

and extra-curricular activities offered, surveys would allow researchers to gather more information on schools, for example whether schools have **Māori** cultural spaces, such as **marae**, and the percentage of **Māori** staff at the school.

Summary

Study 2 assessed the effect of school level **Māori** cultural promotion on individual **Māori** ethnic identity development. The results confirmed that the higher the level of **Māori** cultural promotion at a school, the higher the ethnic identity of students was likely to be. As ethnic identity has implication on psychological wellbeing, the results of this study imply that there is an incentive for schools to provide learning environments that affirm **Māori** culture and are therefore conducive to secure **Māori** identity development.

Conclusion

The results presented in this chapter suggest that **Māori** cultural engagement predicts **Māori** ethnic identity, and that **Māori** ethnic identity predicts psychological wellbeing. The results in this chapter also suggest that school environments shape **Māori** adolescent identity development, and that the more a school promotes **Māori** culture, the more secure the ethnic identity of the school's students is likely to be.

This chapter explored relationships between the Western psychological concepts of ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing. Although these terms relate to individual internal psychological experiences, the results presented in this chapter suggest that identity and wellbeing, even when narrowly defined, are intimately connected with cultural engagement and social contexts.

The results presented in this chapter suggest that the psychological health of young **Māori** depends on the strength of their ethnic identity, which is shaped by the level of access they have to **Māori** language, knowledge, and cultural institutions. The results presented in this chapter also identify schools as institutions that are critical to ethnic identity development, and challenge schools to promote **Māori** culture in order to affirm **Māori** identities.

Chapter 6: General Discussion

The purpose of this thesis was to explore relationships between **Māori** culture, identity and wellbeing, and to assess the impact of school environments on **Māori** adolescent identity development. Five specific research questions were put forward and interrogated (refer to Table 16).

Table 16. *Thesis Research Questions*

Overarching Research Question:	Specific Research Questions:
What are the relationships between Māori cultural engagement, Māori identity, and psychological wellbeing in the context of State secondary schools in 21 st Century Aotearoa ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">6. What methodological considerations are critical to inquiries into diverse Māori identities in 21st Century Aotearoa?7. What contextual factors do Māori identify as being conducive to the development of secure Māori identities in State secondary schools?8. How are diverse Māori identities negotiated in 21st Century Aotearoa?9. What are the relationships between Māori cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing?10. How do school cultural environments influence the development of diverse Māori identities?

These research questions were addressed in this thesis. In this general discussion, the results from studies presented earlier in the thesis will be summarised, and then incorporated into a conceptual framework. The purpose of this overall conceptual framework is not to subsume models and frameworks presented in earlier chapters, but rather as a visual aid in understanding how the separate studies presented in this thesis fit together.

The Waka Hourua Research Framework

A novel methodological framework for conducting research into diverse **Māori** realities was put forward, entitled The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework. This framework was developed through dialogue with a **Māori** community who were conducting a cultural initiative at a State secondary school. The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework responds to the dominant approach in research involving **Māori**

that has excluded **Māori** from knowledge production and from sharing the benefits of research (Bishop, 1999), and draws on aspects of **Kaupapa Māori** research (see Bishop, 1999; Smith, 1999; and Cram, 2001).

The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework uses the double-hulled sailing vessel, used by **Māori** ancestors to migrate to **Aotearoa**¹⁷⁶ and still in use today, as a metaphor to guide the research in this thesis, which is situated at the interface between **mātauranga Māori**¹⁷⁷ and Western science. Incorporating **mātauranga Māori** into the methodological framework affirms the legitimacy of **Māori** knowledge, and recognises the capacity of **Māori** knowledge to be used to generate new knowledge. Incorporating **mātauranga Māori** also acknowledges the connectedness between all things, and compels researchers to incorporate analyses of social, environmental, and historical connections (Williams, 2001b). By accommodating both **mātauranga Māori** and Western knowledge, interface research has the benefit of being able to draw from two knowledge traditions, and reflect the reality of those **Māori** who occupy this interface (Durie, 2005b).

The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework was centred on core values that the **Māori** community and the research team identified as important to the research. The framework also incorporated the guiding principles: **tikanga**¹⁷⁸; **te reo**¹⁷⁹; and **mātauranga Māori**, and outlined the contextual research considerations: diverse realities; power structures; and researcher reflexivity. Within the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework there is also space for ‘additional technologies,’ that is, a space for non-**Māori** knowledge and research approaches to be utilised, where there is benefit in doing so.

Within the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, **Māori** realities were positioned as central, and analyses incorporated **Māori** worldviews and social, political, and historical contexts. This methodological framework was designed in this way to reflect diverse **Māori** realities, and respond to the research priorities of the **Māori** community involved in the research. The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework was applied to subsequent research explorations in this thesis, which combined both **Māori**

¹⁷⁶ New Zealand

¹⁷⁷ **Māori** knowledge

¹⁷⁸ Correct procedures, protocols

¹⁷⁹ **Māori** language

and Western knowledge bases and research methods to produce new, innovative knowledge.

Te Korowai Aroha Framework

A scoping study was presented, based on interviews with the community members who implemented a cultural initiative at a State secondary school. Interviews were analysed and a framework outlining how State secondary schools can affirm diverse **Māori** identities was constructed.

The framework, labelled **Te Korowai Aroha**, responds to general **Māori** dissatisfaction with the education system, recognising that State institutions are instruments of colonisation that have had, and continue to have negative implications for **Māori** (see Walker, 1990), and that underpinning the New Zealand education system is the assumption of Western cultural and intellectual superiority (Bishop & Glynn, 1998).

Te Korowai Aroha Framework follows on from recent **Māori** efforts to improve **Māori** education outcomes. These efforts include the **Kaupapa Māori** movement, which involved structural changes, such as creating balanced power relationships between teachers and students, and between staff and **whānau**¹⁸⁰ (Smith, 1997), as well as initiatives in mainstream education, such as **Te Whāriki** (the early childhood curriculum, Ministry of Education, 1996), and **Ka Hikitia** (the **Māori** education strategy 2008–2012, Ministry of Education 2009). It is within this education climate, founded on colonialism, yet undergoing transformation, that **Te Korowai Aroha** Framework is situated.

Te Korowai Aroha Framework is made up of three key **Kaupapa Māori** principles: **Mana**, **Whanaungatanga**, and **Kotahitanga**. The **Mana** principle promotes treating individuals with respect, upholding their dignity, acknowledging their inherent power, and affirming their cultural identities. This principle conforms to earlier **Māori** research education initiatives that promote respecting individuals' cultural heritage (**Tuuta** et al., 2004), and acknowledge **Tino Rangatiratanga**¹⁸¹ (Smith, 2003). With the **Mana** principle in effect, relationships built on mutual respect can then be built between school staff, **Māori** students and their **whānau**, reflecting the second principle of **Te Korowai Aroha**, **Whanaungatanga**. This principle resonates with

¹⁸⁰ Families

¹⁸¹ **Māori** self-determination

findings from **Te Kotahitanga** that stress the importance of relationships in **Māori** education (Bishop et al., 2003). Building relationships between staff and students is not enough to ensure **Māori** community members' needs are met, however. Wider relationships within the school and across service providers also need to be strengthened and formalised through structural changes and through increased representation of **Māori** in school power structures. This finding affirms previous research that emphasises the need for structural changes in order to improve **Māori** education outcomes (Penetito, 1986; Smith, 1997). With these principles in place, the school becomes an institution that is able to respond to **Māori** needs by going beyond promoting **Māori** academic success to fulfilling a duty of care, and providing **Te Korowai Aroha**¹⁸² that affirms **Māori** identities.

The Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework

The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework was then put forward. This framework draws on both **Māori** and Western psychological knowledge bases, and likens **Māori** identity development to the **pōwhiri**¹⁸³ process, in which **Māori** creation narratives are ritually re-enacted (Royal, 2001).

Unlike earlier trait based models that prescribe particular identity positions, and earlier stage based models that present identity development as a rigid, ordered process, in the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework the identity aspirations of individuals is considered, the develop potential of individuals is affirmed, and **Māori** identity development is conceptualised as a dynamic, iterative process of social negotiations, that individuals can enter and exit at any point, and progress through in any order.

In line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982), the influence of intergroup power dynamics, and social structural barriers to group identification are considered in the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework. In addition, the framework considers the unique experience of **Māori** as Indigenous people within a colonised reality, acknowledges that **Māori** identities can include political components (see **Rata** et al., 2008; and **Houkamau** & Sibley, 2010), and recognises that identity development and cultural action is a form of resistance for oppressed peoples (Freire, 1970).

Through this framework, identity development has been framed as a process of negotiating relationships. The benefits of this framework are that it affirms multiple

¹⁸² Metaphorical expression meaning cloak of love/compassion

¹⁸³ Formal welcoming ceremony

identity positions, and constructs identity as a dynamic process, allowing individuals to make identity transitions. The utility of The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework is that it can help identify those people of **Māori** descent who might benefit from investing in **Māori** identity development, and can help prepare those wishing to undertake an identity development journey.

