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Rangatahi and Complex Entanglements of  
Sexuality, Sexuality Education and Secondary  
School: A Material-Discursive Exploration

Jade Chalmers

2019



**Rangatahi and Complex Entanglements of Sexuality, Sexuality  
Education and Secondary School: A Material-Discursive  
Exploration**

A thesis  
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of the requirements for the degree  
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by  
**Jade Chalmers**



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

2019





To my family, I love you with all my heart x

To a future existence where we may learn to care better



# Abstract

This research is an exploration with rangatahi (young Māori), of complex materially-discursive webs of sexuality education, sexuality, and secondary school education in Aotearoa. These research areas have commonly produced unfavourable outcomes, which include disparity statistics and other findings that position Māori as ‘cultural’ or ‘in need’ (Cooper, 2012; Green, 2011; Le Grice, 2014). To produce something different, in this work I engaged with concepts from the theoretical fields of Māori Indigenous Theories, Feminist Poststructuralisms, and New Feminist Materialisms to develop a framework for exploration. Nine rangatahi participated in small hui (meetings) and individual interviews, focused on the areas of sexuality education, other sexuality topics, and experiences of secondary schooling. Transcripts from these meetings became part of the ‘data’. The approach to the analysis, termed *Moving Through Entanglements*, was informed by the whakaaro method (Mika & Southey, 2018) and diffractive approaches (Barad, 2007; Davies, 2014a, 2014b). The analysis explored a number of entanglements, using transcripts, theories, concepts, matter, experiences, colonisation, sensations, utterances and beyond (Davies, 2014c; Jackson & Mazzei, 2011). I did not attempt to produce ‘evidence’ or propose findings or truths about the ‘situation’ for rangatahi; instead I considered these well-worn research areas in different ways, honing in on ‘hot spots’ in entanglements (Taylor, 2013).

At the heart of this research are the lives of rangatahi. This research listened to and privileged their experiences in the materially-discursive webs of sexuality education, sexuality and secondary education, with the aim of contributing to further positive transformation in these areas (Allen, 2015b). The analysis suggested that confronting ‘gaps’ in what rangatahi learn in sexuality education and what they experience beyond the classroom remained. The contrast between the mundane topics or the “same old shit” (in the words of one participant) taught in sexuality

education, which rangatahi recalled, and the complexities of two important and complex hot spots (Taylor, 2013) – ‘tap and gap’ and ‘relationship goals’ – demonstrated this gap. A need remains for sexuality education to be more connected with young people’s lives (Allen, 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Young, 2002). Other issues that became important included hickeys, hair and skin, the school stage, big bodies and health, boys’ breasts, and clothing. A material-discursive exploration of these topics was central to the analysis; this research has demonstrated their under-acknowledged importance in the daily existence of rangatahi, which should continue to be explored. Colonisation remained a lingering presence (Le Grice, 2018), and instances rangatahi shared highlighted not only this, but also their critical awareness of its functioning.

An innovative approach is the posthuman methodology experimented with in this research. As outlined above, this research was guided by a theoretical framework built with ideas borrowed from three philosophical fields. I applied a method of analysis that attempted to move beyond normative modes of qualitative analysis, unsettling dominant anthropocentric ways of doing research. Taking this position, among other things, meant that the entanglements I worked through were materially-discursive. Thus, this research posits that non-human or more-than-human participants are active in the daily *becomings* of rangatahi, and their influence in shaping daily experiences for rangatahi and should not be overlooked in future research (Bennett, 2010). The ethical crises of the present mean that an ethical imperative to do things differently in every facet of our existence is needed now more than ever (St. Pierre, Mazzei & Jackson, 2016). Perhaps a change in the way research is conducted is one key approach to a fruitful and sustainable future for humans and non-humans alike.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

He iti hoki te mokoroa nāna i kakati te kahikatea.

The mokoroa may be small, but it cuts through the Kahikatea.

### The Mokoroa

Whakataukī are ancient Māori wisdom, guidance and knowledge passed through generations. They are treasures from the past, which can support aspirations for today and the futures (Rameka, 2016). The whakataukī above tells us that what we may consider a small mundane thing can disrupt and create change. We cannot underestimate the mokoroa grub and its complex existence. The grub can make a dent in things (such as huge kahikatea trees) that are taken for granted and this research may, too, create a dent.

The mokoroa manifests in various ways in this thesis. It is used to consider the positions that rangatahi come to be in, as well as my own positioning in the world of a researcher. It attests to both my indigenous and new materialist aims to move away from anthropocentric thinking and to privilege all that is not human, often overlooked or considered mundane and unimportant. Yet often in the thesis, the mokoroa is beyond sight, returning to poke its head out in various places to remind the reader of its existence. Things do not need to be obvious to be functioning all-the-same (see hickies Chapter Eight), and this not always 'obvious' position in the thesis also upholds a sense of mystery of the world and the grub. Thus, the mokoroa serves to uphold my positioning of mauri, mystery, and the need to disrupt the normative order of the thesis.

Mauri, the spiritual life force held by all things human and non-human, is both the obvious and obscure ways in which all things are connected. It is a life force which is crucial to the well-being of relationships” (Whakaatere & Pohatu, 2011)

I took the position in this research that everything has mauri (Chapter Three). It is something I have long known. Humans do not have any more mauri than all that is non-human, and further, we can protect and also diminish mauri. For example, the mauri of the kahikatea forest in which the mokoroa lives is neglected by human actions of deforestation. Perhaps, the way we research can also impact the mauri of what we aim to ‘investigate’ in both seen and unseen ways. The mauri of research can be protected through careful ways of thinking about and undertaking the process of research and all that it is connected to. My conception of both the mokoroa and mauri in this thesis ultimately challenge Eurowestern ways of thinking about and doing research.

### **Mihi**

Māori writers generally begin an academic text with an introduction outlining their position, which brings forward where they have come from. Hohepa (2015) explains:

I do not mean identifying themselves in terms of Māori whakapapa (although this almost invariably does occur), but in terms of how their personal histories relate to the academic and research enterprises represented in their thesis (p. 117).

This writing is designed to increase the autonomy and relevance of their research, and act as a signal to the audience that they are entitled to “discuss elements of Māori existence” (Mika, 2013a p.4). This is arguably fundamental to kaupapa Māori or indigenous Māori approaches to research (Hohepa, 2015). In a brief account of some key ideas, the first part of this chapter serves as an introduction to me and what led to this journey of academic research.

Ko Ngongotaha te Maunga

Ko Kaituna te Awa

Ko Te Arawa Te Waka

Ko Ngāti Whakaue te Hapu

Ko Whakaue te Marae

Ko Tapsell toku Tupuna

Ko Jade Chalmers ahau

My grandmother is a great, great, great granddaughter of Hineturama of Ngāti Whakaue, Te Arawa, and her husband, Hans Tapsell, a Danish trader, who both rest at Wharekahu cemetery, Maketu (on my paternal side). I cannot speak much of Hineturama or her daughter Tote; however next in line is Maria, my great, great grandmother, of whom my grandmother (Nana is a commonly used term for grandmother in Aotearoa) has clear memories. Nana said she was beautiful and bold, with a wild temper. She had a love for English fashion and was very well dressed. In some ways, her ability to adapt to other cultural expectations foreshadows the focus of this thesis, which seeks in part to highlight the productive possibilities for rangatahi participating in Aotearoa society despite the legacy of colonisation. The Eurowestern (see below for definition) attire, furthermore, is an outcome of a hybridisation that characterises more recent generations as well, and clothing becomes important later (see Chapter Eight). Successive generations, including Bessie, Maria's daughter, and then my own beautiful Nana, Maureen, have gone on to position their Māori selves in non-traditionalist ways. Being Māori was/is very much in the background of their lives, yet I know that having 'Māori blood' is something Nana is proud of all the same. This thesis speaks to the pride that Māori have in being Māori, yet it also embraces the conceptual and existential changes that have beset Māori and have altered their responses to issues such as sexuality and education, which are key to this research.

I grew up in Te Puke on the 'wrong side of the train tracks' with my mother, father, sister and brother. It did not take us long to learn that we lived on the

side of town where the 'poor Māoris' lived and went to school on the 'shitty school bus'. Most of the time it did not worry us too much. That aside, we are blessed to have always had a real closeness in our immediate family and the wider family on my father's side. Unfortunately, my mother's family are far away in Israel, but we cherish the times we have spent with them and look forward to those that are to come. We grew up spending most of our time outdoors. My father is a hunter gatherer, who hunted for, fished or grew almost everything we ate - and still does. More important was the deep respect and untold spirituality linked to our 'living off the land' lifestyle. Ways of living and experiences like these nurtured the appreciation and relationship to the whenua (land) that my siblings and I have today.

My schooling experiences were not unique. I enjoyed some aspects of school and did well, but then towards the end of high school a report from school noted that my 'bad attitude affected my academic potential'; perhaps an easy, even generic comment to insert into a report, but these few words I believe, have the potential to cause harm. I completed year 12 and then left to work at a local meat processing plant, where I think I learnt as much as I did at school. After a couple of years of working with all sorts of mostly great people and sadly dead animals, I decided to gain a teaching degree; I'm not sure why exactly. However, this led to Honours and Masters Degrees, three years of teaching and then embarking on a PhD.

This research aims to explore some of the complex entanglements that involve rangatahi, within the material-discursive areas of sexuality, sexuality education and secondary schooling in Aotearoa. To guide the journey, pieces from the theoretical fields of feminist poststructuralism, Māori indigenous theories and new feminist materialisms are drawn upon in Chapter Three (which also includes my specific research questions). The next part of this chapter continues my initial exploration of personal experiences that have contributed to the *becoming* of this research.

## The 'looks'

A thesis is meant to be an outcome of research that one scholar undertakes and can be a highly personal enterprise. This thesis is deeply personal for me and for the participants who have contributed. It deals with the peculiar mixtures that evolve when colonised meet colonisers. Thus, the encounter I speak of here coalesces in my researching self: a descendant of the Te Arawa waka who is also from other places; I am no purebred. You could call me a cultural hybrid as there is no clear-cut category for me to fit into (August, 2004); though such a definition might apply to most. I choose to embrace this as a complex and positive way of being and *becoming*. However, this is not to say that there have not been many uncomfortable times, which I attribute to my looks. I have often felt 'not Māori enough' (L. Smith, 2012) and at times I have experienced unease when questioned about my background, depending on the way in which I am asked, by both Māori and non-Māori alike. We are commonly (ridiculously) told that 'looks don't matter'; however, due to my being 'part' Māori and having a mother from Israel, I do not easily fit with what the 'average' person would say are 'Māori looks'. For example, when I attend a meeting, whether it be a hui I attend with fellow Te Arawa descendant education scholarship recipients, or a trustee meeting for the Māori land that my father is an owner of, I tend to be one of the 'whitest' there. This is not because my links to Hineturama are weaker than those of my relatives there, but because my family have since married into more Pākehā-looking families.

I will not dwell on this, and do not want to hide my Māori self behind blue eyes and lighter coloured hair; instead I can think about and explore this complexity where it becomes relevant. Hokowhitu (2014) has highlighted the continued importance of visualisations of race to constructions of Otherness. In support, Linda Smith (2012) has described her frustration with the issue of Māori not looking 'Māori enough'. She notes the way in which the 'public', referring to Pākehā, make it their duty to verify, give judgement and comment upon what makes an 'authentic' Māori, though it should be noted that Māori may do this also. This frequently has the effect of "...silencing and making invisible the presence of other groups within the indigenous society like women, the urban

non-status tribal person and those whose ancestry or 'blood quantum' is 'too white' " (L. Smith, 2012, p. 75).

Speaking of the institution of the university and Māoriness versus whiteness, I find helpful the work of Zoe Todd (2016) who refers to herself as a “white-passing indigenous” (p.12); she is an academic Métis Woman from Canada. Like Todd (2016), I am indigenous but am often not read as indigenous as I can be considered a white-passing indigenous. Therefore, I carry the privilege of looking white in ‘white public spaces’. Like Todd’s experiences of the world through ‘whiteness’, I too “have a curious access into spaces where people ‘say what they really think’ about indigenous issues...when they assume everyone in the room is Caucasian...” (2016, p. 12). So I, too, get to witness the spectacle where whiteness and racism are reproduced and reinforced, but more importantly where they can be opposed and dismantled (Todd, 2016).

This thesis is a political and ethical endeavour, but is also a personal journey for me. If kaupapa Māori is about fighting for the autonomy of our philosophy, language, culture and well-being that has been oppressed and scarred over the years (L. Smith, 2012), then I – who am also a product of colonisation and am no expert of all things Māori – am passionate about personal development as a Māori woman working to achieve transformative change and difference for rangatahi. My ‘looks’ are a driver of the research and part of the analysis (see Chapter Eight).

## Two Memories

My aim to contribute to indigenous research in Aotearoa in the area of rangatahi and sexuality is largely due to my experiences as a teacher and during my years of teacher education. While teaching, my interest in the research topic grew significantly as I learnt about hierarchy, class, gender, and ethnic relationships within the school setting. I felt the injustice experienced by Māori students for many reasons, despite initiatives to enhance the ‘Māori identity’ of the school. Some of the things that angered me were obvious and some were more subtle and silenced. The often unfair positions I witnessed Māori experiencing were not

necessarily deliberate ones, but rather just part of the 'normal' way that the school and those within it functioned. The following memories are accounts of what occurred in my own experience. Instances similar to this are arguably commonplace in many New Zealand schools. The first memory concerns a Pākehā male colleague's comment during a sexuality education staff meeting. A second memory concerns the punishment given to a student for possessing marijuana at school.

### **The Teacher**

"It's these Māori girls that are acting all tough and not participating in the lessons that need it the most. They'll be pregnant in no time."

This comment was made by Frank (pseudonym), a teacher, during a staff sexuality workshop held in the staffroom of the school in which I taught in 2012. Frank continued to describe the behaviour of some of the Māori girls in his class as disruptive and inattentive during sexuality education lessons, despite his belief that they were the group that need the education the most.

According to Frank there was a problem: some of the Māori girls were very much at risk and in need of help. This 'problem' was widespread in the school. In my interactions with other teachers at the school, Māori girls were often discussed as being at risk. Deficit theorising blames the victims and proposes that the victims need to change (Bishop, 2003). Several writers have discussed the problems that deficit theorising brings about in the New Zealand education system (Bishop, 2003, 2009; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009; Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2006; Turner, Rubie-Davies & Webber, 2015). Writers note that ethnicity is a main contributor to teacher expectations (Rubie-Davies et al., 2006). None of this is to say that the school was being deliberately racist: on the contrary, I recall the genuine concern expressed by some teachers about Māori girls during sexuality education staff meetings.

Frank's utterance seemed to uphold notions of Māori girls as being pathological and in need of being medicalised. He made a generalisation about Māori women,

suggesting that they need sexuality education the most, which also suggests that they are likely to participate in harmful experiences of sexuality at a young age. The teacher's language here makes judgments based on 'colonising' morals about sexuality, which perhaps trace back to the missionaries' prudishness and also their desire to restrict Māori women's sexuality (Rountree, 2000). I will come back to this utterance and the experience of Bo (below) in later parts of the thesis.

### **Bo**

One of the saddest experiences I recall during my time teaching was of Bo during a formal school assembly. Bo (pseudonym) was caught with marijuana at school. After being stood down for several days he returned to school. It was apparently a 'joint' decision (family and school leaders) to have Bo make a public apology at the formal school assembly. I remember being close to tears watching the ordeal. Bo could hardly speak. He stood alone on the big empty wooden stage with the school watching him from their seats below. "I made a bad choice and I'm sorry. I want to prove to all of youse that I'm a ROC student and I want to work hard on my learning so you will trust me again". The principal looked quite satisfied after this, and Bo was allowed to leave the stage and join his class. The setting, the devices used, and the focus on normalising Bo could have been an exemplar from Foucault's (1977) *Discipline and Punish* (see Chapters Three and Seven). I could sympathise with Bo if he had then smoked marijuana after school to ease the humiliation he was put through. In Bo's situation an explicit lesson about discipline and power was being taught to Bo and the spectators. Bo was made to give an oath that referred to the Pākehā school virtues (which served as a type of school slogan) in his apology. The virtues are not likely ones that Bo's tupuna (ancestors) would have chosen for him to live by. For me, the whole spectacle was cruel and complex.

These kinds of public humiliation were commonplace. They were normalised. No one at assembly objected or spoke out. The school exercised power through the public spectacle of punishment. It could appear to many to be a mild form of

punishment. However, it serves as a political tactic in scaring and warning others to not break the rules (Foucault, 1977).

Both of my memories show the way in which Māori continue to be marginalised in New Zealand school settings, despite claims that suggest otherwise. How Māori students come to see themselves is no doubt influenced by 'normal' school occurrences like these. It seems that schools have long been a place for producing the category of 'abnormal' and are agencies that reflect and reproduce wider social patterns of power (Allen, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a 2007b). It is my hope that this study may, among other things, challenge these embedded ways of *becoming*.

In this chapter I have so far provided an introduction to the experiences in my life that provide a crucial background for this thesis. The second part of this introduction chapter will outline the structure of the thesis and key terms I chose to use in this research. First, I present some turning points and decisions around the path, or, in keeping with the notion of the mokoroa grub, the tunnels which this research has taken, including the 'turn' in the research and 'doing research differently'.

## The 'Turn' in My Research

It was not long before I learnt that this PhD research was going to be completely different from my Master's research, which was merely a series of mundane, narrowly focused interviews analysed by a thematic grouping of data, which led to some rather sweeping conclusions. I recall sitting in my first PhD meeting with my supervisors. The only words I recall from that initial meeting were something along the lines of 'you are not wanting to be a reporter doing an interview and reporting back are you?' I said 'no' but I thought after I left the meeting that this was exactly what I had done in my Master's research, which had adhered to conventional humanist qualitative approaches to research (St. Pierre, 2016a, 2016b).

So I owe much of the initial shaping of my research to utterances of my supervisors, as it was they who encouraged me to trouble the normative research process which I was taught in undergraduate and postgraduate

education. As highlighted by St. Pierre (2016b), what we are taught is what we learn and it is then very difficult to escape one's training. My original research questions were rather narrowly focused. I feel now that I was wanting to fight a battle and win a fight for rangatahi, perhaps like much of the Māori research that came before mine. When Bronwyn Davies (known for her contributions to feminist poststructuralisms and now, new feminist materialisms) visited our group of PhD students at the beginning of my research journey, I had the chance to introduce my research. I spoke passionately about the issue of colonisation and perhaps little more. Her remarks to me were along the lines of, 'Is this the battle you want to fight? Is this the purpose of your research?' In hindsight, Bronwyn was not minimising the issue of colonisation, but was no doubt encouraging me to go beyond well-worn modes of research that might curb the potential for other explanations (see Cooper, 2012; Mika, 2015a). Some research continues to do little more than highlight oppressive structures for Māori and uphold the well-known coloniser and colonised dualism (Hokowhitu, 2009).

### **Why do research differently?**

Driving the change to think about and do research differently, with the hope that we can also live differently, is an ethical imperative for this work (see Chapter Three). This focus on ethics is not surprising, as the existence we have created is not ethical (St. Pierre, Mazzei & Jackson, 2016). Ethical crises of this time include issues such as destruction of the planet, famine, refugee movement, and questionable national leadership. Perhaps more important than identifying what has brought us to this situation is how we might, as St. Pierre, Mazzei and Jackson (2016) suggest, imagine what might be possible in achieving a more ethical existence. This may seem daunting, but we made this existence so "we can think and make another" (St. Pierre, Mazzei & Jackson, 2016, p.102); for me that is the task of the posthuman researcher. Notions of new feminist materialisms (a philosophical posthuman field) are taken up in this thesis and will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

Posthuman research offers ways of doing research differently, and to consider what my research does differently, I present a list from Davies (2018) of some

aspects of research that have become common-place in qualitative research practice. I came across the list in the final months of my PhD. This was timely, and has allowed me to reflect on the list and realise that I have indeed aimed to unsettle these in this thesis:

- the separation of the researcher from what s/he observes;
- the moral dominance of the rational/powerful researcher over the subordinate, passive object of research;
- representationalism—the presumed capacity of the researcher to represent with words the reality s/he observes, including the reality of the researcher’s own reflexively examined thought processes;
- the associated assumption that language and modes of data collection/generation are transparent;
- little or no attention paid to physical matter other than the matter of the embodied human subject;
- the dominance of ‘planning’ such that the research, in practice, is entrapped in its pre-conceptions; and finally;
- a technical conception of ethics that reduces it to a box-ticking exercise to be signed off by various institutional management committees. (Davies, 2018, p.115).

Thus the methodological framework of this research is just as much part of the research ‘findings’, as I experiment with moving away from normative ways of doing qualitative research. In fact, there are no traditional ‘findings’ chapters in this thesis and I am excited by the challenge to think differently and un-do thought. Posthuman research is not possible if we continue to teach and employ conventional research practices (St. Pierre et al. 2016). Instead, the posthuman turn encourages us to disrupt our belief about a researcher who should know what to do before she does it (St. Pierre, 2016a).

Another condition for the posthuman turn is heightened curiosity (St. Pierre et al., 2016). If we can aim to be ready for “new forces not already contained in our projects and programs and the ways of thinking that accompany them”, then we are creating a “trust that something may come out, though one is not yet

completely sure what” (Rajchman, 2000, p.7). In support of the move away from conventional approaches, some indigenous Māori researchers have acknowledged that while research must adhere to the systematic rules and regulations of the institution, there is a fundamental creative potential (Mika, 2016a; Mika & Southey, 2014; Ormond & Williams, 2013; Williams & Ormond, 2010), and it is this potential that may make change and enhance life for Māori (Ormond & Williams, 2013).

### **Drawing on memories**

Scattered throughout this thesis are my memories and ponderings, which feature in what could be called an organic, emergent and unpredictable manner. Horizontal page break lines and italic font interrupt the writing where a particular memory, experience or pondering became important, and I argue that these memories are all part of the research journey. Further, the inclusion of this writing upholds the notion of whakaaro (Chapter Five) as well as my belief of mauri (Chapter Three).

Expressive modes of writing are gaining momentum in the posthuman realm. Examples of the type of emergent, expressive and different writing features in the academic work of some feminist post-structuralist and new feminist materialist scholars including Davies (2011), Claiborne (2017) and Somerville (2007, 2011). My emergent writing is perhaps less complex, yet still increases the autonomy and relevance of the research by including and illuminating my own experiences of being a woman, being a teacher and being a PhD student, while trying to reflect on my Māori self, as my personal life is inseparable from my professional and academic life.

### **Ways with Words**

I am ‘in’ every part of this research and therefore will be present throughout the reader's engagements with this thesis. I clearly locate myself in the research throughout, and often use ‘I’. This challenges normative research practices where the absence of the author is required; instead this work acknowledges that research and researcher cannot be separated (Allen, 2005a).

Throughout my writing, I have referred to 'Māori girls' and 'Māori boys'. I have done this as it is my assumption that these two 'categories' encounter similar, and also different experiences of being a 'Māori student' in secondary school. I am aware, however, that in doing so I am in danger of emphasising the dualism that adds to dominant gender constructions of heterosexuality. I need to make it clear that I do not wish to suggest that, but feel that using the phrases of 'Māori girls' and 'Māori boys' will allow the research to better provide insight into precarious areas.

Also problematic is the use of the terms Western, Eurowestern or the West in my study. Once again, I do not wish to emphasise a Western/non-Western dualism in this research, where two moral opposites of good versus evil are at work. This is not my aim or my belief. However, as colonisation remains an everyday concern for Māori, so too does the need to distinguish between what we might call Māori thought and dominant worldviews and those which are non-Māori. I use the term Eurowestern to describe the norm or dominant ways of thinking and being in Aotearoa, which have of course been influenced historically by those of European descent and the advent of Christianity. In applying the term throughout my research, I do not wish to suggest that there are simply two ways of being: Māori or Western, and I know that those who may identify as Western thinkers, now and in the past, certainly do not all align with what I may call Eurowestern thinking in my research. However, for the purpose of this research it is necessary to use the term Eurowestern; at times Pākehā, a title given to descendants from Europe (McKinley, 2003), is also used in this thesis.

Te reo Māori offers a uniquely Māori way of relating to and talking about the world (Simmonds, 2011) and one must exercise caution when attempting to define Māori concepts and words in English. Due to the confusion and lack of integrity that using language incorrectly can cause, when discussing Māori ideas, I will not attempt to present or explore Māori terms that I am not familiar with from my upbringing in my community.

For example, the term kaupapa itself has numerous 'original' meanings or senses, which have changed over time (Keegan, 2012). Today many Māori terms and words have developed a wide range of meanings; some detrimental,

incorrect and 'watered down' to be equal to Eurowestern conceptions. Consider the array of phrases and words deliberately implemented and woven into the everyday curriculum of mainstream schools in Aotearoa. Ako has been highly fashionable recently in New Zealand education and Mika (2012) argues that here the term "...entails little more than Western conceptions of teaching and learning" (p.1084) (see Pere, 1982 for descriptions of Ako). Another example is the incorrect synonymous use of kaupapa Māori and Matauranga Māori. G. Smith (2003) explains that kaupapa Māori "is not a study of Matauranga Māori – Kaupapa Māori theory makes space for Māori to legitimately conduct their own studies of Matauranga Māori" (p.11)

In this thesis, I have chosen to steer clear of in-depth discussions or use of Māori language terms, mostly because I do not have sufficient knowledge of te reo. I am aware of the danger that as a result of colonisation many Māori like myself, who are not fluent in all that is Māori, may feel denied or excluded from their own world, which can hardly lead to any solutions. This raises an important argument that Hokowhitu (2009) has highlighted: who is and what counts as an 'authentic Māori'. This 'authentic Māori' issue forms a vein of the thesis and is brought to bear in the analysis.

In using some Māori words throughout this thesis, where it is practical, I provide simple translations of the words when they are first used in the text. In some cases more detailed definitions are provided. Where providing a definition disrupts the text, the reader can refer to the Glossary which provides simple translations of the Māori words used in this thesis.

## Thesis Overview

Chapter One, the Introduction, has introduced me, Jade Chalmers. It has outlined some of the complexities that I am challenged by. Experiences that have driven my interest in the research area, as well as other important experiences that contributed to my embarking on this research, have been described.

Explanations of particular use of words and terms were presented to make clear from the outset the positions I take on each.

Chapter Two is a Literature Review that delves straight into a focus on critical consideration of the relevant existing literature and past research in the areas of rangatahi and sexuality, sexuality education in Aotearoa, rangatahi and education, and other significantly related topics. The literature review serves to demonstrate a space for the research I propose, which is further elaborated in the Theoretical Framing that follows. The research aims are introduced at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Three, Theoretical Framing, describes in depth the theories and concepts that are key to this research, and which pave the way for everything that follows in the thesis. Theoretical notions form the three philosophical fields of Māori indigenous theory and research; feminist poststructuralisms; and new feminist materialisms, combine to form a foundational framework. This theoretical framework is used to explore, in perhaps new ways, the topics and issues focused on in Chapter Two regarding rangatahi and sexuality, sexuality education in Aotearoa, rangatahi and education, and beyond. The research questions are presented at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Four, the Research Design and Methods, presents a posthuman research design in alignment with the theoretical framework. It describes the processes and methods that this research implements to collect 'data' including hui, and individual interviews. Lastly, potential ethical issues are discussed.

Chapter Five, Method of Analysis, builds on the previous two chapters and presents specific detail on the analysis method I call *moving through entanglements*. Moving through entanglements is my take on a diffractive analysis. I draw on the Whakaaro method (Mika & Southey, 2018) and also consider relevant commentary on reflexivity and writing differently.

The first of the three analysis chapters, Chapter Six (*Moving Through Entanglements - Sexuality Education, 'Tap and Gap' and 'Relationship Goals'*) pays attention to issues in the curriculum area of sexuality education. It then moves to consider two complex areas that rangatahi participants raised as being important and very much part of their lives: 'relationship goals' and 'tap and gap'.

Chapter Seven is titled *Moving Through Entanglements* - 'Healthy Māori Bodies' and 'The Good Māori Student'. In this analysis chapter special focus is given to the complexity of the 'Māori body' and experiences of 'being a good Māori student', which both became important through discussion with rangatahi. Health, Te Whare Tapa Wha, breasts, the school stage, kapahaka and racism form veins within the analysis.

Chapter Eight, titled *Moving Through Entanglements* – Matter That Came to Matter in Rangatahi Entanglements, begins with a participant's sharing of being hapu (pregnant). This disclosure led to a complex focus on the discursive-materiality of other things that are easily overlooked and avoided in sexuality education research, yet are active in shaping the experiences of rangatahi: hickeys, skin, hair, clothing and beyond.