Cultural Engagement, Ethnic Identity, and Psychological Wellbeing

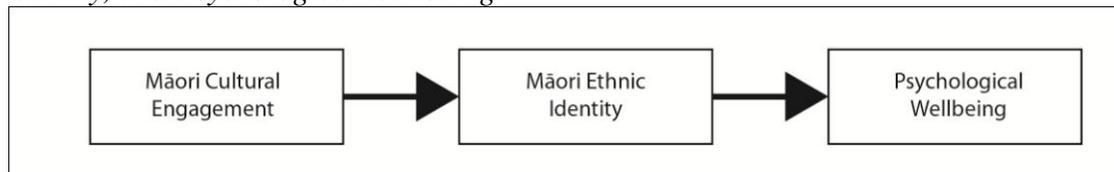
The results from the qualitative studies outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 were used to inform statistical analyses of a national longitudinal survey of adolescents, presented in Chapter 5. In the two quantitative studies presented in Chapter 5, a Western psychological definition of ethnic identity was used, which focused on one's affect, sense of belonging, and commitment to their ethnic group. A Western psychological definition of psychological wellbeing was also used, comprised of one's confidence, aspirations, and positive relations with others. A measure of **Māori** cultural engagement was constructed, which focused on **whakapapa**¹⁸⁴ knowledge, **te reo Māori** proficiency, and **marae**¹⁸⁵ participation. Finally, a measure of school level **Māori** cultural promotion was constructed, using publically available information on the **Māori** curricular and extra-curricular activities offered at schools.

In Study 1, Structural Equation Modelling was used to test for causal relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing. While previous psychological literature has suggested links between ethnic identity and psychological wellbeing (e.g. Phinney, 1992), and researchers have tentatively suggested that culture contributes to the development of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007), longitudinal evidence of causal relationships between **Māori** cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing has not been demonstrated prior to the present research. The results of Study 1 showed evidence for a model in which **Māori** cultural engagement predicted ethnic identity, which, in turn, predicted psychological wellbeing (refer to Figure 15).

¹⁸⁴ Genealogy

¹⁸⁵ **Māori** meeting house

Figure 15. *Predictive Pathways between Māori Cultural Engagement, Māori Ethnic Identity, and Psychological Wellbeing.*



In Study 2, the impact of institutional level **Māori** Cultural Promotion on individuals' Ethnic Identity scores was assessed in a novel **Māori** ethnic identity research design using Hierarchical Linear Modelling on a longitudinal dataset. Results indicated that the higher the level of **Māori** cultural promotion at a school, the higher the ethnic identity of the **Māori** students of that school was likely to be.

The results of Study 2 confirm Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, which highlights the impact of contextual variables, such as institutional policies on individual development. The results of Study 2 also support previous research that has tentatively suggested that culturally embedded school environments promote the development of secure ethnic identities (Lysne & Levy, 1997). In addition, the results of Study 2 lend support for **Te Korowai Aroha** Framework, which suggests that transforming social institutions to meet the needs of **Māori** communities results in institutional environments that are more conducive to the development of secure **Māori** identities. The results of Study 2 represent a shift in the focus of ethnic identity research from the individual to the social context as a site that can not only explain individual identity development, but can also undergo transformation in order to benefit individual outcomes.

Summary of Research Outcomes

The research outcomes corresponding to each research question are presented in Table 17.

Table 17. Research Questions and Outcomes

Research Questions:	Research Outcomes:
1. What methodological considerations are critical to inquiries into diverse Māori identities in 21 st Century Aotearoa ?	1. The Waka Hourua Research Framework: Methodological framework for researching diverse, contextualised Māori identities, at the interface of mātauranga Māori and Western science
2. What contextual factors do Māori identify as being conducive to the development of secure Māori identities in State secondary schools?	2. Te Korowai Aroha Framework: Informs initiatives designed to promote Māori identities in State secondary schools
3. How are diverse Māori identities negotiated in 21 st Century Aotearoa ?	3. The Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework: Guides those wishing to increase Māori cultural engagement
4. What are the relationships between Māori cultural engagement, ethnic identity, and psychological wellbeing?	4. Statistical model outlining predictive pathway from Māori cultural engagement, to Māori ethnic identity, and from Māori ethnic identity, to psychological wellbeing
5. How do school cultural environments influence the development of diverse Māori identities?	5. Statistical model outlining influence of institutions on identity development

In the following section, these research outcomes will be integrated into a conceptual framework, called **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**¹⁸⁶. Many **Māori** scholars (e.g. Durie, 2005b) have developed frameworks as a way of articulating complex issues at the interface of **mātauranga** and Western knowledge systems, and visual aids such as **whakairo**¹⁸⁷, and **tā moko**¹⁸⁸ are commonly used for storing and communicating **Māori** knowledge (Roberts & Wills, 1998). The key purpose of this framework is to bring together the **Māori** and Western psychological discourses that have been presented throughout the thesis, and integrate the research findings into a conceptual whole.

¹⁸⁶ The young fern frond of **Māori** identity

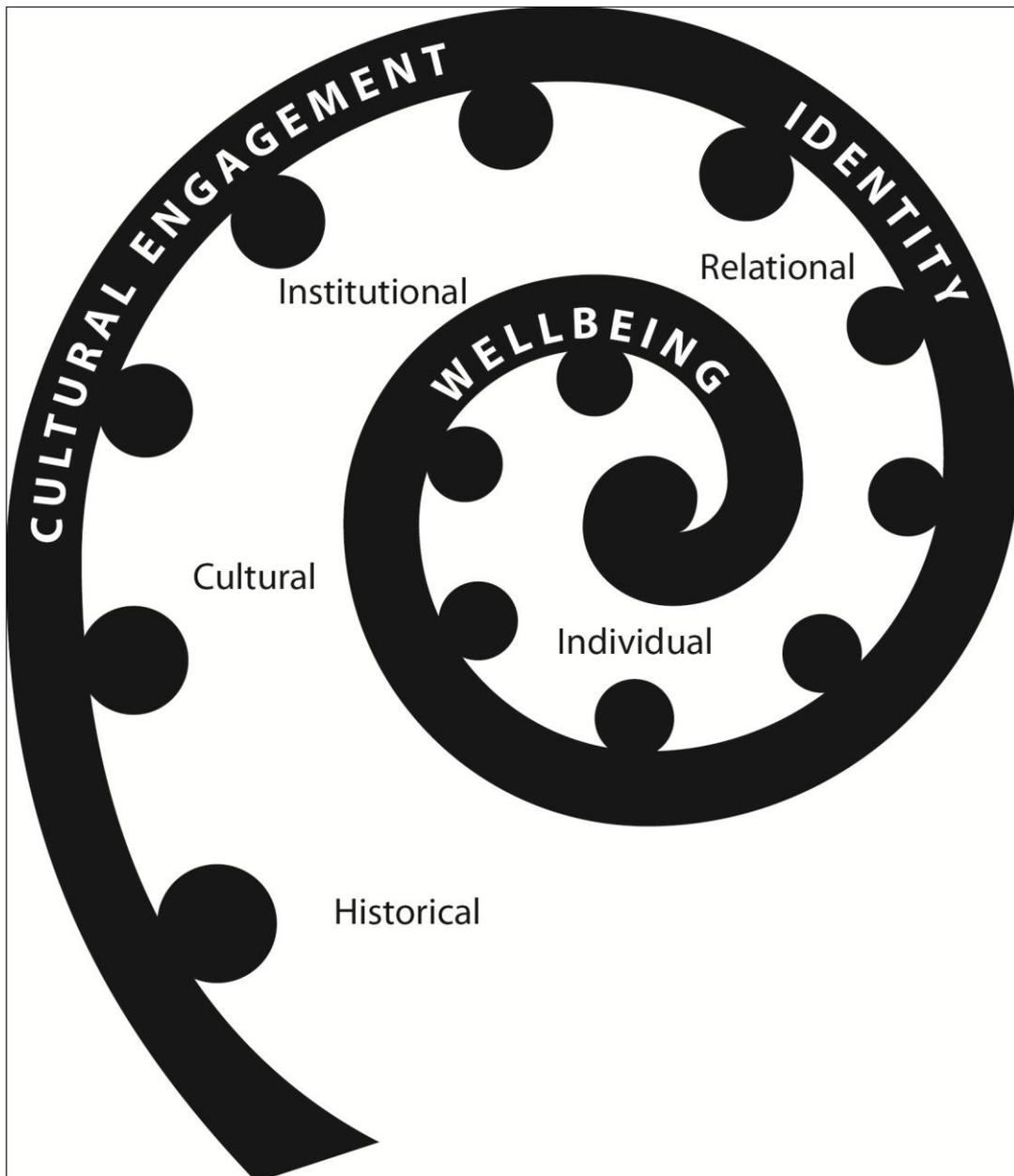
¹⁸⁷ Carving

¹⁸⁸ Māori tattoo

Te Pītau o te Tuakiri

This conceptual framework is based on the **pītau**, or young fern frond. The **pītau** symbolises growth and development, and is commonly depicted in **Māori** visual arts. In this framework, presented in Figure 16, the solid black spiral forms an image of the fern frond, representing an individual's **Māori** identity development, while the negative white space forms a perforated spiral image, representing the context within which development occurs. Both images are interdependent, as a change in one image affects the other. The interdependence of the images represents the interplay between the individual and the environmental context.

Figure 16. *Te Pītau o te Tuakiri*



This conceptual framework also draws on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, which outlines how contextual systems influence individual development. Bronfenbrenner's theory is presented as six concentric circles. Starting from the innermost circle, and moving outwards, the six circles represent: (1) the individual; (2) the micro-system, which includes the social settings that the individual interacts with, for example family, peers, school, etc; (3) the meso-system, which represents how different micro-systems interact; (4) the exo-system, representing systems that are not directly interacted with, yet still exert influence over the individual, for example the Government system, the education system, the economic system, etc ; (5) the macro-system, representing cultural beliefs and values; and (6) the chrono-system, which represents the historical context.