Chapter Nine, *In Closing*, provides a summary of the research. It presents potential limitations and considers what may be valuable in building further on this research.

# CHAPTER TWO

## Literature Review

This literature review provides detailed discussion on several areas of research central to this thesis. It begins by focusing on some of the complexities surrounding Māori life and research. Next, Michel Foucault's theoretical work on discourse is introduced. Māori sexuality, relevant past research with rangatahi around issues of sexuality, and rangatahi and education research is then considered. The development of sexuality education is explored, and some key sexuality education topics are discussed; some pertaining to rangatahi specifically, and some related to sexuality education and young people more broadly. General research aims, which were an outcome of this review, are given at the end of the chapter. The specific research questions are presented at the end of the theoretical framework (Chapter Three).

### The 'State' of Māori and Research

In the initial stages of my PhD, Bronwyn Davies posed a question to me in a small group meeting. It seemed she wanted to know, or rather wanted me to consider, whether my research aims were to continue to fight an already well-fought battle, thus leading to the 'same old' research outcomes (Chapter One). That moment influenced the research path I have taken. I did not intend for this research to be polemic; however, some acknowledgment of literature on the position of Māori is necessary to set the scene for this thesis.

After the Māori/Pākehā binary was constituted in Aotearoa's Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Māori, like other indigenous people, severely declined in population (Walker, 2004); were oppressed by state policies in all facets of life (Green,

2011); and were pathologised – constructed as immoral, monstrous and mythical beings (Hokowhitu, 2014a). “Colonising practices that have sought to assimilate Māori to Western ways of life” (Le Grice & Braun, 2018, p. 175) maintain the oppression of Māori, who have continued to be faced with increased health and socioeconomic disparities and educational failure (Le Grice & Braun, 2018; Pio & Graham, 2016; Walker, 2004).

Policy making in Aotearoa is State-governed, which serves to make the State powerful (Springer, 2012), and despite efforts made by Māori to be involved as equal partners in decision making about their country, the status quo prevails (Green, 2011). In the neoliberal marketplace the playing field is not level (Penehira, Green, Smith, & Aspin, 2014). Neoliberalism, the modern cousin of liberal humanism, contributes to the seemingly supreme importance of human affairs, especially as carried out by individual human subjects (Davies, 2018). Another understanding of neoliberalism, which highlights this bumpy playing field, is that neoliberalism:

...maintains that elite actors and dominant groups organized around transnational class-based alliances have the capacity to project and circulate a coherent program of interpretations and images of the world onto others (Springer, 2012, p.136).

Having greater health issues, achieving lower education levels, and often being economically and socially disadvantaged (Penehira et al., 2014) results in “... a reliance on the State, which in turn gives the State a certain level of control; for example the State determines Māori health and education provisions, social services, and levels of funding” (p.105). This has contributed to Māori often becoming the ‘star’ objects of research. Research commonly refers to Māori in a medicalised and statistical manner, and is conducted by governmental organisations and perhaps those who may claim to have the best interests of Māori at heart.

Researchers have historically perpetuated colonial values while often belittling Māori knowledge, and have continued to conduct research that is generally of little benefit to Māori (Harvey, 2002; Smith, 2012). This has had detrimental

effects on Māori and has, not surprisingly, impacted the way Māori view research today. Research remains a distrustful, “dirty” (L. Smith, 2012, p. xi) word for many Māori, as research statistics continue to proudly showcase the disparities in areas such as education and health that remain between Māori and non-Māori (L. Smith, 2012). There is no shortage of text documenting these disparities, which are clearly and boldly documented in the literature and the media (Barnes, 2010; Green, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2014a; Le Grice, 2014 McBreen, 2012; J. Young, 2002). The issues faced by Māori that are highlighted in these domains are most commonly and conveniently blamed on Māori themselves, as opposed to the 200 years of colonisation (J. Young, 2002).

Hokowhitu (2014a) maintains that research on Māori is often validated by pathologising Māori. Foucault’s angle on the notion of pathology stems from his historical studies into the question of medicine and treatment of disease, where the doctor/patient relationship emerged (Foucault, 1997). Issues or diseases that present Māori as not normal provide a platform for research that is assumed will ‘help’ Māori. Thus: “the disparity between indigenous and non-indigenous health marks the researcher’s privilege to research and power to construct” (Hokowhitu, 2014a, p.36). It is necessary to note the obvious here: colonisation is not a problem of the past, and there is a need to think differently about the issues that continue to oppress Māori today, in order to shed light on possible sites of positive difference, resistance or change. Brendan Hokowhitu, and other Māori scholars including Carl Mika and Elizabeth McKinley, have found Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse useful in considering the positions Māori come to be in. I too will consider discourse in my exploration and this will be described next.

## Discourse

The key theoretical ideas that shape this research are the focus of the next chapter, where they are discussed in detail. However, at this point it is important to introduce the notion of discourse from a Foucauldian perspective as it features in this literature review. As will be demonstrated below, discourse notions are helpful in the exploration of many topics relevant to rangatahi and

the areas of sexuality, sexuality education, and young people in the institution of secondary school. Some literature I draw on in this review draws on discourse and some does not; nevertheless, discourse can be seen as functioning all the same.

Michel Foucault was an influential French philosopher, along with Giles Deleuze, Felix Guattari and Jacques Derrida. Together they developed the philosophical field of poststructuralism in the 1960s and 1970s. Poststructuralism formed a response to humanism, offering ways to trouble the damaging categories and hierarchies cemented by humanism (Holmes & Gagnon, 2018; St Pierre, 2000). Notions of discourse, key to Foucault's theory of poststructuralism, will be drawn on in this chapter. (Chapter Three covers key feminist poststructuralist and Foucauldian notions in more detail.)

Discourses are complex webs of language and social practice, which appear to construct a particular reality as truth. Discourses produce knowledge and meaning, which create and maintain social systems. In doing this, discourses function to oppress some groups while helping to maintain the authority of others; they constrain and enable (Allen, 2005a, 2005b, 2007b). Discourse works through us and on us (Davies, 2018). Discourses are both an instrument and an effect of power (Foucault, 1978). They order reality in certain ways and, according to Foucault (1978) are "tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy" (pp.101-102). McHoul and Grace (1998) provide a description of discourse useful for this research:

in any given historical period we can write, speak or think about a given social object or practice (madness, for example) only in certain specific ways and not others. 'A discourse' would then be whatever constrains— but also enables— writing, speaking and thinking within such specific historical limits (p.31)

Feminist writers have drawn on Foucault to situate discourses as places encompassing knowledge, practices and power (Jackson & Weatherall, 2010; Weedon, 1987). Davies (2014a) states that in "post-structural feminism we

began the complex task of deconstructing the entangled binaries that hold those dominant and subordinate relations in place” (p.12). Mika and Stewart (2016) illustrate a key example relevant to this research: “...what is normal to the West is normal for all” (p.303). This alludes to dominant discourses, which uphold as truth, the idea that all that is not Eurowestern is not normal; this functions through webs of power to construct a 'reality' of Māori as not-normal. Māori have been shaped by such concealed, colonising discourses for over 200 years (see Foucault, 1994). Such discourses have become so entrenched that their operations often go unnoticed as simply 'common sense' and 'natural' (Gavey, 1989).

The education system, like the prison and the hospital, is a disciplinary institution and discursive field shaped by discourses that have created their perceived reality as truth (Foucault, 1980). According to Foucault, the institution of the school, like the medical system, has long served as an auxiliary to the penal system (Foucault, 1980). We can look back to the missionary schools here in Aotearoa as an example of this: they aimed to convert Māori from 'barbarism to civilisation' and were predicated on discourses of racial superiority (Walker, 2016).

Rangatahi continue to be oppressed by dominant discourses in the education system as in all facets of society where discourse has homogenised, limited and reproduced Māori (Hokowhitu, 2004; Pihama, 1994; L. Smith, 2012). For example, Māori have been positioned as unchanging and therefore assumable and knowable (Hokowhitu, 2009). A dominant feature or 'crisis' of educational discourse in Aotearoa is the underachievement discourse, and Māori are a group oppressed by this colonising discourse (Eggleton, 2017; Harris, 2007). Since early Eurowestern settlement, rangatahi have been constructed as deficient in the Eurowestern education system and this deficit discourse remains (Harris, 2007; Macfarlane, 2005). For decades, “addressing the educational crisis by raising Māori student achievement has become [remains] a major government priority” (Ford, 2012, p.29), thus keeping the oppressive discourse functioning. Oppressive discourses work in complex and often un-noticed ways, and sexuality and education are areas in which oppressive discourse about Māori thrives. An

important methodological precaution, vital to the work of Foucault, was that analysis should not concern itself with posing questions to discover who holds power and what the aim is of someone who possesses power.

Let us not, therefore, ask why certain people want to dominate, what they seek, what is their overall strategy. Let us ask, instead, how things work at the level of on-going subjugation, at the level of those continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviours etc.

(Foucault, 1980, p.97).

But, as Foucault (1978) proposed, “where there is power there is resistance” and “these points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network” (p.95). Māori are not just the consenting targets of power but are also vehicles for power (Foucault, 1980). Foucault (1982) urges us to explore forms of resistance and attempts made to rupture power relations. Allen (2005a) maintains that discourse is everywhere, and it is this ubiquitous presence that demands attention in places throughout this thesis. Next, attention is given to discourses of Māori masculinity to illustrate the power of discourses that may be working on and through rangatahi to shape daily experiences. The remainder of the chapter will, in places, consider discourses and their presence.

### **Māori Masculinity**

Gender is constructed by discursive practices, or, as I will claim later, materially-discursive practices (see Chapter Three) about the ‘two’ categorical sexes of man and woman. These practices create truths and produce subjects who can position themselves or be positioned on the basis of those truths. Thus, masculinity could be loosely described as being the ‘common-sense’ discursive practices that include the behaviours, traits and representations of men (Shepherd, 1997). Eurowestern practices of ‘being a man’ include being physically and emotionally strong, being unemotional, having a natural aggression, and being a good provider for one’s family as well as having limited involvement in household tasks (Monaghan & Robertson, 2012). These discursive

practices are seen as truths in our social structure and daily life, and any man who does not fit these assumptions may be viewed as not-normal.

Discourses of Māori masculinity aid in considering how oppressive or productive practices may continue to function for Māori, and more specifically for rangatahi attending secondary school. Such discourses operate through forces of colonisation where the construction of binaries, with their dominant and marginalised terms (specifically around male/female and pākehā/Māori), were key to Eurowestern dominance and success. A longstanding received truth about Māori men is that they are inherently savage and violent and are ruled by passion as opposed by reason. These notions continue to be showcased in many facets of society, including the sporting arena and in Aotearoa movies and television (Hokowhitu, 2004).

Shaped by Eurowestern discourses of masculinity and colonising deficit discourses, Māori masculinity has evolved since the nineteenth century from something to be conquered, civilised and harnessed, to a spectacle on the sports field, demonstrating the power of normalisation (see Chapter Three), where Māori were seen by their colonisers as abnormal and inferior (Hokowhitu, 2004). Hokowhitu's research continues to deconstruct historical and contemporary representations of Māori men in dominant discourses. His contributions to Māori masculinity challenge the dominant and colonial discourse and will be of value to this study (Hokowhitu, 2004). Hokowhitu states that "...sport, state education and physical education have contributed to the suppression of the indigenous New Zealand Māori" (2003b, p. 192).

Much of Hokowhitu's thinking is perhaps not unlike other Māori academics, but his particular focus on Māori masculinity and how it has been controlled over time to oppress Māori today is valuable. In all areas of society, Māori have had the most success in sport. Hokowhitu sees the naturalisation of Māori as sportspeople as a contributing factor to the colonisation process, which has assimilated Māori in a limited way, specifically by focusing solely on their success in areas consistent with the dominant representation that Māori are physical people (Hokowhitu, 2003b).

I have spent much of my short academic career beyond the pale, trying to stave off those who assume that because I have a PhD in physical education and am Māori, then my work must focus on Māori “health” and the importance of sport to Māori. In reality, as my research demonstrates, I have attacked sport as a significant cog in the colonising machine (Hokowhitu, 2014a, p.35).

Hokowhitu (2004) provides an account of what has brought him to his position with regard to Māori masculinity. Like many Māori today, physical conquest gave him success and confidence. His lack of academic ability as a Māori male was made clear to him by an educated guest at his school. When enquiring about what was involved in becoming a physical education teacher, he was told physical education teaching required work in the areas of biology, physiology and anatomy, which the white man had already established as something that Hokowhitu was not ‘made for’. Some of the experiences he describes were not unlike the experiences of many young Māori boys I have known. Below I share an example in which Māori willingly act out and obey the disciplined norms of social construction (see Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2003b, 2004).

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*In my career as a teacher, I witnessed Māori boys being channelled into non-academic areas. Kapa haka, rugby and rugby league were often the only areas for a Māori boy to have his name scribed into a trophy at an end of year prize-giving. It was the only time when all eyes would be positioned ‘in awe’ on the Māori boys in the ‘special learning class’ that were permanently seated in the front row of assembly. Māori boys who did not experience this physical success were not seen as ‘role models’ by their peers. Further, if ever a Māori girl or boy did receive an academic award, they were then not really viewed as ‘Māori’, I felt. Sadly, ‘making it’ as a sports star seemed the only available option to many Māori boys and their families.*

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Māori masculinity produces undesirable knowledge about Māori. In the domain of sport, the naturally physical and unintelligible, savage Māori man is able to play on a seemingly level playing field with his Eurowestern counterparts and achieve success. Another discursively rich field is Māori sexuality, in all its historical complexity, which is considered next.

## Māori Sexuality

“Sexualities and genders cannot be separated from racialization, or from histories of colonialism and nation formation... [which highlights a need to engage with] interlocking issues of race and racism, patriarchy and sexism, indigeneity and colonialism” (Sykes, 2011, p. 429). Both in Aotearoa and internationally, large movements of indigenous peoples persist in the fight to address issues of self-determination, decolonization and social justice (L. Smith, 2012). The reason is summed up perfectly by L. Smith (1999).