In **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**, Bronfenbrenner's systems have been simplified to five levels which are: (1) the individual level; (2) the relational level; (3) the institutional level; (4) the cultural level; and (5) the historical level. By incorporating both the **pītau** pattern from **Māori** carving, and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri** emphasises the interaction between the individual and the environmental context (depicted by interdependence of the solid spiral image representing the individual, and the negative-space spiral image representing the environmental context). The results presented earlier in this thesis will now be considered alongside the conceptual framework, **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**.

Te Pītau o te Tuakiri and The Waka Hourua Research Framework

Key aspects of the **Waka Hourua** Research Framework are embodied in **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**. **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri** recognises the impact of historical, cultural, and political contexts on individuals' lives, and therefore the importance of incorporating an analysis of these contextual factors in research with individuals. **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri** also recognises that influence that is exerted between the individual and the socio-political context is not uni-directional, but rather bidirectional, as individuals can transform the environment within which they exist. Therefore, **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri** reflects The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework, as it recognises the capacity of individuals and collectives to challenge power structures and transform their social realities.

Te Pītau o te Tuakiri and Te Korowai Aroha Framework

The **Te Korowai Aroha** Framework also acknowledges the interplay between individuals and their environmental contexts. The environmental context of the State secondary school is seen to impact individual identity development, and the ability of individuals to transform State secondary schools is affirmed. Positive changes can be made at the individual level (**Mana**), the relational level (**Whanaungatanga**), and the institutional level (**Kotahitanga**) to create State schools that respond to **Māori** needs, and provide an educational environment that is conducive to the development of secure **Māori** identities.

Te Pītau o te Tuakiri and The Pōwhiri Identity Negotiation Framework

The interplay between the individual and their environmental context outlined in **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri** is also a feature of the **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework, which describes identity development as a negotiation process between the individual and the social context. The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework draws on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982), Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1982), and Freire's (1970) conscientisation process to account for the influences of historical, cultural, institutional, and relational contexts on individual identity development. The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework also affirms the individual's ability to transform their social context, in line with Freire's (1970) dialogical action. The identity development potential of individuals, central to The **Pōwhiri** Identity Negotiation Framework, is captured by the image of the unfurling fern frond.

Te Pītau o te Tuakiri and Quantitative Studies 1 and 2

The results of the quantitative studies are also captured in **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**. In Study 1, the Structural Equation Model demonstrated that **Māori** people vary in their knowledge of **whakapapa Māori**¹⁸⁹, and access to **Māori** culture (such as **tikanga**, **te reo**, and **mātauranga Māori**) and **Māori** institutions (such as **marae**¹⁹⁰), and that these contextual variables impact on individuals' sense of ethnic identity, and their psychological wellbeing. The variables 'cultural engagement,' 'identity,' and 'wellbeing' are presented on the fern frond. In addition, in Study 2, the Hierarchical Linear Model demonstrated the impact of State secondary school environments on individual identity development. This impact of institutional context on individual development is also reflected in **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**.

¹⁸⁹ **Māori** history and genealogy

¹⁹⁰ **Māori** meeting houses

Limitations

This thesis outlines research located in the context of State secondary schools. Focusing on this context allowed an in depth analysis of the school context, and the impact of school characteristics on **Māori** adolescent identity development. However, the findings may be limited in their ability to be generalised outside of the mainstream education sector. For example, it is possible that research undertaken in **Māori** cultural contexts, such as **Kura Kaupapa Māori**¹⁹¹, **Kura-a-Iwi**¹⁹², or **whakapapa**-based **marae** located within tribal territories would result in research that is more **whānau** centred and geographically rooted than the research presented in this thesis.

The present thesis may also have been limited by the ad hoc construction of a scale of **Māori** cultural engagement, based on questions present in the Youth Connectedness Project survey data, and by using publically available information on schools to construct the measure of school **Māori** Cultural Promotion. These scales were constructed in this way given the time and budget constraints of the PhD process.

Future Research

Future research could address these limitations. Firstly, inquiries into **iwi**¹⁹³ identity development, located at **whakapapa**-based institutions could be conducted. Secondly, further investigations into school level variables that influence **Māori** identity development could include survey data collected from school principals. Through this process, a more comprehensive measure of school level **Māori** cultural promotion could be generated, which could include such variables as whether the school has a **marae** or other **Māori** cultural space, or the percentage of teachers at the school who are **Māori**. In addition, future research could incorporate statistical analyses of ethnic identity before and after cultural initiatives, to assess the impact of such initiatives on **Māori** students' ethnic identities.

Recommendations

The results of this thesis are used to propose a series of recommendations as follows in Table 18.

¹⁹¹ **Māori** immersion schools

¹⁹² Tribal schools

¹⁹³ Tribe, confederation of tribes

Table 18. Thesis Recommendations

Recommendations for Māori Psychology Researchers

- Affirm diverse **Māori** realities and identity positions
- Include an analysis of socio-politico-historical context in research involving **Māori**
- Recognise social context as a site of transformation
- Combine **mātauranga Māori** and Western psychological knowledge bases to generate new knowledge, when there is benefit to **Māori** in doing so

Recommendations for tangata wishing to become more engaged in Te Ao Māori

- Know what to expect when exploring **Māori** identity
- Expect to be challenged at times, and welcomed at other times
- Expect some psychological difficulty
- Expect to negotiate relationships with others
- Know how to facilitate identity development by:
 - building cultural competencies (e.g. **te reo Māori** proficiency)
 - taking part in cultural action (e.g. **raranga, waiata, waka ama**)
 - using social support networks
 - giving back to **Māori** communities

Recommendations for Māori students' and their whānau

- Insist that schools provide opportunities for **Māori** cultural engagement, and affirm **Māori** identity development
- Be involved in school decision making (e.g. establish **Māori whānau** group that is represented on the Board of Trustees).
- Expect teachers to have the cultural competence to work with **Māori** students

Recommendations for mainstream schooling sector

- Ensure **Māori** students' cultural engagement and ethnic identity is enriched by their experiences at school
- Provide opportunities for **Māori** to engage in **Māori** culture
- Remove barriers from **Māori** participating in cultural activities at school (e.g. ensuring those who participate are not viewed negatively by school community by promoting **Māori** cultural activities positively within the school)
- Provide opportunities for **Māori** parents to engage with the school (e.g. by providing a culturally appropriate point of contact)
- Make **Māori** student engagement and success an integrated, school-wide responsibility
- Prioritise staff professional development in **Māori** cultural competence

Recommendations for education policy makers

- Promote **Māori** identity, language, and culture in schools
 - Develop educational courses to prepare **Māori** students to participate in, and contribute positively to **Māori** society (e.g. courses in: **Tikanga Māori - Marae Protocol**; **Hauora Māori - Māori Health and Wellbeing**; **Kōrero o Mua – Māori history**; and **Whakapapa Māori – Māori Genealogy**)
 - Increase **tikanga, te reo**, and **mātauranga Māori** content in teacher training
-

Conclusion

This thesis explored **Māori** identities in 21st Century **Aotearoa**. The **Waka Hourua** Research Framework constructed for this thesis allowed knowledge to be drawn from both **Māori** and Western scientific knowledge traditions, and combined to produce distinct, innovative knowledge that is capable of informing both knowledge traditions. This methodological framework can be used to guide future **Māori** psychology research, as the framework facilitates contextualised research, based on **Māori** realities, that is able to respond to **Māori** research priorities.

From this methodological basis, the relationships between culture, identity, and wellbeing were explored, and the role of State secondary schools in supporting ethnic identity development was assessed. **Mātauranga Māori** and Western scientific discourses informed the research, and qualitative and quantitative methods were applied. The results from these studies suggested that **Māori** cultural engagement supported the development of secure **Māori** identities, and that secure **Māori** identities promoted psychological wellbeing. The results also showed that the cultural environment of State secondary schools impacted on individual identity development. This finding suggests that cultural initiatives in schools can create environments that are more conducive to the development of secure **Māori** identities. These results were incorporated into **Te Pītau o te Tuakiri**, a conceptual framework that affirms individual identity positions and development potential, recognises the impact of contextual factors on identity development, and highlights the benefit of secure identities to wellbeing. Finally, recommendations based on these findings were put forward to affirm **Māori** identity growth, that is, to nurture **te pītau o te tuakiri**.

As this PhD process nears its end, I reflect on the identity transitions I have made during this the process. Being a **Māori** PhD student affords many opportunities, but it also brings many challenges, responsibilities, and expectations, for example, the expectation that you must be proficient in all things **Māori**, which has served to exacerbate the inadequacy I feel as a **Māori** person with limited knowledge of **Te Ao Māori**.

To address this inadequacy, throughout my university studies I have picked up papers in **Māori** studies. The first **Māori** paper I enrolled in was **Māori 101**, Introduction to **Māori** Language. This was the first time in my educational history that I had had a **Māori** teacher. I remember looking at my lecturer, **Arini** Loader, in absolute awe. She was an intelligent, articulate, and capable **Māori** woman academic, and an excellent role-model. As I look back now, I am struck with sadness and disappointment that it was not until I was in my mid-twenties that I had a role-model such as **Arini** in an educational setting.