...Many indigenous communities continue to live within political and social conditions that perpetuate extreme levels of poverty, chronic ill health and poor educational opportunities...the adults may be addicted to alcohol as their children are to glue, they may live in destructive relationships which are formed and shaped by their impoverished material conditions and structured by politically oppressive regimes. While they live like this they are constantly fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of ‘higher’ order human qualities. This applies as much to indigenous communities in First World nations as it does to indigenous communities in developing countries...constant efforts by governments, states, societies and institutions to deny the historical formations of such conditions have simultaneously denied our claims to humanity, to having a history, and to all sense of hope...to resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves. (p.4).

It is no revelation that Māori are not the only group of indigenous who have arguably been made a “species of sub-human animal life” (L. Smith, 2012, p.9). Although I do not wish to make in-depth comparisons between Māori and other indigenous peoples (not being in the privileged position of being able to write extensively on other indigenous people’s experiences), acknowledgement is made in this thesis, particularly when the arguments make wider links to the concerns of other indigenous people. McBreen (2012) poignantly states that:

Like all indigenous people who are living through colonisation, Māori now have high rates of suicide as well as high-risk and anti-social behaviours. This is the effect of the trauma caused by the oppression of colonisation, it is an attack on our wairua. It leads to a whole bunch of outcomes that we all know and that I’m not going to go into—I think we can accept that colonisation is oppression, which is trauma... just as colonisation is very clearly oppression, so too is the repression of sexual diversity (p.56).

McBreen (2012) alludes to the ways that colonisation has led to the subjugation of Māori sexuality, as it has for other indigenous peoples (Kerekere, 2017; Oliver et al., 2015; War & Albert, 2013). Traditionally, Māori society was based on a web of social relationships, collectively responsible for the survival of the hapū, with a deep connection and appreciation for all living things and the surrounding environment (Waetford, 2008). Māori enjoyed greater sexual freedom and diversity (Waetford, 2008). In pre-colonial times sexuality was non-categorical and gendered binaries were non-existent. The non-binary concept of biological sex, raho, which translates to both labia majora and testicles, offered diverse opportunities for attraction and desire (Le Grice & Braun, 2018). Same-sex relationships were common (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007). Māori women pursued sexual companions (Pihama, Smith, Aspin, Newth & Mikaere, 2006, as cited in Waetford, 2008), and reproduction was a practice of cultural rather than just personal importance (Le Grice & Braun, 2016).

All was to change when Eurowestern explorers who visited New Zealand in the 18th century saw Māori as specimens of scientific interest. Early colonisers disapproved of Māori understandings of sexuality (L. Smith, 2012). They pathologised the sexual and gender fluidity Māori enjoyed (Kerekere, 2017); according to Rountree (2000) the ultimate goal of colonisers was to transform Māori.

[E]ssentially, the missionaries wanted to clean, clothe and control the Māori body, believing that this would make them more amenable to the gospel, as if outward purity and orderliness would somehow seep into the Māori's heathen cores and transform their souls (Rountree, 2000, p. 52).

The original Eurowestern observers in Aotearoa were men and therefore the original view of Māori was through the lens of a pākehā male gaze formed by both androcentric and Eurocentric paradigms (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Rountree, 2000). The male gaze meant that the masculine body was not available to be looked at in the same way as the female (Bach, Luh, & Schult, 2011). Women of the globe have long been subjected to this gaze and in turn the gaze has been a central site of struggle and challenge for feminists (Duran, 2009; Jaggar & Bordo, 1989). However the gaze becomes more complicated in this situation for Māori women, as like other indigenous women, they were viewed through an eroticising and exoticising gaze (McKinley, 2005). Here both racial and gender marginalisation was at work (Jenkins Hall & Tanner, 2016). These types of colonial gaze positioned and perpetuated Māori as 'other' and inferior to Pākehā, as argued by Bidois (2013), who states that "the authoritative and colonial gaze are mechanisms that impose themselves across multiple cultural sites, such as gender (male gaze), religion and civil authorities (moralizing gaze), and schools (gaze of the teacher)" (p. 151).

The construction and deconstruction of Māori sexuality during the early colonial period of the 1800s was heavily influenced by the genders of the dominant group at the time. Although missionary men's and women's respective lenses for viewing Māori differed in substantive detail (Rountree, 2000), women's ideas about Māori were most likely to echo their husbands'. Christian Missionary

women made it their duty to transform Māori women's appearance and restrict their sexual expression. Women's nudity, long unbound hair and greater sexual freedom were viewed as morally wrong (Rountree, 2000). Hence, colonial women took it upon themselves to 'help' Māori women in attaining the English ideal of a woman. For example, Linda Smith (2012) speaks passionately of colonisation and the destructive effect it has had on Māori gender relations, where as a result, women became the property of men. Family organisation, child rearing, political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by the colonial system, which positioned their women as the property of men, with seldom more than domestic duties.

Colonisers also brought with them their distress and hatred of homosexuality. McBreen (2012) argues that homophobia did not come from tikanga; it came with the colonisers. Whakapapa is about inclusion, meaning that there needs to be a very valid reason to demean someone in any way: "who they sleep with is not a good reason" (p. 63). Aspin and Hutchings's (2007) writings on Māori sexuality explain that Māori were accepting and embraced sexual diversity and difference; as stated earlier, same-sex relationships were common. Artworks that depicted same-sex relationships were destroyed or taken overseas (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007).

A deficit-based discourse of Māori sexuality operates through media and research. Māori sexuality is always "'too much' or 'not enough', compared to a Pākehā implicit norm" (Le Grice & Braun, 2017, p.176). Policy concepts and knowledge about Māori in sexual and reproductive health are largely made up of negative constructions and statements about risk, preventing sexually transmitted infections, reducing unwanted pregnancies, and so on. It is as though these issues are not of grave importance for Māori communities themselves. Further, the way in which policy frames Māori in pathologising ways, with often no public outcry or consequence, is of deep concern. Oppressive discourse around Māori and childbirth, for example, has become commonplace and entrenched in everyday life for both Māori and Pākehā (Green, 2011). However, in response to a position that may seem hopeless at times, Penehira et al. (2014) staunchly uphold that

...in essence, we are who we always were, precolonial; we are who we are as both colonised and de-colonised resisters; and we are who we will be in terms of future responsive and proactive formations. No peoples or communities are devoid of change, particularly those who have been colonised and settled. Our responses, our resistance to colonisation and ongoing dominant population systems do not detract from our indigeneity or our status as tangata whenua (p.98).

Here Penehira et al. allude to the way Māori maintain a complex position where change is unavoidable; but if resistance also functions alongside power (Foucault, 1995), then how Māori respond to, react to, and act to create change are where productive possibilities lie. These concerns are of specific importance in the lives of young Māori. As rangatahi are central to this research, I now turn to research and writing about sexuality specific to rangatahi.

## Rangatahi and Sexuality Research

Despite the historical decline of the Māori population (Walker, 2004), in 2014 rangatahi accounted for one quarter of all young people in Aotearoa. (Sokratov & O'Brien, 2014). In June 2017, it was estimated that Māori made up 734,200 of the estimated 4,790,000 million people in Aotearoa (Stats NZ, 2017). What has been written about rangatahi, as it has for Māori in general, has often focused on statistics that then 'support' certain realities or facts about rangatahi. For example, the idea that young Māori women are sexually active at a young age is backed by higher sexually transmitted illness rates and teen pregnancies, and the Māori male is proven to be aggressive and violent through his over-representation in the correction system. 'Youth at risk' literature remains extensive (Kelly, 2000; Sharland, 2006; Wolfe, Jaffe & Crooks, 2006). There is however, more 'riskiness' involved for indigenous young people, and similarly depicted and described within an 'at risk' discourse are the Aboriginal young people of Canada and Australia (Cunningham, 2018; Oliver, et al., 2015). At-risk discourses function as a promise that the complexity of human interaction can

be objectively and scientifically identified (Kelly, 2000), and the following research example demonstrates this.

In a traditional quantitative study of contraception among rangatahi, Clark, Crengle, Sheridan, Rowe & Robinson (2014) attempted to provide a factual profile of the sexual health behaviours of rangatahi, focusing on identifying risk factors associated with use (or non-use) of contraception such as condoms. This approach to research with Māori has been highlighted by Green (2011) who refers to the 'fault line' proposed by Foucault to demonstrate the way in which Māori are positioned in sexuality research.

Upon the smooth surface of what it is that is acceptable to write and speak and think about the sexual and reproductive health of Māori communities the fault line manifests itself as a silence about how it is that Māori are represented in sexual and reproductive health policy as 'object', as 'risk', as 'problem', and in need of State control (Green, 2011, p.38).

Clark et al. (2014) seem to use a voice of scientific authority in their 'findings' which serve as 'truths'. These ideas may then maintain the supposed gap between the superior ways of the coloniser and inferior ways of the colonised, justifying the need for State control. In contrast, other research has aimed to include rangatahi perspectives. For example, in a shortened summary of a bigger study, which focused on a broader area of health and physical education, Fitzpatrick (2015) provides detail on the aspect of sexuality and in particular, the intersection of Māori and Pasifika students' cultural perspectives of sexuality, and the framing of sexuality within the school curriculum. Fitzpatrick spent over 300 hours in classes with students, in order to get to know students well enough to voice their concerns. This led to the acquisition of detailed student stories that in places resisted 'dominant notions' of sexuality.

Fitzpatrick suggested that programmes could be failing to connect in a genuine way with Māori and Pasifika students because there is a lack of attention to young people's cultural worldviews or the complex articulation of the social

fields they inhabit (Fitzpatrick, 2015, p.131). This is likely, as Māori and Pasifika peoples have historically very contrasting views on sexuality to their Eurowestern counterparts. Although Fitzpatrick distinguishes between the two groups of 'Māori' and 'Pasifika' students, both are represented as 'one voice' in a sense, which is troubling whether it is justified or not. Would it have also been appropriate to have had participants of both Māori and Indian decent in the study instead? Despite good intentions, could it be counter-effective to place both Māori and Pasifika 'together' in the 'other' category, adding to undesirable discourses and binaries of both groups being part of the problem group of Aotearoa?

Sexual and reproductive health policies for Māori draw upon particular ideas about Māori, population and development. Those ideas help to structure how Pākehā come to understand Māori; they justify the state's interest in monitoring and controlling Māori sexual and reproductive health; and , importantly, they may structure how Māori come to understand themselves as not fully human or not fully developed (i.e. developed in a Eurowestern or modern sense) in the world (Green, 2011, p.7) Here, I come back to the words of my teaching colleague (see Chapter One) who said during a sexuality education staff planning meeting that Māori girls were the ones not participating in sexuality education lessons, but were the ones who needed it the most. He then made reference to Māori girls being pregnant at a younger age. This comment of grave concern is not surprising, given the abundance of policy documents offering a wide range of consistently negative concepts about young Māori and teen pregnancy, as highlighted by Green, (2011)

...as an object for problematisation by governments, the medical profession, statisticians, and non-government organisations, the State's policy solutions for Māori teenage pregnancy have been to promote contraception and a full range of options to prevent and delay pregnancy. However, there is no evidence that these are viable solutions for Māori communities, or that the health resources exist to support implementing these policy solutions (p.89).

Perhaps this is largely because in the domain of sexuality, despite it being well-researched, there is a gap in research that privileges young Māori experience through Māori voices (Barnes, 2010; Keelan, 2014; Le Grice & Braun, 2018). For example, there is a lack of research concerning the experiences of young Māori parents and instead, a deficit model frames the issue, with research pertaining to the causes and consequences of Māori pregnancy (Strickett & Moewaka-Barnes, 2012). Further, whether rangatahi voices are included or not “TM [teen mothers] are often discussed by researchers using a Western lens which views TM through negative perceptions” (Pio & Graham, 2016, p.2).

An international study that reported on the experiences of 85 young indigenous students in Canada highlights some findings consistent with the experiences of rangatahi in Aotearoa. The study focused on the intersections of gender, race and colonisation. As with young Māori in Aotearoa (Sokratov & O’Brien, 2014) aboriginal young people are the fastest growing population in Canada and are similarly depicted and described in an ‘at risk’ discourse (L. Smith, 2012; Oliver, et al., 2015). The writers describe a historical context in line with that of Aotearoa, where indigenous views of sexuality were crushed by their colonisers, and where ‘originally’ indigenous women were free to express their sexual desire and autonomy. In their paper, young women consider the ways in which colonialism has “demeaned women’s roles and degraded women’s sexuality, and how continuing cultural erasure and assimilationist policies impact on their lives and on their bodies” (Oliver et al., 2015, p.908). However, despite the ongoing concerns highlighted by young women in the study, this study also highlights the resistance and advocacy nurtured by these young people. Young people in the study

...recognise the problems of the past and the present, but are determined to create a strong future for themselves and their communities. Refusing double standards and stereotypes, young people are owning their cultural pride, insisting on self-determination, reclaiming Indigenous knowledge and resisting

dominant narratives of what and who they are (Oliver et al., 2015, p.908).

There has been recent growth in Aotearoa, which has welcomed kaupapa Māori research, described as being done 'for' Māori and 'by' Māori. It seems that a long history of dissatisfaction with the way Māori have been addressed in research, and the failure to answer questions other than those that are concerned with disease and causation (which are individually focused), has led to the development of kaupapa Māori research (Murchie, 1984; L. Smith, 1999). (Kaupapa Māori is discussed in depth in Chapter Three.) However, despite this positive movement, research still appears to be done 'on' Māori, and my research, as well as the work of many Māori academics, is no exception. This is because in doing research 'on/with' Māori, a perhaps unavoidable binary of Māori as 'other' instantly occurs. However the difference may be in the way that the research is done on/about Māori. Keelan (2014) states that

...of all that is known about youth development, the indigenous voice has *not* been entirely silent, but hardly heard above a quiet whisper (p.6).

This concern resonates, as there remains a lack of opportunity for young Māori to voice their opinions and concerns in various areas of research (Robertson, 2004). However, a productive review, with a focus on young Māori and women in particular where voices would not be silenced, aimed to provide an overview of what was known in Aotearoa, and also present Māori perspectives on areas of sexual coercion/violence, resilience and healthy relationships. The review was undertaken for the Ministry of Women's Affairs by Helen Barnes (2010). The report contends that a move away from addressing the symptoms of sexual coercion once it has taken place is needed, as this seems to be the current state in Aotearoa. Instead, it calls for prevention of sexual coercion and acknowledges that a 'one size fits all' approach will not work.