I also remember my first test in **Māori 101**. It was a short vocabulary test, worth only a few percentage points. But when I sat this test, I found that my heart was beating out of my chest, and my palms were sweating in a way that no 3-hour exam in the Faculty of Science had ever provoked. This knowledge was so important to me, and the pressure to give this knowledge the appropriate respect was almost crippling. This was also a moment where my overwhelming sense of inadequacy with regard to **Māori** knowledge, language, and culture hit home.

In addition to enrolling in **Māori** Studies papers, whilst studying towards my PhD I have spent time at **Te Tumu Herenga Waka**, our **marae**¹⁹⁵ at University. Like the **Māori** secondary school students I interviewed for my PhD research, for me this **marae** on campus has provided a gateway to **Te Ao Māori**¹⁹⁶, and a learning space where mistakes are tolerated, and competencies are developed.

Developing **Māori** cultural competencies is such a long process that it is difficult to recognise progress. However, a few years ago my sister and I attended the

¹⁹⁴ To take leave of (Williams, 1957)

¹⁹⁵ **Māori** meeting house

¹⁹⁶ The **Māori** World

tangi¹⁹⁷ of our well-loved **Koro Kingi** Hoppy Hetet, at **Te Kūiti**. Some of our Nannies¹⁹⁸ were fussing over my sister, telling-her-off for not following protocols, and putting a blanket over her for not wearing the appropriate clothing. My sister leaned over to me and said, “I’m in cultural hell”. At that moment, realising that in contrast to my sister’s discomfort I was quite comfortable, I was given an insight into how much my experiences at **Te Tumu Herenga Waka** had given me.

At this point, I would say that I have a fairly secure **Māori** identity. I feel as though I have completed a cycle of identity negotiation, yet there are many more iterations of the identity negotiation process to come. Having found some secure footing for my **Māori** identity, I feel better positioned to begin to negotiate my ‘**iwitanga**’, ‘**hapūtanga**’, and ‘**whānautanga**’¹⁹⁹.

The need I have to develop these identities was highlighted at the end of last year, when my Dad’s little brother John **Rata** unexpectedly passed away. We brought him back from Western Australia to **Taranaki**, and then the **whānau**²⁰⁰ from **Ngāti Maniapoto** came and ‘**tono**’ed²⁰¹ to take him back to **Te Kūiti**. The **tangi** was an incredibly difficult time for our **whānau**. As well as dealing with the disbelief and grief at the loss of our Uncle, we were also in the precarious position of trying to navigate unfamiliar cultural territory, and were receiving many challenges to our ‘**whānautanga**’ and our ‘**iwitanga**’ from our **whanaunga**²⁰². Once again, some of my **whānau** were in ‘cultural hell’. I felt much more equipped to deal with this context than many of my **whānau**. But being able to grieve for lost loved ones is an essential part of life, and it is overwhelmingly sad that I have had to come to University (an exclusive institution that many do not have access to) to begin to learn how to do this.

While this on-going journey has been difficult, I have been blessed to have had the support of many great **Māori** mentors and friends along the way, who have educated me, challenged me, and forced me to re-negotiate my identity many times. I have also been fortunate to have received support from organisations such as **MAI te Kupenga**²⁰³, who have affirmed my identity as **Māori**, as an academic, and as a **Māori** academic.

¹⁹⁷ **Māori** process of farewelling those that have passed away

¹⁹⁸ Women of our grandparents’ generation

¹⁹⁹ **Penetito** (2011) uses the terms **iwitanga**, **hapūtanga**, and **whānautanga** to refer to tribal identity, subtribal identity, and family identity, respectively.

²⁰⁰ Family

²⁰¹ **Tono** means to request or challenge. In this case, the challenge was to take the deceased.

²⁰² Relative

²⁰³ **MAI te Kupenga** is a National programme that supports **Māori** and Indigenous doctoral students

Although this thesis writing journey has come to an end, the development of my ‘Māoritanga’²⁰⁴, ‘iwitanga’, ‘hapūtanga’, and ‘whānautanga’ is ongoing, and will no doubt develop, alongside my whānau, in many new directions in the future.

**Kua tae atu ahau ki te wāhanga whakamutunga o tēnei tohu kairangi.
Ahakoa he tīmatanga noa iho tēnei o te ara mātauranga, he tīmatanga tonu. Nei
rā āku ake tirohanga ki te ao e ora nei au, me taku tūmanako ka tautoko tēnei
tuhinga i tō haerenga hoki.**

Kia hora te marino

Kia whakapapa pounamu te moana

Kia tere te kārohirohi

I mua i tōu huarahi

²⁰⁴ Māori identity

Glossary

- Ao** – world
- Aotearoa** – New Zealand
- Aroha** – love, compassion
- Atua** – deity, natural element
- Aukaha** - lashings
- Awa** - river
- Haka** – war dance
- Hapū** – tribe, subtribe
- Hapūtanga** – hapū identity
- Hongi** – greeting involving the pressing of noses
- Hui** – meeting
- I Mua** - before
- Ihu** - bow
- Iwi** – tribe, confederation of tribes
- Iwitanga** - iwi identity
- Kai** – food, eat
- Kaimahi** - worker
- Kaitiaki** – guardian
- Kaiwhakatere** - sailor
- Kapa haka** – Māori performing arts
- Karakia** - prayer
- Karanga** – call of welcome
- Kaumātua** - elder
- Kaupapa** – agenda, theme
- Kaupapa Māori** – Māori philosophy
- Kawa** - protocol
- Kāraho** - deck
- Koha** – to donate, donation
- Kore** - nothing
- Kotahitanga** - unity
- Kōhanga reo** – Māori immersion pre-school
- Kōwhaiwhai** – painted decorations

Kura - school
Kura Kaupapa – Māori immersion primary school
Kura-a-Iwi – iwi based Māori immersion school
Mahau - porch
Manuhiri - guest
Maihi - mast
Mana – pride, authority, prestige
Manaakitanga - hospitality
Marae – ancestral meeting house, ceremonial area
Marae ātea – area in front of the ancestral meeting house where ceremonies are performed
Marae-ā-kura – school-based marae
Matuku - curse
Maunga - mountain
Māori – Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
Māoritanga – Māori identity
Mārama – light, to understand
Mātauranga - knowledge
Mihi - greeting
Mihi whakatau – semi-formal welcoming ceremony
Moana – ocean, lake
Mokopuna - grandchild
Mōteatea - chant
Noa – safe, profane
Paeke – protocol where local speakers speak first, followed by visitors
Pītau – young fern frond
Pō - night
Pōwhiri – formal welcome
Pūāwai - blossom
Pūtangitangi – duck
Rangatahi - youth
Raranga - weaving
Rā – sail

Rā ngongohau – staysail
Riu - hull
Rūnanga – tribal council
Taha - side
Tangata whenua - people of the land
Taniko - embroidery
Taonga – treasure
Taonga tuku iho – ancestral treasures, cultural heritage
Tangi – funeral, cry
Tapu – sacred, prohibited
Tauparapara - traditional chant
Taura - rigging ropes
Tautohetohe - debate
Tā - stern
Tā moko – traditional tattoo
Te – the
Te Ao Māori – the Māori World
Te Moana Nui a Kiwa – The Pacific Ocean
Te reo Māori – the Māori language
Te reo me ōna tikanga – Māori language and culture
Tikanga - protocol
Tipu – to grow
Tino rangatiratanga - self determination
Tīpuna – ancestor/s
Toa – soldier
Tohunga – expert, doctor, priest
Tuakiri – identity
Tukutuku – lattice work
Tūrangawaewae – place of belonging
Urungi - steering paddle
Ututu – speaking protocol where speaking rights alternate between local people and visitors
Waerea – incantation used for protection
Waewae tapu – visitor who has not yet been welcomed

Waiata – song
Wairua - spirit
Waka – sailing vessel
Waka ama – outrigger canoe
Waka hourua – double-hulled sailing vessel
Wānanga – discussion forum
Wero - challenge
Whaiao - predawn
Whaikōrero – oratory
Whakaaraara - shout, warning cry
Whakaeke – to arrive or enter a **marae**
Whakairo – carving
Whakaiti – to diminish
Whakanoa – to make profane/safe
Whakapapa – genealogy
Whakataukī - proverb
Whakawhanaunga – to build relationships
Whakawhanaungatanga – relationship building
Whare kura – **Māori** immersion secondary school
Whare maire – traditional house of learning
Whare mata - traditional house of learning
Whare pūrākau – traditional house of learning
Whare tīpuna – ancestral house
Whare wānanga – traditional house of learning, university
Wharekai - dining hall
Wharenuī – meeting house
Whānau – family
Whānau marama – heavenly bodies
Whānautanga – **whānau** identity
Whenua - land
Whiriwhiri – to discuss

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Appendix A

Scoping Study Ethics Application

**SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY
HUMAN ETHICS APPLICATION WORKSHEET**

Application number		_____
Name of applicant	<u>Arama Rata</u>	
Supervisor (if student application)	Assoc. Prof. James H. Liu	
Date of receipt of application	_____	
Category	Research	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Anonymous Questionnaire	<input type="checkbox"/>
Date of next HEC meeting	_____	

Outcome	(i) Approved	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(ii) Approved subject to Amendments	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(iii) Forwarded to:	_____
	(iv) Other:	_____
Amendments/Comments		