[W]e need approaches – whether we call these comprehensive, ecological, primary, public health or holistic or utilise Māori concepts such as kaupapa Māori, mana motuhake, mauri ora or

whanau ora – that are informed and driven by diverse rangatahi  
Māori understandings and aspirations ( Barnes, 2010, p.6)

Furthermore, Barnes argues that, to realise this wider possibility fully, rangatahi voices need to be more involved in research, in order to construct evidence to underpin the development of initiatives. Throughout this cohesive critique, Barnes builds a rationale for a research methodology that positions the voices of young Māori as the centre of the research. Unfortunately, the research proposal did not lead to funding of the needed research, perhaps due to its lack of perceived importance. The report remains an indication of the crucial research that is needed. It is necessary to consider some more general education research and discussion in which rangatahi have been involved.

## Rangatahi, Education and Research

A study that explored the leisure perspectives of rangatahi living in Rotorua (Harvey, 2002) found that 'school' was identified by participants aged 15 to 18 years as a place that was not enjoyable. Participants demonstrated a general dislike of school, which centred on the autocratic nature of the school environment. Another study by Robertson (2004), which focused on factors contributing to academic success for Māori in mainstream secondary schools, provided a glimpse of Māori students' frustration with feelings of discrimination and racism within the school system. These findings demonstrate that schools continue to act as gatekeepers to higher education, broadening success for some, while limiting opportunities for those who fail (Sheriff, 2010).

Sheriff's study explored retention factors for Māori students in secondary schools, in an attempt to illuminate what contributes to Māori student success in secondary education. Her study involved interviews with thirteen Year 13 Māori students. The research provided an in-depth historical outline of the development of the education institution with regard to Māori. The analysis was rather brief, but, not surprisingly, identified whanau influences as the most pivotal factor in students' lives for remaining in school. Interestingly, 11 of the 13

students interviewed indicated that involvement in sport at school was an influence to stay in school. This is significant, as it is in the domain of sports that Māori students are seen to have 'natural' talent, which can be traced back to historical colonial views of Māori being less-human like, more animal-like and suited to physical labour. As mentioned earlier, Māori are often channelled into sports as the only areas in which they can achieve success (Hokowhitu, 2004). Unfortunately this finding was not discussed in any detail. Te kotahitanga was developed with the goal of addressing education disparities for rangatahi, such as those that have been raised in this section (Bishop, 2012; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2009).

Te kotahitanga has the goal of 'raising Māori student achievement' in mainstream secondary schools and has fast become a well-established, highly regarded kaupapa Māori research and professional development programme. Te kotahitanga commenced in 2001 and used student voices to inform the development of the project in three main ways: to identify discursive positions related to Māori student learning; to develop professional development activities for teachers; and to create an Effective Teaching Profile (ETP) (Bishop, et al., 2009). A project involving talking with young people, despite its obvious benefits, is still not usual. However, 70 Māori students participated in semi-structured interviews to gain an insight into their classroom experiences and what they made of these experiences (Bishop et al., 2009).

Bishop et al. (2009) found that deficit theorising was clear in initial interviews with teachers, as many teachers believed that Māori students were hindered by the pathological environments in which they lived. This view perpetuated teachers' already low expectations (Bishop et al., 2009), and once again conveniently 'passed the buck', blaming Māori themselves for the issues they were faced with. Dominant discourses of Māori as 'other', or not normal, apply here, but Bishop et al. (2009) did not delve into the complexity of discourse or the school as a discursive field (Foucault, 1980) that functions to shape the experiences of young Māori. A deficit discourse even seems to loom in positive reports of te kotahitanga, where the construction of Māori as 'other' is so

entrenched that the positive outcomes may have underlying oppressive discourses upholding them. This is demonstrated in a summary report by Meyer and the Ministry of Education (2010), which stated that “whānau reported that their children felt appreciated as Māori in school and were more positive about school than they themselves had been” (p.3). In addition, the following quote supports Māori as being ‘cultural’ (see Cooper’s 2012 ‘culture thesis’, Chapter Three) where the aim seems to be to make cultural Māori fit and achieve in a Eurowestern institution.

[O]n the whole and in most schools, they felt that they were able to 'be Māori' as learners rather than leaving their culture outside school, in order to succeed academically. Students reported enhanced valuing of their identity as Māori learners and increases in culturally responsive practices. Students gave examples of how schools either did or did not demonstrate valuing of Māori culture and language. They were able to define places and people – the Te Kotahitanga room, the marae, and Māori teachers – that helped them to ‘feel Māori’ at school in a positive way (Meyer & Ministry of Education, 2010, p.3).

Not surprisingly then, te kotahitanga is focused on raising Māori students’ educational achievement by changing teaching practices: “anti-deficit thinking, agentic positioning and the six elements of the ETP are the essential threads in this new approach to teaching” (Bishop et al., 2009, p.738). Agentic positioning or ‘agency’ are complex concepts, which seem to have become fashionable terms in education and school discourse. It is of concern, however, that the complexity of agency may not be very well understood by some who use it. (The position taken on agency in my work will be discussed in Chapter Three). One teacher involved in te kotahitanga described her experience of success below. However, deficit thinking could arguably still be present in the teacher’s reflection, and the words could read as Māori beating the odds of being Māori (see resilience in the next section).

[A]fter 16 years of teaching, my whole approach to teaching has been transformed by participation in this programme and the

support provided by the school's facilitation team. Māori students in my classes are achieving at levels consistent with and in some cases above New Zealand national means. The disparity between Māori and non-Māori achievement is quickly disappearing and students love coming to Mathematics classes (TKI)

Despite aims of transformation for Māori, 'at risk' discourses loom in the background of the excerpt. Smith, et al. (2012) would urge caution here as he suggests that a kaupapa Māori approach may receive government funding to train and benefit Pākehā.

A very recently released education report by the Office of the Children's Commissioner and the New Zealand School Trustees Association (2018), has included mostly Māori and Pasifika students in the key insights of six detailed reports that "listened carefully to what students have to say about their learning and educational experiences" (p.4). One of the six areas of enquiry specifically focused on the school experiences of Māori students. The report suggested that many young people (mostly Māori) said that they experienced racism at school. In addition, students expressed feeling a lack of choice and participation in making decisions about their education and personal lives. Further, a common theme young people proposed was that a great teacher can make all the difference to school experiences. This is no surprise, as Māori in the study felt burdened by negative stereotypes and teachers' assumptions about being Māori. Some verbatim excerpts from Māori students are provided below.

I'm real good at maths but my teacher just thinks I'm stupid so never gave me any time 'cept to get me in trouble. But if you're Pākehā it's all good. (Student in alternative education unit, Māori)

Because we're Māoris and the teacher might think we're dumb, don't wanna pay as much attention to you, and focus more on the white people. (Secondary school student, Māori)

The negative statistics are always reminders of how we fail... why do we constantly get reminded of how we fail? (Student in

alternative education, Māori) (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2018, pp. 19-20).

The rangatahi above, and much of the research that I have drawn on in this section, often alludes to the disadvantaged position that non-Māori see Māori to be in and hence, the need for Māori to be 'resilient'. What might a discourse of resilience be?

### **Resilience**

The term 'be more resilient!' has become a common catchphrase that can be seen as an indication of a dominant discourse around resilience. (Béné, Godfrey Wood, Newsham & Davies, 2012; Cretney & Bond, 2014; Joseph, 2013; Pianta & Walsh, 1998). It seems to have become a popular way to think about rangatahi too; Māori students are often described as being 'resilient' in the domain of education in my experience. The notion of resilience is part of the longstanding neoliberal agenda which began as an 'experiment' in the 1980s (Peters & Marshall, 1996) producing individuals as citizens or consumers who are 'free', and who can make their own 'life choices' and 'exercise agency', but who are expected to adhere to the competitive rules of participation in society. Davies (2014a) has discussed the role of neoliberalism with regard to the shaping of gender: "individualism under neoliberalism works to constitute gender difference as natural and normal, and hence desirable, making the forces at work shaping the individual invisible" (p.13). This 'shaping' of the individual can also be applied to notions of resilience. Further, the term resilience, as applied, has generally lacked any proper philosophical meaning (Joseph, 2013).

Resilience has been described as 'survival of the fittest' (McGuire, 2010). Some indigenous people have been critical of the term. Penehira et al. (2014), for example, have critically explored the development of resilience frameworks from Māori and indigenous views. Resilience forms a discourse that functions to maintain oppression for Māori by helping to support the individualist belief that those who are resilient can 'beat the odds' in their disadvantaged position of being Māori in the first place. In the box below I recount a relevant experience.

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*On several occasions in my experiences teaching, I remember fellow teachers would tell Māori students that they were "resilient". Other students would receive the same exhortation: those who were considered to be 'disadvantaged', e.g., those who did not learn quickly, or those who were from low-income, solo parent families. One male teacher would often award certificates to those students who had demonstrated 'resilience'. A 'house' (a subgrouping in our school) which had a 'Māori name' was created by cramming a cluster of five classrooms into one class. Students would sit on the ground, most with their arms crossed, waiting attentively in the hope of their name being called out so that they could then stand up and receive a certificate. A few students seated at the back would laugh, throw things around and not pay attention; these ceremonies didn't interest them. I remember words written on formal yearly reports by teachers about students who did receive such certificates: 'this student has continued to demonstrate resilience in our classroom'.*

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When Māori use theories or models of resilience, they may be seen as buying into the "... idea that this is the way it is and we need simply to get better at coping, at bouncing back and being resilient" (Penehira, et al., 2014, p.97). Māori have done this, no doubt with the best intentions. For example, Merritt (2003) conducted a psychological study that explored the phenomenon of resilience with regard to rangatahi wahine success at school. The study applied various research measures to identify factors that had contributed to the development of resilience in wahine lives, thus leading to 'success'. In a summary of her research Merritt (2003) summarised that:

...the results of this research show a promising path for enabling Māori girls to succeed despite backgrounds of hardship and adversity. This research shows the need to emphasise that adverse environments do not have to determine the path in life one is going to take (p.109).

Here, it seems that Merritt (2003) buys into the notion that Māori can 'beat the odds of being Māori'. Key ideas behind the notion of resilience are adaptation and transformation (Magis, 2010). Resilience here maintains and justifies the idea that Māori are in need and at risk and that the dominant culture is normal. Further, it individualises (Foucault, 1977; Joseph, 2013).

It is suggested that having an open, collaborative approach with Māori, which encourages parental involvement in education, leads to better behaviour and outcomes for young Māori (Bray & Hutchinson, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2015). Yet the school itself remains a colonial site where forming a collaborative approach often means conforming to Eurowestern ideals for Māori. In other words; normalisation (a discourse which is discussed in Chapter Three). This review now moves to focus explicitly on sexuality education, where many of the above ideas gain purchase in the classroom. An introduction of the curriculum area is followed by discussion of the most recent policy document. Other significant topics and issues around sexuality education, rangatahi and young people are then presented.

## Sexuality Education

The curriculum area of sexuality education (formerly sex education) has long been an issue of controversy, a place of 'roaring silence' in Aotearoa, and has been highly contested since its beginnings (Jackson & Weatherall, 2010). Earliest interest in sexuality education arose in the 1920s. However, it was not until the 1960s that sexuality education was highlighted in the political arena.

Organisations such as the Family Planning Association argued for school-based sex education programmes covering liberal ideas at that time, which were strongly opposed by conservative groups. Debate continued, fueled further by sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDs. The late 1980s saw the introduction of sexuality education to the health education curriculum (Jackson & Weatherall, 2010). It was the only subject in the curriculum that required parental consultation, and offered the right to withdraw from participation (Elliott & Lambourn, 1999). Sexuality education remains a vexed issue, and although it has been visible in documents since 1990 (MOE, 1999), programmes have been

unstable to say the least, with some intermittent and some absent all together (Fitzpatrick, 2018).

Arguably holding little value in schools (Fitzpatrick, 2015), sexuality education does have a clear standing in the New Zealand curriculum document as one of the seven key learning areas in health and physical education (Ministry of Education, 2007). It is compulsory to teach health and physical education. However schools are not required to deliver particular aspects, and I surmise that this may often include sexuality education. Further, if sexuality education is offered, parents continue to have the right to withdraw students from participation (Fitzpatrick, 2018).

School is a place where sexual meanings and identities are constructed and regulated, a place where power is exercised on the bodies of students. Allen has indicated that schools continue to portray student sexuality as 'unruly' and 'problematic' (Allen, 2009). Since Allen's observation, a new sexuality curriculum document has been released. Allen made the comment "bodies matter at school" (2009, p.444). Her ambiguous statement highlights, among other things, the notion that bodies are literally matter and this upholds a new feminist materialist position (see Chapter Three). Further, her statement supports her argument for the corporeal bodies of young people to be counted as important, as the history of schooling in Aotearoa has continued to either ignore students' bodies or police them in distinct ways (Allen, 2009), despite curriculum policy that now advocates for 'holistic' views of education in which the study of 'human health' is "only comprehensible as part of social and political contexts" (Fitzpatrick & Burrows, 2017, p.553).

### **Sexuality Education Curriculum Guide**

The most recent development in this curriculum area is the recently released publication, *Sexuality Education: A Guide for principals, boards of trustees, and teachers* (Ministry of Education, 2015). It is thus important to explore the effect that the release of these guidelines has had in schools and for young people. It seems the document has gained little attention since its release, with the

exception of studies by Fitzpatrick (2018) and Garland-Levett (2017). In the updated revision the aim of sexuality education is identified, which states:

...the overall aim of the revised guide is to support school boards, principals, and teachers to deliver effective, quality sexuality education programmes and, through them, to support the positive and holistic development and health of all students in New Zealand primary, intermediate, and secondary schools” (MOE, 2015, p. 3).

Some noteworthy improvements have been made in the *Guide* in response to recommendations from reviews. For example, the *Guide* urges schools to develop programmes centred on young people’s interests and to move away from the danger, risk and prevention discourse (Garland-Levett, 2017; MOE, 2015). This move has been long called for (Allen, 2004; Allen, 2007a; Jackson & Weatherall, 2010; Sanjakdar, et al. 2015; J. Young, 2002). Another promising statement in the *Guide* suggests that

All young people need access to information and opportunities to think about, question, and discuss issues related to relationships, gender, sexual identities, sexual orientation, sexual behaviour, sexual and reproductive health, and societal messages. Sexuality education provides a framework in which this can happen.” (Ministry of Education, 2015, p.4).