Category (ii):	Signature:
(a) NAME of HEC staff member who will approve amendments	_____
(b) Head of SOPHEC (or nominee)	_____
(c) Head of School	_____
(d) Final approval date	_____

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE
Application for Approval of Research Projects

1 NATURE OF PROPOSED RESEARCH:

(a) Student Research

(b) If Student Research PhD Course Psyc 690
 Degree Code

(c) Project Title: The Connectedness of Maori Students and their
 Families with their Secondary School (interview/focus
 groups)

(d) Is this application eligible for expedited review? Yes No

(e) Are you wishing to draw off the IPRP/mass testing? Yes No

2 INVESTIGATORS:

(a) Principal Investigator

Name Arama Rata
e-mail address arama.rata@vuw.ac.nz
School/Dept/Group **PSYC**

(b) Other Researchers

Name	Position
Taawhana Chadwick	Research Assistant
Jenna-Faith Allan	Research Assistant
Te Hiwi Preston	Research Assistant

(c) Supervisor (in the case of student research projects)

Assoc. Prof James H. Liu

3 DURATION OF RESEARCH

(a) Proposed starting date for data collection On approval
(Note: NO part of the research requiring ethical approval may commence prior to approval being given)

(b) Proposed date of completion of project as a June 2009
whole

4 PROPOSED SOURCE/S OF FUNDING AND OTHER ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

(a) Sources of funding for the project

Please indicate any ethical issues or conflicts of interest that may arise because of sources of funding e.g. restrictions on publication of results
Te Puni Kokiri. No conflicts of interests

(b) Is any professional code of ethics to be followed Y N
If yes, **tick one** APA NZPsS Other (state)

(c) Is ethical approval required from any other body Y N
If yes, name and indicate when/if approval will be given

(d) Do you have any professional, personal or financial relationship with prospective research participants? Y N
If yes, to either, comment here:

5 DETAILS OF PROJECT

Briefly Outline:

(a) The objectives of the project

This research will identify the staff's, students' and students' parents' perceptions of an intervention taking place at a secondary school. The intervention was designed to promote the engagement of at-risk, Maori students and their families with the school. To achieve this, a community liaison was appointed. Participants will describe their level of participation in school life (including extra-curricular and cultural activities), their relationships with other key stakeholders (students, parents, and staff), and discuss how their connectedness with the school impacts on student outcomes. Barriers and incentives for participating in school life will also be determined.

(b) Method of data collection

The qualitative data will be collected through conducting one-on-one interviews and small group discussion (2-6 participants). At least two researchers will be present for all interviews and group discussions

The data will be collected through informal semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 3) in a pre-arranged venue, predominantly on the school campus. Participants will be interviewed alone or in small groups (i.e. groups of friends or family groups) and will choose whether they wish to meet on the school campus or in another public space like a cafe. Whanau will be given the option of having an interview done at their homes, during daylight hours. An information sheet and consent form will be provided prior to the interview. It is anticipated that the interviews will take up to a maximum of one hour. Participants' names and other details will be encoded (e.g. pseudonyms) in the transcription to ensure that the data will not be directly traceable to them.

(c) The benefits and scientific value of the project

This project will provide information on the effectiveness of community-based interventions in increasing student and family engagement in a lower-decile, largely Maori (and Pacific Nations) secondary school. It will also provide new information on how ethnic identification for young Maori people interacts with their participation and behaviour in and attitudes towards school.

(d) Characteristics of the participants

Expected sample size (N) is 30-50. The respondents will be secondary school students, students' parents, and school staff. There are no further restrictions.

(e) Method of recruitment

The research team will work with the school to determine students, teachers/staff and parents to be interviewed. The school community liaison officer will be the main person assisting the research team in recruiting participants, but the principal may also assist where teachers/staff are concerned.

(f) Payments that are to be made/expenses to be reimbursed to participants

A token of appreciation with the approximate value of \$10 (movie voucher or mobile phone credit) will be given to the participants except for ____ College staff, for whom such a small voucher might be deemed inappropriate.

(g) Other assistance (e.g. meals, transport) that is to be given to participants

Light refreshments will be served during the interview/discussion.

(h) Any special hazards and/or inconvenience (including deception) that participants will encounter

None

i) State whether consent is for:

- (i) the collection of data
- (ii) attribution of opinions or information
- (iii) release of data to others
- (iv) use for a conference report or a publication
- (v) use for some particular purpose (specify)

(i) (iii) and (iv)

Attach a copy of any questionnaire or interview schedule to the application
See Appendix 3

(j) How is informed consent to be obtained (see paragraphs 4.31(g), 5.2, 5.5 and 5.61 of the Guidelines)

the research is strictly anonymous, an information sheet is supplied and informed consent is implied by voluntary participation in filling out a questionnaire for example (include a copy of the

Y N

information sheet)

the research is not anonymous but is confidential and informed consent will be obtained through a signed consent form (include a copy of the consent form and information sheet) Y N

the research is neither anonymous or confidential and informed consent will be obtained through a signed consent form (include a copy of the consent form and information sheet) Y N

informed consent will be obtained by some other method (please specify and provide details) Y N

With the exception of anonymous research as in (i), if it is proposed that written consent will not be obtained, please explain why

(k) If the research will not be conducted on a strictly anonymous basis state how issues of confidentiality of participants are to be ensured if this is intended. (See paragraph 4.3.1(e) of the Guidelines). (e.g. who will listen to tapes, see questionnaires or have access to data). Please ensure that you distinguish clearly between anonymity and confidentiality. Indicate which of these are applicable.

access to the research data will be restricted to the investigator Y N N/A

access to the research data will be restricted to the investigator and supervisor (student research) Y N N/A

all opinions and data will be reported in aggregated form in such a way that individual persons or organisations are not identifiable Y N N/A

Other (please specify) Y N N/A

(l) Procedure for the storage of, access to and disposal of data, both during and at the conclusion of the research. Indicate which are applicable:

all written material (questionnaires, interview notes, etc) will be kept in a locked file and access is restricted to the investigator Y N

all electronic information will be kept in a password-protected file and access will be restricted to the investigator Y N

all questionnaires, interview notes and similar materials will be destroyed: Y N

___5___ years after the conclusion of the research any audio or video recordings will be electronically wiped Y N

Other procedures (please specify): Following the APA guidelines, the transcribed data will be kept for at least 5 years after publication. The coded data may be shared with competent professionals upon their request. Access of the electronic data and transcriptions will be coursed through the researcher and her supervisors only. The materials will remain in a secure cabinet in the cross-cultural laboratory. Y N



Information Sheet

Topic: The Connectedness of Maori Students and their Families with _____ College

Who is conducting the research?

- A team of students in Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), including Arama Rata (PhD), Taawhana Chadwick (BSc), Te Hiwi Preston (BA), and Jenna-Faith Allan (BA). Assoc. Prof. James H. Liu is the primary supervisor. This study has been approved by VUW's human ethics committee.

What is the purpose of this research?

- The purpose of this study is to look at the connectedness of students and their families with _____ College. We are particularly interested in finding out what school activities people participate in, and what their relationships with school staff are like. We are also interested in finding out people's opinion on the appointment of a community liaison whose role is to build relationships between students, students' families, and _____ College staff.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed. The questions asked will include questions about yourself and questions about your involvement in, and experiences at _____ College. You will be also asked about your opinions about your school and about others who are involved with the school (students, parents, and _____ College staff members). A sample question might be "What things are you involved with at School?"
- With your permission, the interview will be audio-taped and be transcribed later on.
- The interview will take no more than one hour. You are free to withdraw at any point up until the completion of the interview, and the data pertaining to you will not be included in the transcriptions.
- It is important that anything shared or discussed today is not repeated.
- As a token of our appreciation, we will give you a mobile credit voucher or movie voucher (\$10) at the end of the interview.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- During transcriptions, we will replace your name and pertinent details by codes so that no data will be directly traceable to you. Hence, you will not be directly identified.
- Only my supervisors and members of the research team will have direct access to data collected. As requirements by some scientific journals and organisations, your coded data may be shared with other competent professionals. No identifying information will be displayed.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- Together with other data, the results of this research will be a part of my thesis. Overall results of this research may also be published in scientific journals or be presented at scientific conferences.

Feedback

Results of this study will be available by approximately 30 May 2009. The results may be viewed via the CACR webpage in PDF-format at <http://www.vuw.ac.nz/cacr/>. Alternatively, you can indicate your email address or postal address, if you want us to notify you regarding the availability of the results or the presentation materials.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact me at Arama.Rata@vuw.ac.nz, postal address: *School of Psychology, Victoria University. PO Box 600, Wellington*, or my supervisor at: James.Liu@vuw.ac.nz (phone: 04-463-5153)

Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Arama Rata



Information Sheet

Topic: The Connectedness of Maori Students and their Families with _____ College

Who is conducting the research?

- A team of students in Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), including Arama Rata (PhD), Taawhana Chadwick (BSc), Te Hiwi Preston (BA), and Jenna-Faith Allan (BA). Assoc. Prof. James H. Liu is the primary supervisor. This study has been approved by VUW's human ethics committee.

What is the purpose of this research?