In contrast to the commonplace health promotion interventions, this policy is a unique example of a curriculum document that clearly values diversity, inclusive school environments, and positions sexuality education as an area of study (Fitzpatrick, 2018). However, as Garland-Levett (2017) points out, these inclusive and holistic intentions may be inhibited by competing discourses of education and sexuality. According to Garland-Levett: “the liberal recognition of cultural, ethnic, sexual and gender diversity in the curriculum unintentionally reinscribes an unmarked white, secular, heterosexuality as the norm” (p.121). Foucault’s (1983) advice that ‘everything is dangerous’ is useful when considering what may pass as a ‘complete’ new policy document.

My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous then we always have something to do (Foucault, 1983, pp. 231-232).

The *Guide* emphasises assessment, encouraging the measurement of learning in the area of sexuality education (MOE, 2015) as though it is no different from other curriculum areas. This is no surprise when the Education Review Office suggests that schools “collect, analyse and use assessment information to track students’ progress and achievement in sexuality education, and adapt programmes to meet students’ needs” (ERO, 2007, p.40). Further, ERO’s (2018) latest report states that a common barrier to the quality of sexuality education programmes is the “lack of assessment and evaluation in sexuality education” (p.7). Positive and critical sexuality education is perhaps then easily undermined when “relentless testing and measurement of individual outcomes threatens the potential for meaningful and transformative learning in discussion and debate” (Garland- Levett, 2017, p.125). Research has sought to follow suit: “typically, research about young people’s sexual knowledge refers to their ability to demonstrate correct answers and understandings about contraceptive use, STIs, sexual abuse and pregnancy prevention...” (Allen, 2001, p.111).

It seems that the *Guide* has sought to “legitimate the voices (and bodies) and sexualities of those often missing from the official curricula... in the hope that school might become a safer and more affirming space for young people” (Garland-Levett, 2017, p.124). A list of “missing” students omits Māori, as Māori are boldly featured in most curriculum policy documents, including this one. In contrast to this *Guide*, which includes the word ‘Māori’ throughout, a recently released sexuality education document in Australia (Aotearoa’s nearest neighbour), pays no attention to culturally and ethically complex ideas around sexuality, and issues pertaining to indigenous people, colonisation and sexuality are silenced (Walsh, Mitchell, & Hudson, 2015). Le Grice and Braun (2018) state that

...current policy initiatives tend to treat Māori considerations and needs as an extra ‘add on’, rather than considering the potential

for Māori approaches to be utilised across the board to contribute to the development of sexuality education initiatives and improve sexual health outcomes. (p.175).

Therefore, being included in a document does not smoothly translate to Māori voices and sexualities being any more legitimated than those in the 'missing' list above. A paragraph in the introduction of the *Guide* has been dedicated to acknowledge the rather obvious: that Māori attend Western institutions, and teachers and schools have responsibilities here.

The majority of Māori students attend English-medium schools. Research indicates that Māori students can thrive when "being Māori" is affirmed by the school, Māori culture is valued, and teachers are supported to challenge their attitudes, skills, and practices in relation to Māori students (Tuuta et al, 2004; Bishop et al, 2003). The revised guide aims to help schools to plan and deliver sexuality education and affirm the strengths and contributions of Māori students, whānau Māori, and Māori communities. (Ministry of Education, 2015, p.3)

The aim above may support Quinlivan, Rasmussen, Aspin, Allen, and Sanjakdar's (2014) view that despite being unintentional, teachers often 're-colonise' when they attempt to bring indigenous knowledges into sexuality education. An Education Review Office report on sexuality education for Years 7 to 13 (ERO, 2007) states that schools that teach sexuality education effectively "encourage teachers to provide for the needs of diverse groups of students" (p.76). Perhaps this is another way of stating that those who are different are in need. Their report observed that only one fifth of schools were assumed to be effectively including Māori understandings of sexuality in their teaching of sexuality education (ERO, 2007). In providing schools with suggestions to plan and deliver sexuality education to Māori, a rather questionable section in the Guide titled: *Effective and empowering approaches to sexuality education for Māori students* provides some recommendations. Suggestions given under this section include:

Invite students to explore notions of whakapapa or their origins, using the important questions “ko wai koe” (who are you?) and “no hea koe” (where are you from/where are your whanau from?)... use stories about how the world and everything in it came to be, for example, the stories of Rangi and Papa and of the children of Rangi and Papa, and affirm and reinforce the strengths and value of being Māori in New Zealand, and across the world, evidenced by the relationships that Māori have with other Indigenous peoples (p.24)

It is difficult to envisage ways in which these exercises would enhance Māori sexuality; rather this section could be seen as tokenistic in its inclusion of ‘topics’ assumed to need coverage. Asking Māori students ‘who they are’ and discussing Rangi and Papa from Eurowestern frameworks in a sexuality class is likely to be seen as irrelevant, patronising, and could disfigure the valuable meaning of the creation story (see Hokowhitu, 2014a, 2014b). Although experts have acknowledged that: “indigenous knowledges can contribute to good sexual health psychologies for all” (Le Grice & Braun, 2018, p.175), this effort to include Māori in the documents seems to do little more than reduce Māori to a culture of tradition in search of the ‘authentic Māori’ (Hokowitu, 2009), identifying Māori as not normal and in ‘need’. It highlights Cooper’s argument (2012) that “problematically—much educational policy and discourse concerning Māori achievement continues to rest on cultural, not epistemological, imperatives” (p.68). For example, there are ‘suggestions for consulting with Māori’, which include: “holding a consultation meeting after a whanau event, or a sports or cultural event and including refreshments has been successful for many schools” (p.36).

However, the document is certainly an example of education policy that has been written with more caution about how Māori are positioned. This is clear when reflecting on the ERO (2007) report, which, in the third sentence of the introduction on the first page, states: “The rate of sexually transmitted

infections, especially among Māori and Pacific youth, is increasing" (ERO, 2007, p. 4). These words are absent from the *Guide* (2015), but function as deficit discourses about Māori. It is necessary to present the summary chapter of the ERO's (2018) newly released sexuality education report, which evaluated the programmes being delivered across 116 Aotearoa schools:

ERO found that, overall, curriculum coverage remains inconsistent. Some schools are not meeting minimum standards of compliance with current requirements. Most schools are meeting minimum standards, but many have significant gaps in curriculum coverage. Although biological aspects of sexuality and puberty are well covered, more in-depth coverage is needed for aspects like consent, digital technologies and relationships. Sexual violence and pornography were covered in fewer than half of the secondary schools ERO visited. Furthermore, the groups identified as being disadvantaged in the 2007 report [Māori being one group] remain less well catered for, despite being at higher risk of negative wellbeing outcomes (p.5)

Unfortunately, despite some schools demonstrating 'good practice', the report suggests that the longstanding problems with sexuality education in Aotearoa remain today. So despite the importance that the report gives to sexuality education, including the statements that suggest sexuality education improves overall health and wellbeing, large gaps remain (ERO, 2018). It is important to consider how relevant the model really is. What has been hailed as a Māori icon of health and wellbeing, Te Whare Tapa Whā, is endorsed in the *Guide* and policy documents alike. The next section considers its relevance for sexuality education and rangatahi.

### **Te Whare Tapa Whā**

Te Whare Tapa Whā is a holistic Māori health model, which has been universally implemented and cited over the past 30 years (Hokowhitu, 2014) and remains in use by Māori academics (Chalmers, 2014; Kerekere, 2017; Ruru, 2016). The model, created by Mason Durie in 1980s, was developed through the analysis of

Māori views, which were gathered on marae and then applied to Māori communities in a range of settings (Durie, 1998). The model aimed to articulate a better understanding of Māori health and thus stands as one of the four key concepts at the heart of the New Zealand health and physical education curriculum (MOE, 2007).

In the sexuality *Guide*, Te Whare Tapa Whā is described as being helpful when considering health, sexuality and relationships (Ministry of Education, 2007). The *Guide* (Ministry of Education, 2015) endorses the use of the framework in sexuality education classrooms. Fitzpatrick (2018), who was the lead writer of the *Guide*, supports the position of Te Whare Tapa Whā in the *Guide*, and draws on Hokowhitu (2014) to support her argument. This is something of a paradox, as Hokowhitu (2014a) is most critical of its watered-down and ill-fitted use.

In a critique of Mason Durie's Te Whare Tapa Whā, Hokowhitu (2014a) argues that the four pillars: tinana (physical), hinengaro (mental), whanau (relational) and wairua (spiritual) merely reflect Eurowestern models of health. Hence, simplistic and unworthy translations of each pillar allow for assimilation and a narrowing focus (Heaton, 2015; Hokowhitu, 2014a). Hokowhitu (2014) argues that these concepts are not translatable to Eurowestern frameworks; particularly wairua, which is akin to a global essence that imbues all things, both living and inanimate. The point is that although the model may begin with Māori concepts, these are soon disfigured and disassembled. I note that the tool has most likely been misused by some Māori too. If school leaders and teachers universally valued and understood the complexity of Te Whare Tapa Whā, it might then become effectively used in sexuality education. The model perhaps stands to 'look good on paper', but what has it meant in terms of quality of practice? A quick visit To Te Whare Tapa Whā by someone who has little or no Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori) and experience can be damaging, and perhaps even to someone with this knowledge, if the framework is inherently flawed as Hokowhitu (2014a) suggests. My own experience below demonstrates some of the complexities.

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*I have a relief teacher in my classroom who decides to teach a 'Māori health lesson', which consists of handing out a photograph of a random marae she had found online. On the four pillars of the Marae are the handwritten dimensions of Te Whare Tapa Whā. She (pākehā, middle class) asks the students to glue it into their books and write on the next page how they feel about each dimension: tinana (physical), hinengaro (mental), whanau (relational) and wairua (spiritual). I feel that my students know better. While her instructions are being given I am overcome by sadness and shame. Is this what teaching Māori means? I leave the room to work elsewhere.*

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The experience above demonstrates that the inclusion of a 'Māori model' framework is both complex and dangerous. However, based on my experience, if the school principal or a person from the national Education Review Office had entered the classroom during the lesson, they might have commended the teacher on her 'model example' of ensuring 'Māori' is included in the 'bicultural' classroom.

### **Māori knowledge in sexuality Education**

There seems to have been only been one study that provides clear articulations of ways that matauranga Māori in the area of sexuality education can be claimed and effectively implemented in educational institutions. Le Grice and Braun (2018) argue that a holistic approach to sexuality attends to the aspirations of all, which is often said but not done, and further argue that sexuality education should not take place without discussions about the impact of colonisation on Māori sexuality. Indigenous knowledge in sexuality education, delivered with expertise, has the power to make transformational change for rangatahi and non-Māori alike; here the taken-for-granted, deeply ingrained Eurowestern concepts can be unsettled. Le Grice and Braun (2018) translate mātauranga Māori knowledges around sexuality into tangible descriptions that can be used to inform sexuality education, far beyond what is currently done, arguing in favour of:

...understanding sexuality as a taonga – something significant and precious; the notion of raho – as an inclusive way of understanding attraction and normalised sex, gendered and sexual diversity; and reading the physical landscape of Māori spaces as an educative context, for depictions of sexuality in carvings and performing arts. It also includes the ways in which we negotiate how we understand the inherent dignity and tapu of our reproductive bodies (Moewaka-Barnes, 2010; Murphy, 2011) and respect the dignity and tapu of those we engage within sexual relationships much like we do with our friendships, relationships and attachments to the natural environment ( p.183)

This brief outline of the complex and positive ways in which Māori frame sexuality is very unlike current material in education policy documents, which aim to advocate for the inclusion of ‘Māori understandings’ of sexuality (Ministry of Education, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2015). There are positive and productive possibilities for the types of sexuality education lessons and discussions that could take place, if the concepts that LeGrice and Braun (2018) offer were taken seriously. The next section considers other key issues in the realm of young people, in terms of sexuality education and beyond, which affect the lived experiences of rangatahi.

## Key Issues in Sexuality Education Research

Some prominent issues that remain in the realm of sexuality education include the representation of masculinity and femininity (Allen, 2009, 2011a; Jackson & Weatherall, 2010); sexuality education’s strong focus on danger and risk (Gunn & Smith, 2015); and the absence of desire (Fine, 1988), or a discourse of erotics (Allen, 2004). These prevalent issues call for attention. The sections below draw on discursive research to take these concerns further.

### **Heteronormativity**

Heteronormativity, in short, is the view that heterosexual orientation is normal, natural, unquestionable and taken-for-granted, and anything that deviates from this is not (Gunn, 2011) (this will be further discussed in Chapter Three). Gunn

(2011) states that “heteronormativity, the concept that heterosexual sexuality is an institutionalized norm and a superior and privileged standard, is held firm when discourses of gender, sexualities and family form converge (p.280). Schools also uphold this standard, providing a context for regulating social and moral order (Allen, 2001; Davies, 2008). In particular, secondary school students move within and adhere to strict rules of gender. Hence, schools are powerful heteronormalising spaces where heteronormative education practices take place. Some students are legitimised and others are called into question (Allen, 2011a; Fitzpatrick, 2015; Gunn, 2011; Gunn & Smith, 2015; Robinson, 2015).

Heterosexuality upholds a dualism of female as passive and male as sexually active, constraining possibilities for the ways young people experience sexuality (Tolman, Striepe & Harmon, 2010). Davies (1997) notes that “classrooms are, after all, also sites of struggle, struggles that are about existence and about power” (p. 282). Thus, heteronormativity remains pervasive in all sectors of education in Aotearoa (Allen, 2015, Smith & Gunn, 2015), despite Aotearoa having some of the most advanced human rights legislation and often being referred to as ‘gay friendly’ country (Gunn & Lee, 2015). This inclusiveness is not necessarily apparent for many, and is seldom reflected in Aotearoa educational institutions (Allen, 2011a, 2015a; L. A. Smith, 2015). Heterosexist biases in the teaching of sexuality, in particular with regard to gender equity, were highlighted by J. Young’s (2002) research. Taking a feminist poststructural perspective, she explored the potential for sexuality education to disrupt or reinforce existing gender inequalities.

[M]any who look critically at sexuality education are concerned with the ways schooling, sexuality and sexuality education intersect with and contribute to the construction of feminine and masculine subjectivities and ‘compulsory’ heterosexuality (p.21)

A recently released book on "sexual cultures" in Aotearoa (Gunn, Smith & Robinson, 2015) provides up-to-date research and insight focused on the ever-present force of heteronormativity in all sectors of Aotearoa education. Here school is described as a formal heteronormative space. The book illustrates how

this force is promoted and/or resisted within the public spaces of educational settings. The book calls for:

...a great deal of support for teachers and policy-makers to work actively in the interests of social justice and against the oppressions of the (hetero)norm (Gunn, Smith & Robinson, 2015, p.228).