- The purpose of this study is to look at the connectedness of students and their families with _____ College. We are particularly interested in finding out what school activities people participate in, and what their relationships with school staff are like. We are also interested in finding out people's opinion on the appointment of a community liaison whose role is to build relationships between students, students' families, and _____ College staff.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to your child's participation, your child will join a small group (2-6 students) who will be having a discussion. The questions asked will include questions about themselves and their involvement in, and experiences at _____ College. They will be also asked their opinions of their school and their opinions of others who are involved with the school (other students, parents, and _____ College staff members). A sample question might be "What things are you involved with at School?"
- With your permission, the interview will be audio-taped and be transcribed later on.
- The interview will take no more than one hour. Your child is free to withdraw at any point up until the completion of the interview, and the data pertaining to your child will not be included in the transcriptions.
- It is important that anything shared or discussed today is not repeated.
- As a token of our appreciation, we will give your child a mobile credit voucher or movie voucher (\$10) at the end of the interview.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- During transcriptions, we will replace your child's name and pertinent details by codes so that no data will be directly traceable to your child. Hence, your child will not be directly identified.
- Only my supervisors and members of the research team will have direct access to data collected. As requirements by some scientific journals and organisations, your

child's coded data may be shared with other competent professionals. No identifying information will be displayed.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- Together with other data, the results of this research will be a part of my thesis. Overall results of this research may also be published in scientific journals or be presented at scientific conferences.

Feedback

Results of this study will be available by approximately 30 May 2009. The results may be viewed via the CACR webpage in PDF-format at <http://www.vuw.ac.nz/cacr/>. Alternatively, you can indicate your email address or postal address, if you want us to notify you regarding the availability of the results or the presentation materials.

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Information Sheet

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What is the purpose of this research?

- The purpose of this study is to look at the connectedness of students and their families with _____ College. We are particularly interested in finding out what school activities people participate in, and what their relationships with school staff are like. We are also interested in finding out people's opinion on the appointment of a community liaison whose role is to build relationships between students, students' families, and _____ College staff.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed. The questions asked will include questions about your experiences at _____ College in interacting with students and their families. You will be also asked about how to increase engagement between the school and Maori students and families. A sample question might be "What do you think about the relationship between _____ College staff members and Maori students?"
- With your permission, the interview will be audio-taped and be transcribed later on.
- The interview will take no more than one hour. You are free to withdraw at any point up until the completion of the interview, and the data pertaining to you will not be included in the transcriptions.
- It is important that anything shared or discussed today is not repeated.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- During transcriptions, we will replace your name and pertinent details by codes so that no data will be directly traceable to you. Hence, you will not be directly identified. We will be especially careful not to compromise the School or your standing with the school in any reports from these interviews.
- Only my supervisors and members of the research team will have direct access to data collected. As requirements by some scientific journals and organisations, your coded data may be shared with other competent professionals. No identifying information will be displayed.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- Together with other data, the results of this research will be a part of my thesis. Overall results of this research may also be published in scientific journals or be presented at scientific conferences.

Feedback

Results of this study will be available by approximately 30 May 2009. The results may be viewed via the CACR webpage in PDF-format at <http://www.vuw.ac.nz/cacr/>. Alternatively, you can indicate your email address or postal address, if you want us to notify you regarding the availability of the results or the presentation materials.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact me at Arama.Rata@vuw.ac.nz, postal address: *School of Psychology, Victoria University. PO Box 600, Wellington*, or my supervisor at: James.Liu@vuw.ac.nz (phone: 04-463-5153)

Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Arama Rata

Scoping Study Ethic Application Appendix 2a: Consent form for participants

Statement of consent

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research.

I give my consent to participate in this interview that will be audio-taped and later on transcribed.

I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time and any information or data I have given will not be included in the research.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I would like a copy of the summary of the results of this study. YES / NO
(If yes, please indicate email address or postal address below)

Email Address: _____ or, Postal Address:

Copy to:

[a] participant,

[b] researcher (initial both copies below)

Scoping Study Ethic Application Appendix 2b: Parental consent form

Statement of consent

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to my child's participation in this research.

I give my consent to for my child to participate in this interview that will be audio-taped and later on transcribed.

I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time and any information or data my child has given will not be included in the research.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I would like a copy of the summary of the results of this study. YES / NO
(If yes, please indicate email address or postal address below)

Email Address: _____ or, Postal Address:

Copy to:

[a] participant,

[b] researcher (initial both copies below)

Interview/Focus Group Schedule

Topic: The Connectedness of Maori Students and their Families with _____ College

Part 1: Introduction to the study (approx. 5 min)

Introduction (state objective of the study, procedure of the interview and ground rules, questions from the participant regarding the research)

Part 2: Interview (approx. 30-50min)

1. Student Engagement in the school
 - a. What do you think about your school?
 - b. What things are you involved with at school (e.g. sports, kapa haka, drama)
 - c. Are there things you'd like to get involved in but don't? (if not, why not?)
 - d. What do you think about kapa haka?
 - e. What do you think about the marae? (Is it different from how you feel about the rest of the school?)
2. Relationship with teachers
 - a. What are your teachers like? (What are the good/bad things about your relationship with your teachers?)
 - b. What kinds of things can you talk to your teachers about?
 - c. How do your teachers respond when things are going good/bad?
 - d. How do you think your teacher feels about you?
3. Parent involvement
 - a. What do your parents' think about _____ College?
 - b. When do your parents get involved with you at school??
4. The whānau model
 - a. Describe your relationship with the community liaison (Different to teachers?)
 - b. Describe your whanau's relationship with community liaison (different to the relationship with other staff members?)
 - c. How does community liaison respond when things are going well/aren't going well?
5. Discipline
 - a. What happens here if you get into trouble?
6. Expectations
 - a. What do your parents expect from you in terms of school? (Do they want you to do well at school?)
 - b. What do your teachers expect from you in terms of school?
 - c. What do your friends expect from you in terms of school? (Is it cool to do well at school?)
 - d. What does community liaison expect from you in terms of school?
7. Motivation
 - a. Why do you come to school?
 - b. What do you want to get from school while you are here?
 - c. What things help you get the most from school? And what things stop you getting the most out of school?

Part 3: Post interview/post discussion (saying thank you, reiterating confidentiality and debriefing) (approx. 5 min)

Interview/Focus Group Schedule

Topic: The Connectedness of Maori Students and their Families with _____ College

Part 1: Introduction to the study (approx. 5 min)

Introduction (state objective of the study, procedure of the interview and ground rules, questions from the participant regarding the research)

Part 2: Interview (approx. 30-50min)

1. Parent engagement in the school
 - a. What do you think about _____ College?
 - b. Would you feel comfortable going to the school/meeting with staff?
 - c. When do you get involved with your child's schooling? (probe – are you involved with fundraising, coaching, or other voluntary activities?)
 - d. Would you like to be more involved with your child's schooling?
 - e. Is there anything you think the school could do to make it easier for parents to be involved in their kids' schooling?
2. The whānau model
 - a. What do you think of Community liaison? (Different to other staff?)
 - b. How does community liaison relate to you and your kids? (Different to other staff?)
 - c. Has community liaison's involvement changed the way you feel about the school?
 - d. What do you think about the marae? (Is it different from how you feel about the rest of the school?)
 - e. What do you think about the kids doing kapahaka? (Is it good or bad? And why do you think this?)
3. Discipline
 - a. What do you think of the way the school deals with disciplining your kids?
4. Expectations
 - a. What do you hope your child gets out of school?
 - b. Is there anything you can think of that the school could do help your child get more out of school?
 - c. Is there anything you can think of that you/other parents/your child could do help your child get more out of school?

Part 3: Post interview/post discussion (saying thank you, reiterating confidentiality and debriefing) (approx. 5 min)

Interview/Focus Group Schedule

Topic: The Connectedness of Maori Students and their Families with _____ College

Part 1: Introduction to the study (approx. 5 min)

Introduction (state objective of the study, procedure of the interview and ground rules, questions from the participant regarding the research)

Part 2: Interview (approx. 30-50min)

1. Student engagement
 - a. What do you think about the relationship between _____ College staff members and Maori students?
 - b. Do you think the relationship between Maori students and staff should be improved? If so, how could this be achieved?
2. Parent engagement
 - a. What do you think about the relationship between _____ College staff members and Maori students' families?
 - b. When do students' parents get involved with the school?
 - c. Do you think parents should be more involved?
 - d. Do you think the relationship between Maori students' parents and staff should be improved? If so, how could this be achieved?
3. The whānau model
 - a. Have you had many interactions with community liaison?
 - b. Do you think community liaison is making a difference in terms of engaging students and their families?
 - c. Have you spent much time at the marae? If so, how do you feel about the marae?
 - d. What are your thoughts on the mentoring sessions?
 - e. What are your thoughts on the kapa haka group?
4. Discipline
 - a. What do you think of the school's current disciplinary process?
5. Expectations and suggestions
 - a. What do you hope at-risk Maori students might get out of their time at _____ College?
 - b. Is there anything you can think of that the school could do help Maori students get more out of school?
 - c. Is there anything you can think of that Maori students or their parents could do help Maori students get more out of school?

Part 3: Post interview/post discussion (saying thank you, reiterating confidentiality and debriefing) (approx. 5 min)

Appendix B

*Initial Codes Generated from Analysis of **Kia Whakakotahi** Project Interview Data*

Number	Code
1	Bad parent-staff relationship
2	Bad student behaviour
3	Be prepared for a good job
4	Be with friends
5	Behavioural boundaries
6	Being Māori (enables you to work effectively with Māori)
7	Being Pākehā
8	Benefits of being Māori at School -instill fear (stereotyping)
9	Benefits of gang affiliation - instil fear
10	Benefits of kapa haka —identity and pride
11	Better student behaviour at marae
12	Board listen
13	Changes since Project Staff arrived
14	Choice to engage in Te Ao Māori
15	Colonisation
16	Come to school for friends
17	Come to school for kapa haka
18	Come to school for Māori studies
19	Communication
20	Community perceptions
21	Complete school
22	Confidentiality
23	Covering up for students by Project Staff
24	Cultural reintegration
25	Dedication of Māori teachers
26	Desire to engage in Te Ao Māori
27	Difference between Project Staff and teachers
28	Different backgrounds of staff and students - not being able to relate
29	Different rules on marae
30	Difficulty attracting and retaining Māori teachers
31	Don't understand in class so give up
32	Enjoy school
33	Ethnic Diversity
34	Financial hardship stopping talent being realised
35	Fundraising
36	Gang identity
37	Gangs, dissuade students from joining
38	Gangs, not appropriate at school
39	Gangs, School's perception of them is wrong
40	Gangs, should be accepted as their culture
41	Get good education
42	Get university entrance
43	Glad not White
44	Good staff-parent relationship

45	Harsh discipline
46	Hate class because hate teacher
47	Home problems
48	Identifying at risk students
49	Identity impacts behaviour
50	Identity impacts self-esteem
51	Improve relationships with gang families
52	Increase 7th Form numbers, Project Staff aspiration
53	Increase academic achievement, Project Staff aspiration
54	Internal stand downs used too often
55	Involve Māori more
56	Joking, close informal relationships
57	Kai
58	Kapa haka and mentoring should be separated (because of stereotypes)
59	Kapa haka brings whānau together
60	Kapa haka confused with mentoring (stereotyped as naughty kids)
61	Korowai
62	Kura , transition problems
63	Lack of cultural knowledge, barrier to participation
64	Limited opportunities to engage in Te Ao Maori
65	Listening to students
66	Low decile challenges
67	Low expectations (stereotyping)
68	Low student effort
69	Mainstream Māori need more help with cultural engagement
70	Many services working with students
71	Many students don't identify as Māori
72	Māori cultural inclusion symbolic only
73	Māori feared by Pākehā , violence (stereotyping)
74	Māori identity positions
75	Māori knowledge needs to be taught
76	Māori staff not supported
77	Māori staff, need more
78	Māori studies, students enjoy it
79	Marae punishments, negative punishers used, based on caring relationships
80	Marae space for students to calm down or chill out
81	Marae too inclusive of students who have misbehaved
82	Mentoring
83	Need male role models
84	No choice but to affiliate with gangs
85	No point trying to change
86	Not School's role to fix home problems
87	OK if you don't identify as Māori
88	Painful history
89	Pākehā Māori (belonging)
90	Parent inclusion
91	Parent relationship with staff influencing disciplinary process
92	Parent shouldn't only be invited in when something's wrong
93	Parents and teachers work as team

94	Parents more comfortable at marae
95	Parents shouldn't have to make the first move
96	Parents too busy to engage
97	Peers who support study
98	Perceived cultural inadequacy
99	Physical activity
100	Poor organisation
101	Pōwhiri for new staff (for tikanga training)
102	Pride
103	Pride in Māori identity
104	Project Staff as cultural interpreter
105	Project Staff help with careers
106	Project Staff helping students deal with emotions
107	Project Staff keep students at school
108	Project Staff member is a good teacher
109	Project Staff not qualified, criticism from school staff
110	Project Staff not respected by teachers
111	Project Staff open with students
112	Project Staff same as students
113	Providers, tensions
114	Punishment is pointless
115	Punishment too big
116	Racism at School
117	Reduce expulsions, Project Staff aspiration
118	Relationship between Project Staff and School staff
119	Relationship with gang families
120	Relationship with parents
121	Relationship with students
122	Relaxed rules on marae
123	Respect
124	Rest of School (outside marae) for White students
125	Restorative justice
126	Reviews, need for
127	Rewarding good behaviour
128	Rules are out of date
129	School environment negative
130	School marae needs to run differently to country marae
131	School not delivering promises
132	School not holistic
133	School not involving advocates in disciplinary conferencing
134	School not relevant to Māori
135	Shaming as disciplinary process
136	Special challenges when working with boys
137	Staff are hostile
138	Staff are too busy, excuse
139	Staff exhaustion
140	Staff need tikanga training
141	Staff shortages
142	Staff support of programme, lack of
143	Staff using Project Staff

144	Stereotypes
145	Strengthen kapa haka
146	Student aspirations
147	Student mentors need training
148	Student, poor behaviour because teachers don't care
149	Students expected to be too independent
150	Students find marae welcoming and comfortable
151	Students mentoring other students
152	Students need te reo
153	Students should ask for help
154	Students should take care of the marae
155	Students to invite staff to marae (for tikanga training)
156	Student-teacher ratio
157	Te reo Māori , barrier to inclusion for those who don't speak
158	Te reo should be compulsory
159	Te reo , hard for students transitioning from immersion not to hear and use it
160	Teachers are racist (stereotyping)
161	Teachers don't care
162	Teachers don't help
163	Teachers don't listen
164	Teachers just there for money
165	Teachers nit-picking
166	Teachers too bossy
167	Tikanga, no knowledge of
168	Tokenism benefits non- Māori
169	Too casual
170	Too many students in mentoring
171	Transition from intermediate to high school difficult
172	Trust
173	Trying to change but still viewed as naughty
174	Underlying reasons for behaviour ignored
175	Uniform: should show pride in yourself and your school
176	Unpaid work
177	Urbanisation
178	Wagging
179	Wagging at marae
180	Whakapapa should be taught
181	Whakapapa, Māori need to know
182	Whānau included in activities
183	Whānau , lack of cultural knowledge
184	Whanaungatanga – project workers, parents and students all related

Appendix C

Organisation of Initial Codes into Themes in Te Korowai Aroha Framework

OVERARCHING THEME	THEME	INITIAL CODE
Mana	Respect, pride, and identity	Benefits of kapa haka —identity and pride Identity impacts behaviour Identity impacts self-esteem Pride Respect Uniform: should show pride in yourself and your school
	Cultural identity and competence	Being Pākehā Choice to engage in Te Ao Māori Colonisation Desire to engage in Te Ao Māori Ethnic Diversity Project Staff as cultural interpreter Māori identity positions Pākehā Māori (belonging) Pōwhiri for new staff (for tikanga training) Staff need tikanga training Strengthen kapa haka Te reo Māori , barrier to inclusion for those who don't speak Tikanga , no knowledge of Tokenism benefits non- Maori OK if you don't identify as Maori Painful history Urbanisation Many students don't identify as Māori Pride in Māori identity Perceived cultural inadequacy
	Stereotypes	Stereotypes Community perceptions Trying to change but still viewed as naughty No point trying to change Underlying reasons for behaviour ignored Home problems Racism at School Teachers are racist (stereotyping) Low expectations (stereotyping) Kapa haka confused with mentoring (stereotyped as naughty kids) Kapa haka and mentoring should be separated (because of stereotypes) Benefits of being Māori at School -instill fear Māori feared by Pākehā , violence (stereotyping)

		<p>Glad not White</p> <p>Gang identity</p> <p>Gangs, dissuade students from joining</p> <p>Gangs, not appropriate at school</p> <p>Gangs, School's perception of them is wrong</p> <p>Gangs, should be accepted as their culture</p> <p>No choice but to affiliate with gangs</p> <p>Benefits of gang affiliation - instil fear</p>
Whanaungatanga	Teacher-student relationships	<p>Relationship with students</p> <p>Different backgrounds of staff and students - not being able to relate</p> <p>Teachers just there for money</p> <p>Teachers don't care</p> <p>Teachers don't help</p> <p>Teachers don't listen</p> <p>Teachers nit-picking</p> <p>Staff are hostile</p> <p>Hate class because hate teacher</p> <p>Don't understand in class so give up</p> <p>Student, poor behaviour because teachers don't care</p>
	Project Staff - student relationships	<p>Changes since Project Staff arrived</p> <p>Communication</p> <p>Confidentiality</p> <p>Dedication of Māori teachers</p> <p>Joking, close informal relationships</p> <p>Project Staff member is a good teacher</p> <p>Project Staff keep students at school</p> <p>Project Staff open with students</p> <p>Project Staff same as students</p> <p>Listening to students</p> <p>Trust</p> <p>Whanaungatanga – project workers, parents and students all related</p>
	School- whanau relationships	<p>Fundraising</p> <p>Good staff-parent relationship</p> <p>kapa haka brings whānau together</p> <p>Mentoring</p> <p>Parent inclusion</p> <p>Parent relationship with staff influencing disciplinary process</p> <p>Parents and teachers work as team</p> <p>Relationship with gang families</p> <p>Relationship with parents</p> <p>Unpaid work</p> <p>Whānau included in activities</p>
	Barriers to whanaungatanga	<p>Staff are too busy, excuse</p> <p>Staff exhaustion</p> <p>Staff shortages</p> <p>Student-teacher ratio</p> <p>Difficulty attracting and retaining Māori</p>