In a concluding comment, it was noted by the authors that the experiences of Māori have been lightly touched on. Hence, a recommendation for further research was proposed that may provide insight into how Māori students “navigate their home and school cultures” (Gunn, Smith & Robinson, 2015, p.227).

The exploration of heteronormativity goes well beyond the scope of sexual orientation, as normalising practices that show the ‘good’ way of being a male or female are present in the everyday rituals of the school. For example, the notion of heterosexuality is inscribed by holding a mock heterosexual wedding ceremony in school (Allen, 2011a, Robinson, 2015). My own experiences of teaching are congruent with this focus.

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*During my time teaching at a school in 2015, I noted the huge importance which was placed on having the boys wait at the bottom of the steps at every school assembly in order to ensure that the girls would make it down the steps 'safely', and, if need be, catch them if they were to 'fall'.*

*Each Wednesday I sit with my students in the school hall on a wooden bench seat in one of our designated two rows. During our whole school formal assemblies, students are often called up onto the stage. When leaving the stage, the boys walk down the steps, and as 'gentlemen do', they wait at the bottom to ensure that the girls make it down the steps 'safely', and, if need be, catch them if they were to 'fall'. I cringe.*

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These practices no doubt contribute to research findings that show young people's ideas often reflect the dominant discursive constructions of sexuality present in the wider society, which in turn reinforce social inequality. For example, perhaps the seemingly harmless ritual above of 'being a man' and assisting the 'woman who needs help' functions to uphold 'the male sex drive'. The male sex drive stems from dominant heteronormative concepts of sexuality, which have their roots in colonial history and are underpinned by Christian discourse of the body, sex and gender (Fitzpatrick, 2015). 'This discourse frames men's sexual drive as a gluttonous and uncontrollable hunger being impossible to satisfy. Feminist analysis has long denied this 'naturalness', and instead a view of the power at work and male patriarchy are of concern here, according to Hollway (1984). Hollway (1984) describes this very familiar discourse.

The 'male sexual drive' discourse confers the following meanings on men's sexual feelings and behaviour. First, the sexual drive is a natural propensity that men have. Second, it makes them want to have sex with women (note the heterosexist assumptions). Third, it is normal and healthy not just because it is natural but because it is the product of a biological necessity--an evolutionary imperative--which ensures the survival of the human species...After all, men can't help their urges (p.63)

It is refreshing to note, however, that not all young people are accepting of the dominant discourses presented to them (Allen, 2007a). Allen (2007a) has found evidence to suggest that some young people are refusing to accept these positions, demonstrating the complexity and richness of research that examines discourse, discourse reproduction and the interplay between dominant and subordinate discourses.

Johansson (2012) also suggests that past research on young people, gender and sexuality has continued to present polarized and stereotypical patterns of young people and how they relate to their own bodies, desires and sex. However, he notes that that it is exciting to see today's scholars involved in research that

complicates and troubles the picture. Johansson (2012) states the need to hold what he refers to as a 'double gaze' – an ability to see both continuity and change, as boundaries move and shift. The next section highlights some notions of heteronormativity, which seem to rely on a strong Christian base.

### **Danger in Sexuality Education**

Schools value students who are not sexual and this is communicated through discourses and associated practices as they operate in schools (Allen, 2007a). In contrast to a feminist view, which suggests that sexuality education in Aotearoa has been dominated by a safer sex/victimisation discourse (Jackson & Weatherall, 2010), groups remain that maintain a narrow view of sexuality with clear boundaries of what is right and wrong. Family First New Zealand is a charitable group that claims to speak up about 'what is best for families in New Zealand'. Family First supports marriage as foundational to a 'healthy society' and emphasises that the group is underpinned by Judeo-Christian values, which according to them, have benefited New Zealand for generations.

Two recent reports commissioned by Family First have been released (Grossman & White, 2013; Stanton 2015). One of the reports aims to clear the misunderstandings of gender identity. It is interesting that both reports were commissioned by Family First but were written by North American authors. Perhaps in making a small reference to the two articles in the following paragraphs, we can attest that the area of sexuality education and research has made some excellent progress, and we could only imagine what a sexuality education curriculum may look like, and what possible damage it might cause, if it were developed by a group like Family First New Zealand.

Grossman and White's (2013) report critically reviewed sexuality education, as well as sexuality education resources in Aotearoa, including the work of Family Planning (see [iwannaknow.org](http://iwannaknow.org) and [curious.org.nz](http://curious.org.nz)). Grossman and White (2013) argued that sexuality resources used in Aotearoa endorse teen sex and dangerous behaviours. In promoting the need to delay sex until adulthood the message they suggested for young people follows.

We are fighting a war against a horde of bugs, and the bugs are winning. Sure, sex is great, but it's an appetite, and just like all appetites, it must be restrained. You have urges, and they are healthy urges—but it is not healthy for you to act on them, not at this time in your lives (p.3).

Family First argues for strong notions of control and surveillance to be placed over young people, as its members believe that young people are not capable of making choices safely. They make reference to young people's immature brains. Discourse around immature and fragile teenage brains are not a new phenomenon and Payne (2010) has troubled the common assumption that "behaviour in adolescence seals an individual's fate, and they must do everything possible to save teenagers from themselves" (pp.87-88). Throughout the report terms such as 'danger', 'grave risks' 'truths', and 'vulnerable' are used. Family First is highly critical of the work of groups such as Family Planning (a nationwide provider of sexual and reproductive health information, clinical services, education and research) and describe Family Planning as operating in a radical and 'sex promoting' manner.

*Boys, Girls, Other* is the second report that aims to 'undo' the confusion in the area of gender identity (Stanton, 2015). The report begins by suggesting that one is either a boy or a girl; there is no third possibility. This idea sets the tone for the remainder of the report, which is based around deconstructing so called 'myths of gender'. The 'myths' include: 'Binary is a bad word', 'Boy and Girl, Man and Woman are social constructs', 'Gender is a spectrum' and 'The legitimacy of gender studies'. The report makes bold claims throughout such as:

...our children develop in either general male or female ways - in conjunction with their biological natures - in relatively natural ways although they might sometimes require some direction and encouragement from both mum and dad in some of these developments (Stanton, 2015, p.8).

Groups like Family First are battling for what they think will improve the sexual wellbeing of young people in Aotearoa. However, so too are others with very

contrasting ideas of young people and sexuality, such as Louisa Allen, who is calling for a discourse of erotics to be included in the education of young people (Allen, 2004).

### **The Concept of Erotics**

The areas of sexual pleasure and desire are central to young people's sexual well-being (Allen, 2004) and it has long been argued that concepts of pleasure or, as Allen (2004) would say, a discourse of erotics (which includes sexual desire and pleasure), should be included in sexuality education (Allen, 2005a; Fine, 1988; McGeeney, 2017). The recommendation below was called for over a decade ago by Fine and McClelland (2006) with regard to young people in North American secondary schools. It seems that this is a goal yet to be achieved in sexuality education in Aotearoa, and the last sentence certainly 'hits hard'.

...campaigns and research projects for healthy youth development can be launched in schools, community centres, libraries, clinics, afterschool programs, and on the Internet, in which conversations about desire, danger, power, and bodies can be reclaimed as spaces for doubt, giggles, honesty, negotiation, struggle, pleasure, pain, and information. Young people are dying for good conversation about sexuality, and are dying without it (Fine & McClelland, 2006, p.328).

Fine stated 30 years ago that "a genuine discourse of desire would invite adolescence to explore what feels good and bad, desirable and undesirable, grounded in experiences, needs, and limits" (p.33). Fine's work looked at missing discourses of desire, including the sexual desires of young women in particular. Consistent with this, Allen (2005b) found that the knowledge most valued by young people in Aotearoa in sexuality education was knowledge gained through practical experience. Perhaps a missing discourse of erotics is the most significant factor contributing to the common theme of the dissatisfaction that young people have with the sexuality education programmes they receive (Allen, 2007a).

Te Ahurei a Rangatahi delivered the Rangatahi Sexual Health Programme, which was developed in 1997. The programme was evaluated by Nikora, Tamatea, Faribrother and Te Awekotuku (2001) and was found to be mostly meeting stakeholders' needs. The research suggested that wanting to know more about sexual relationships was the topic ranked by rangatahi as being the most of interest (Nikora, et al., 2001). This finding calls for the inclusion of a discourse of erotics, which is a form of sexuality education that is relevant, engaging and meets young people's needs (Allen, 2001, 2005b, 2007a, 2011a). According to Allen (2001):

Including a discourse of erotics in sex education programmes should not be at the expense of official messages about, for example, safer sex. Rather, these messages might be reformulated within a discourse of erotics to capture the interest and attention of more young people, and integrate this important information into a reality that more readily matches their sexual practice.  
(Allen, p.120)

Despite Allen's research, which prioritised young people's views, a discourse of erotics appears to remain largely missing from sexuality education discourse in Aotearoa schools; hence the gap for rangatahi highlighted by Nikora et al. (2001) remains unmet. The recent curriculum *Guide* (Ministry of Education, 2015) discussed earlier, mentions 'positive sexual health practices', but as Garland-Levett (2017) states:

Despite The Guide's nod to sex-positive feminist literature, pleasure's explicit omission reflects a continued political landscape in which we remain unable to publically align sexual pleasure with young bodies. It perpetuates the message that sexual pleasure is taboo, reproduces the mind/body dualism that underpins school learning and reinforces social unease with recognising young people's sexual subjectivities (p.125)

Erotics forms an important and complex part of sexuality, yet unfortunately it is near absent from sexuality education programmes (Allen, 2004; 2007a). In failing to acknowledge young people's pleasures and desires in the context of sexuality education, an opportunity for sexual empowerment and entitlement maybe lost (Allen, 2004).

## Chapter Summary

There remains an undeniable lingering legacy of colonisation (Le Grice, 2018), which continues to produce unfavourable outcomes for Māori in State policy, research and statistics (Green, 2011). However, there is also a growing resistance that challenges the status quo, and this literature review has included Māori academics and research that demonstrate this resistance and indicate positive developments in the research arena. This will be extended in Chapter Three as an in-depth discussion of kaupapa Māori, indigenous Māori research and theory and the position this research takes is presented.

Rangatahi have been well-researched subjects in education and sexuality research, but this research generally perpetuates the dominant discourses and disparity statistics, which position rangatahi as 'at risk' and 'in need' (Green, 2011; Le Grice, 2014). Sexuality education has seen some important curriculum changes, including more open and critical promotion of sexuality topics that are less focused on puberty, biological facts and safe-sex orientations, however, young people's responses to the recent release of the sexuality *Guide* (Ministry of Education, 2015) have not been heard. Issues remain, including the lack of attention to the concept of erotics, the pervasiveness of heteronormativity and groups with strong messages about sexuality and young people being influenced by concepts of danger.

Over 15 years ago, J. Young (2002), drew attention to the lack of research on sexuality education from students' perspectives. She noted that what was missing from her research was students' voices. She acknowledged the need for research that includes students' thoughts on sexuality education, and their

perceptions of sexuality and gender. Thanks to the work of Allen and a few others in the research domain of sexuality education and young people, there has been immense progress in valuing student voices in the area of sexuality education research in Aotearoa. However, honouring the voices and perspectives of young Māori remains mostly unexplored territory. Very few studies explicitly address the perspectives of Māori and Pasifika students (Fitzpatrick, 2015; Le Grice & Braun, 2018). This forms part of the basis for the present research. There remains a need to attend to rangatahi accounts of sexuality education needs (Le Grice & Braun, 2018) and further, a need to consider how rangatahi make sense of diverse and competing discourses around gender, relationships and other sexuality-related topics (Le Grice, 2018; Barnes, 2010).

Given the importance of and uncertainties about sexuality education for Māori identified in the literature and research above, the present research aims to further explore the complex entanglements of rangatahi, sexuality, sexuality education and secondary schooling. My research with and about rangatahi, sexuality and education does not claim to be a whole picture of what it means to be rangatahi in Aotearoa, nor does it aim to provide an objective list of answers or findings that have somehow 'emerged' from past research.

The next chapter explores theoretical frameworks that raise new questions for research in this area. The theoretical ideas in Chapter Three assisted the research in asking new theoretical questions and making new proposals about conducting less-normalised ways of doing research, thus providing the theoretical framework that situated the research and shaped everything that followed.

# CHAPTER THREE

## Theoretical Framing

### Key Philosophical Fields and Concepts

If we think we already know what is out there, we will almost surely miss much of it (Bennett, 2010, p. xv).

This chapter presents the ideas that are central to this research. These originate in the work of indigenous academics in Aotearoa, feminist poststructuralist thought, and the more recent momentum of new feminist materialisms. In drawing upon concepts from these philosophical paradigms, I have selected some Eurowestern ideas to support an indigenous goal. The concepts I discuss provide a space in which to explore and illuminate fragments of the complex lived experiences of rangatahi in the entanglements (Barad, 2007) of sexuality, sexuality education, and secondary school in Aotearoa.

This chapter, like a mokoroa tunnel, begins by outlining the broad underpinning foundational concepts, including my perspective on ethico-onto-epistemology, followed by key discussion of three key philosophical fields: kaupapa Māori or Māori indigenous research, feminist poststructuralism, and new feminist materialisms. As the mokoroa chews and tunnels, narrower and smaller veins are created; specific concepts from these fields are described as they arise and form the theoretical ideas I chose to privilege in this research and which are applied in my analysis. At the end of the theoretical tunnel, the specific detail of how the analysis was approached is outlined (Chapter Five).

## Thinking with Barad's ethico-onto-epistemology

The often blurred and confusing philosophical disciplines of ontology and epistemology influence this research, as for any research (whether acknowledged or not). There is not space here to provide a thorough exploration of the various definitions and uses of ontology and epistemology. Instead, this section introduces the overall position this research takes in considering some of the 'big ideas' about the nature of the world and existence.