		<p>teachers</p> <p>Need male role models</p> <p>Māori staff, need more</p> <p>Bad parent-staff relationship</p> <p>improve relationships with gang families</p> <p>Involve Māori more</p> <p>Parent shouldn't only be invited in when something's wrong</p> <p>Parents shouldn't have to make the first move</p> <p>Parents too busy to engage</p> <p>Students should ask for help</p> <p>Students to invite staff to marae (for tikanga training)</p>
Kotahitanga	Power sharing	<p>Board listen</p> <p>Project Staff not qualified, criticism from school staff</p> <p>Project Staff not respected by teachers</p> <p>Māori cultural inclusion symbolic only</p> <p>Māori staff not supported</p> <p>Poor organisation</p> <p>Relationship between Project Staff and School staff</p> <p>School not delivering promises</p> <p>Staff support of programme, lack of</p> <p>Staff using Project Staff</p>
	Managing external relationships	<p>Project Staff help with careers</p> <p>Many services working with students</p> <p>Not School's role to fix home problems</p> <p>Providers, tensions</p> <p>Reviews, need for</p> <p>School not holistic</p> <p>Student mentors need training</p>
Te Korowai Aroha	Shelter and safety	<p>Being Māori (enables you to work effectively with Māori)</p> <p>Project Staff helping students deal with emotions</p> <p>Korowai</p> <p>Kura, transition problems</p> <p>Marae space for students to calm down or chill out</p> <p>Students find marae welcoming and comfortable</p> <p>Parents more comfortable at marae</p> <p>Rest of School (outside marae) for White students</p> <p>School environment negative</p> <p>Students expected to be too independent</p> <p>Transition from intermediate to high school difficult</p> <p>Students should take care of the marae</p>
	Boundaries	<i>Behavioural boundaries</i>

Behavioural boundaries
Different rules on **marae**
Too many students in mentoring
Wagging
Bad student behaviour
Identifying at risk students
Low student effort

School disciplinary processes
Harsh discipline
Internal stand downs used too often
Punishment is pointless
Punishment too big
Rules are out of date
School not involving advocates in disciplinary conferencing
Teachers too bossy

***Marae** disciplinary processes*
Difference between Project Staff and teachers
Better student behaviour at marae
Students mentoring other students
Marae punishments, negative punishers used, based on caring relationships
Restorative justice
Rewarding good behaviour
Shaming as disciplinary process

*Negative views of **marae** discipline from **Pākehā***
Covering up for students by Project Staff
Marae too inclusive of students who have misbehaved
Relaxed rules on marae
School **marae** needs to run differently to country **marae**
Too casual
Wagging at **marae**

Needs provision *General needs/aspirations*
Increase 7th Form numbers, Project Staff aspiration
Increase academic achievement, Project Staff aspiration
Low decile challenges
Get good education
Complete school
Get university entrance
Be with friends
Be prepared for a good job
Peers who support study
Enjoy school
Physical activity
Reduce expulsions, Project Staff aspiration
Student aspirations

Come to school for friends
Financial hardship stopping talent being realised

Kai

Special challenges when working with boys
Cultural needs/aspirations

Come to school for **kapa haka**

Come to school for **Māori** studies

Cultural reintegration

Lack of cultural knowledge, barrier to participation

Mainstream **Māori** need more help with cultural engagement

Māori knowledge needs to be taught

Māori studies, students enjoy it

School not relevant to **Maori**

Students need **te reo**

Te reo should be compulsory

Te reo, hard for students transitioning from immersion not to hear and use it

Whakapapa, **Maori** need to know

Whakapapa should be taught

Whānau, lack of cultural knowledge

Limited opportunities to engage in **Te Ao**

Maori

Appendix D

Codes Selected for the Identity Negotiation Study

CODE

Barrier to participation, lack of cultural knowledge
Being **Māori**
Being **Pākehā**
Benefits of being **Māori** at School - instil fear
Benefits of **kapa haka** to identity and wellbeing
Better student behaviour at **marae**
Choice to engage in **Te Ao Māori**
Colonisation
Come to school for **kapa haka**
Come to school for **Māori** studies
Cultural reintegration
Different backgrounds of staff and students - not being able to relate
Different rules on **marae**
Desire to engage in **Te Ao Māori**
Fundraising
Glad not White
Identity impacts behaviour
Identity impacts self-esteem
Joking, close informal relationships
Project Staff open with students
Project Staff same as students
Kapa haka and mentoring should be separated (because of stereotyping)
Kapa haka confused with mentoring programme (stereotyped as naughty kids)
Limited opportunities to engage
Low decile challenges
Low expectations (stereotyping)
Mainstream **Māori** need more help with cultural engagement
Māori cultural inclusion symbolic only
Māori feared by **Pākehā**, violence
Māori knowledge needs to be taught
Māori studies, students enjoy it
Marae punishments, negative punishers used, based on caring relationships
OK if you don't Identify as **Maori**
Painful history
Pākehā Māori (belonging)
Parents find marae welcoming and comfortable
Perceived cultural inadequacy
Pōwhiri for new staff (for **tikanga** training)
Pride in **Māori** identity
Racism at School (barrier to identifying as **Māori**)
Respect
Rest of School for White students
Staff need **tikanga** training
Stereotypes
Strengthen **kapa haka**

Students find **marae** welcoming and comfortable
Students mentoring other students
Students should take care of the **marae**
Students to invite staff to **marae** (for **tikanga** training)
Te reo Māori, barrier to inclusion for those who can't speak
Teachers are racist (stereotyping)
Tikanga, no knowledge of
Unpaid work
Urbanisation
Whakapapa needs to be taught
Whānau, lack of cultural knowledge
Whanaungatanga

Appendix E

Ethnic identification question from the Youth Connectedness Project survey.

Ethnicity
Every person is part of an ethnic group, sometimes two or more ethnic groups. Some names of ethnic groups are: Samoan, Chinese, Maori, Tongan, New Zealand European
For question 430, if you tick a box you have a specific question linked to it that you need to fill out. If you do not tick a box then you do not need to fill out the question linked to it. There are instructions for which question to go to next to each box that you tick. The survey then continues from question 503.

(430) Which ethnic group do you belong to? (mark the box or boxes which apply to you)

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand European (answer questions 431 to 436) | <input type="checkbox"/> Cook Island Maori (answer questions 467 to 472) | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (answer questions 485 to 490) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Maori (answer questions 437 to 460) | <input type="checkbox"/> Tongan (answer questions 473 to 478) | <input type="checkbox"/> Indian (answer questions 491 to 496) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Samoan (answer questions 461 to 466) | <input type="checkbox"/> Niuean (answer questions 479 to 484) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ | | |

(For 'other' answer questions 497 to 502)

Ethnic Identity questions used in the Youth Connectedness Project survey, from Phinney's (1992) MEIM.

Maori. How much you agree with these:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree or agree	Agree	Strongly agree
(437) I have spent time finding out more about this ethnic group, like its history and customs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(438) I am happy that I am a member of this ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(439) I take part in social groups that include mostly members of this ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(440) I have a lot of pride in this ethnic group and its achievements	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(441) I think about how my life will be affected by being part of this ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(442) I feel good about this ethnic group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(276) How well can you speak te reo Maori?

- Cannot speak te reo Maori
- Can speak a few words and/or short sentences in te reo Maori
- Can speak a few basic sentences in te reo Maori using different words for short periods
- Can speak te reo Maori using different words and sentences in many situations
- Can confidently speak te reo Maori for long periods in many situations
- Can confidently speak fluent te reo Maori in any situation

(277) How well can you understand spoken te reo Maori?

- Cannot understand te reo Maori
- Can understand a few words and/or short greetings in te reo Maori
- Can understand a few basic sentences in te reo Maori and understand different words for short periods
- Can understand te reo Maori used in different words and sentences in many situations
- Can understand te reo Maori for long periods in many situations
- Can confidently understand fluent te reo Maori being spoken in any situation

YES NO

	YES	NO
(444) Do you go to your Marae with your Whanau?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(445) Do you go to 'other' Marae with your Whanau?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(446) Do you know the name(s) of your Iwi/Hapu?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(447) Do you know the name(s) of your Marae?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(448) Do you know the name(s) of your maunga/awa/moana/waka? (tick yes if you know at least one of these)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Psychological Wellbeing questions used in the Youth Connectedness Project survey, adapted from the Ryff Wellbeing Scale (Ryff & Keyes, 1995).

Please tell us how much you agree with these:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree or agree	Agree	Strongly agree
(27) I often think about my future (what I want to do with my life)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(28) I find it easy to get on well with other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(29) I feel confident and positive about myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(30) I work hard now to create a good future for myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(31) Most people think I am a nice person	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree or agree	Agree	Strongly agree
(32) I am proud of who I am	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(33) I'm the sort of person who sets goals and works hard to achieve them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(34) I'm good at keeping my relationships positive with others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(35) I feel that I have a number of good qualities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(36) I feel that I am able to do things as well as most people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(37) I am serious about working hard now so that I have a good future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix F

School Level Māori Cultural Promotion Scale

Item	
1. Does the school offer Māori medium classes?	Yes/No
2. Does the school offer Te Reo Māori classes?	Yes/No
3. Does the school offer Te Reo Rangatira classes?	Yes/No
4. Does the school offer Māori studies classes?	Yes/No
5. Does the school offer Performing Arts (Kapa Haka) classes?	Yes/No
6. Number of times schools has participated in the Pei Te Hurinui Jones competition at Manu Kōrero (2006-2008)	Number
7. Participation in Waka Ama Sprint Nationals 2006	Yes/No
8. Participation in Waka Ama Sprint Nationals 2007	Yes/No
9. Participation in Waka Ama Sprint Nationals 2008	Yes/No