Traditionally defined in isolation, ontology and epistemology are philosophical notions concerned with truth, being and knowledge, based on what is believed about the world and life, and how we know what we know (Crotty; 1998; Goertz & Mahoney, 2012; Grace, 2008; Scotland, 2012). These terms address questions such as "What is real? What is the truth? How do we know what we know? How is knowledge developed?" (Grace, 2008, p.20). Each theoretical perspective generally embodies a particular "way of understanding *what is* (ontology) as well as a certain way of understanding *what it means to know* (epistemology)" (Crotty, 1998, p.10, his italics).

There are narrower views of ontology; for example, Bearance and Holmes (2015) stress the need to "develop a deeper understanding of one's ontology through...exploring one's own lived experiences, perceptions, and reality" (2015, p.144). They argue that ontology enables one to see who one is and how the world is. This is problematic from both a Māori view of the self and things and from poststructuralist and new materialist perspectives, as 'one' can never know one's self, as we are always changing and in a state of *becoming* as opposed to being. *Becoming* produces change (and later, will be discussed). Further, ontology is not a personal thing a person 'has' as living is not an individual process, but a process of entanglement.

To be entangled is not simply to be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but to lack an independent, self-contained existence. Existence is not an individual affair.

Individuals do not preexist their interactions; rather, individuals

emerge through and as part of their entangled intra-relating  
(Barad, 2007, p. x.)

I perceive that we live, or as Barad (2007) would say, intra-act, in certain ways because of our past and present experiences with the world. I surmise that our personal ideas around ontology, like everything else in the world, are not fixed (Todd, 2016), which keeps my ideas of ontology and epistemology focused on the mysterious process of always *becoming*. As stated by Bennett (2010) in the introductory quote for this chapter, we will never be able to understand the world completely and this gives us something to speculate about. I appreciate that there are rich and varied perspectives on reality and the nature of being in the world.

It is now common to see ontology and epistemology as closely connected. For example, Poli and Seibt (2010) suggest that ontological and epistemological perspectives are not easily separable, often blurred, and interweave and influence each other in dynamic ways. Some researchers have suggested that the concepts are one and the same: “the relationship between ontology, epistemology and ethics is no relationship at all in our view, for these are merely different terms for the same thing and are entirely substitutable for each other” (Stanley & Wise, 2002, p.226). I will not pursue this argument further, and ‘one and the same’ is perhaps not recognising the subtleties of writing on this topic. Instead, I suggest that ontology and epistemology are entangled. I agree with theorists such as Barad (2007) who suggest that ontology and epistemology should not be separated from each other. “Practices of knowing and being are not isolable; they are mutually implicated. We don’t obtain knowledge by standing outside the world; we know because we are of the world” (p.185). Or, as Taylor and Iverson (2013) have noted, as we do not have a bird’s-eye position from which to look down at our world, we need to take seriously our own messy, connected, implicated, embodied participation in knowledge production.

The focus of some poststructural and feminist theorising has emphasised epistemology, where the ‘real’ has taken a back seat to the discursive. The move

to more recent discussions of ontology has been warily approached by some, as it has been assumed that conforming to a realist view of a fixed reality and the seeking of absolute knowledge is at stake (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008). This is not the case with the more recent posthuman conceptions of ontology, however, as Hekman (2008) makes clear.

The “new ontology” does assume that “there is a world out there.” It is an ontology in this sense. But it also assumes that our only access to that world is linguistic: we know the world through the concepts and theories we have formulated. But it is also the case that the world shapes and constrains our knowledge... the new ontology assumes that concepts and theories have material consequences (p.109).

In short, the change in focus with regard to ontology does not undo or underemphasise the discursive. What it does acknowledge, which aligns with my own thinking, is that although they depict it, our human ideas no longer are the single constituters of the world (Alaimo & Hekman 2008). Ways of knowing should not be claimed as uniquely human practices, not just because of the obvious way that we use non-human agents in our practices, but more, “...because knowing is a matter of part of the world making itself intelligible to another part” (Barad, 2007, p.185). In short, I take up the position that discourse and matter are conjoined players in life for humans and non-humans. This thesis follows the Baradian view that we are materially-discursively in process while we are here in this world, and matter and discourse are inseparable. Meaning is thus made then in the intra-activity of the materiality and discursiveness of the world. In this chapter, I make a case for a material-discursive analysis to unsettle the dualism of matter and discourse.

The separation of ontology and epistemology can be seen as an echo of a metaphysics that “assumes a difference between human and nonhuman, subject and object, mind and body, matter and discourse” (Barad, 2007, p.185). Following this argument, I do not attempt to define or discuss either ontology or epistemology in isolation, and “the study of practices of knowing in being” (Barad, 2007, p.185) is a better way to consider the terms. Further to this, and

well suited to this research, is Barad's term ethico-onto-epistemology, which emphasises the ethical accountabilities central to new feminist materialisms (Barad, 2007; Taylor & Hughes, 2016). Ethico-onto-epistemology encompasses:

...an appreciation of the intertwining of ethics, knowing, and being— since each intra-action matters, since the possibilities for what the world may become call out in the pause that precedes each breath before a moment comes into being and the world is remade again, because the becoming of the world is a deeply ethical matter (Barad, 2007, 185).

For this research ethico-onto-epistemology ensures that how I conceive the relation of knowledge and being and the relationships between the human and the nonhuman are profoundly ethical issues (St.Pierre, Mazzei, & Jackson, 2016). I agree that change in the world may *become* when we can learn to no longer only think of a world where human domination of other humans and all other matter is desired, responsibility from harm done is deflected, and an unjust distribution of (human) power remains (Bennett, 2010). Ethics can no longer sit in the position that comes after the 'facts' (Thiele, 2014).

...ethics is not simply about the subsequent consequences of our ways of interacting with the world, as if effect followed cause in a linear chain of events. Ethics is about mattering, about taking account of the entangled materializations of which we are part, including new configurations, new subjectivities, new possibilities (Barad, 2007, p.384).

I value the ethical dimension as it has a real sense of hope for the world, which may then lead to transformation. In the realm of education we could devise new ethical acts of engagement, which motivate positive change in educational practice (Taylor & Ivinson, 2013). What these new ethical acts may consist of in the school institution is yet to be established. However, requiring more responsibility for each entanglement we come to be in, as perhaps our ethical responsibility resides in our response to the entanglements we come to participate in, is a worthy aim (Bennett, 2010). As stated by Barad:

ethicity is part of the fabric of the world; the call to respond and be responsible...Questions of responsibility and accountability present themselves with every possibility; each moment is alive with different possibilities for the world's becoming and different reconfigurings of what may yet be possible (Barad, 2007, p.182)

An ethical goal has been highlighted by Bidois (2013) who argues that ultimately “Māori and Pākehā must work together at the boundaries of identity and difference, and through the eyes of alterity strive for the constitution of the ethical subject—of the Self- ethical.” (p.153). Ethico-onto-epistemology in this research, also means thinking about what matters and what is excluded from mattering (Barad 2007). The poignant words of Braidotti (2010) emphasise the need to “dream forward” (p.217) for a better world.

...hope rests with an affirmative ethics of sustainable futures, a deep and careless generosity, the ethics of nonprofit at an ontological level. Why should one pursue this project? For no reason at all. Reason has nothing to do with this. Let's just do it for the hell of it and for love of the world (p.217).

In moving forward, the term ethico-onto-epistemology is used to privilege an ethical dimension, as the state of our planet and all within it call for ways of *becoming* that are different from what has been before. This ethical difference, like the mokoroa grub to the kahikatea tree, can make a dent in education research.

### **Becoming Māori**

As we think we live, and how we live is a pretty good indication of how we think (Marsden, 2003, p. 27).

In the quote above, Marsden highlights an important ethico-onto-epistemological and epistemological idea for Māori, our ways of living are reflected in our thinking and vice-versa. However, the experience of existence is not quite as simple as this quote may appear to suggest. This quote does, however, highlight the notion and importance of thinking itself, which is ever-

complex, as is describing Māori philosophical ideas. There is no one way, one process, nor is it possible to write a static list of what it means to be Māori (Walker, 1996). Hence, I do not at any point attempt to provide a succinct account of Māori philosophies. Instead, throughout my thesis, I aim to perhaps provide a space for disrupting some empirical notions of writing. I aim to keep a sense of mystery alive in the thesis and hence, position Māori theory or indigenous thought as being the mauri of this research, which will be described later in the chapter.

As much as one may be influenced to propose that it is ultimately theory, academic literature, participants, and methodical analysis that constitute qualitative social research in a thesis, we are not lone scholars (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). As the researcher, I do not objectively research from a distance (Barad, 2007; Davies, et al., 2004 Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Like Barad (2007), I see that our daily intra-actions with all that is both human and non-human are what also contribute to the *becoming* of a thesis and myself as a researcher. In the introduction of her trend setting book, Barad (2007) notes that:

...friends, colleagues, students, and family members, multiple academic institutions, departments, and disciplines, the forests, streams, and beaches of the eastern and western coasts, the awesome peace and clarity of early morning hours, and much more were a part of what helped constitute both this “book” and its “author.” (p.x)

My research has also *become* through diverse entanglements like Barad’s, and I note that this is not some romantic, chatty introductory comment. Moreover, from a Māori perspective, experiences in my tūrangawaewae, my standing place, have shaped this research. Turangawaewae in its simplest meaning refers to places we feel especially connected with and empowered by. For me it is times spent in Maketu, the place of my Tupuna (ancestors). I am spiritually connected to Maketu, and this is one of the many things that continue to contribute to my *becoming*, and in turn, the *becoming* of this research.

As a researcher I am encouraged to describe and justify how the main theoretical ideas I use can 'work together' to create a cohesive framework. In response to this, in places I discuss possible synergies between Māori ethico-onto-epistemologies and new materialist and post structural spheres. I also make claim to differences and, like Jones and Hoskins (2016), I do not feel obliged to try to make Māori thought fit with any other field of thought. For example, I do argue that the way matter is made to matter in new materialist theory fits more with Māori notions of things in the world, but as Jones and Hoskins (2016) assert I "... do not collapse materialist and indigenous ontological ideas, or even compare them in any sustained way but instead, try to find ways to make these traditions work in my research" (p.86). This is partly a political move to unsettle the ongoing positioning of Māori thought as sitting beyond the borders of 'real' mainstream scholarly work. Hence, if I must continually argue for its place, then I am reinforcing the notion that argument is required in the first place.

Māori have long taken for granted that all that is not human; a tree, a tā moko, a piece of stone, a bird, a carving and so on, can speak, act and have effects independently of humans (Jones & Hoskins, 2016). This ethico-onto-epistemology came through living and negotiating life in environments that were already formed by powerful and weak objects and forces. Culture and nature were never separate; they were always entangled and humans were not superior in any way. Snaza and Weaver (2015) highlight the damaging separation that has become embedded over time to hold the human above all else.

Humans can think, animals cannot; humans can use language, animals do not; humans have souls, animals do not; humans feel pain and suffer, animals do not; and humans are rational, and animals are instinctual. What emerged from these dichotomies was the separation of humans from other animals to the point where humans were no longer viewed as animals (p.2).

Humanism has allowed us to make distinctions between man and everything else. The quote above demonstrates damaging dualisms around humans and other sentient beings. In saying humans, I do not directly refer to indigenous

people. As stated, Māori did not aim to be superior to everything else in the world as the Eurowestern human has. They did not separate themselves from the natural world to stand superior to it. The subject/object split is a Eurowestern problem (Taylor & Ivinson, 2013). A powerful example attesting to this being widespread among Māori today, are the deep embodied references made to rivers, ancestors and mountains that are not poetic but visceral. For example one may say 'I am the river and the river is me' (Jones & Hoskins, 2016). Jones and Hoskins support this further in their discussion of an archived picture from 1819 drawn by Hongi Hika of his ta moko, which was significant in Māori-Pākehā relationships, as it was generally seen as a signature showing land was sold over to Pākehā. The writers highlight the real rich and deep complexity of that tā moko.

So within an indigenous ontological world, the tā moko on the land deed lives; it is alive. It is not something old, inert, flat on a page, but something present, vibrant and lively. The tā moko is not merely an inked shape traced on a slice of paper, but a taonga, a sacred object holding Hongi Hika's presence, his mana, his authority and chiefly power, co-present with the mana of his ancestors. His face and its embodied authority is before us, it encounters us; we are face to face with Hongi Hika...These invitations about the tā moko assume and take seriously the idea that the object is animate and therefore always already in an active relationship with those who encounter it. In this sense the object acts. The object speaks, it makes demands and it draws forth from us a response (Jones & Hoskins, 2016, p.80).

Further, within Māori ontology there is the powerful belief in supernatural forces. Māori view the physical realm and the spiritual realm as immersed and connected. Every act, natural phenomena and beyond, is considered to have physical and spiritual implications (Pere, 1982). I take the position that everything of the world, both human and non-human, has mauri or independent life force. I aim to disrupt the notion that things in the world are self-evident and

knowable (Mika, 2013a). This belief is translated in this research through my acknowledgement and discussion of Māori research as having mauri. How this will manifest to make itself be seen to the reader is a challenge that I assume many Māori writers like me are yet to overcome.

However, my aim itself; to disrupt the empirical way of research through the deliberate disruption in this thesis using writing and thought, is a step in the right direction, and further, because Eurowestern feminism mostly remains spiritually impoverished (Pihama, 2001), making claim and attempting to do this is a move in itself. For example, the notion that a rock is alive is a challenge to Eurowestern ways of knowing and being, which is a challenge to the institution and what counts as empirical research. Mika's (2013a) thought, which highlights the dilemma of including Māori metaphysical ideas in academic work, is perfectly posed.

The extent to which we can have certainty about things as they still retain their mystery is an issue that arises for me as a Māori writer because on the one hand one commonly sees utterances printed such as “[e]verything has a mauri, including people, fish, animals” (Barlow, 1991, p. 83) and yet one will witness a discordance between such an utterance and the everyday practices and literature of Western institutions, such as law, medicine and education. These institutions would often commission research reports seeking to address the ‘Māori problem’ that existed between Māori communities and those particular institutions’ everyday workings. The reports might have a substantial portion set aside detailing what are taken to be Māori core values and beliefs (often overly traditional, not contemporary, in their voice), but would then revert to an empirical voice throughout the rest of that same report. It was as if the front piece of the research felt the need to get the more

intangible, 'spiritual' and metaphysical aspects of Māori existence out of the way before moving on to more realistic, pragmatic solutions. Māori philosophy in these cases is attractive as a mythical proposition but holds very little credibility as a complete philosophical explanation in its own right (p.17).

In adhering to Mika's argument and positioning this research as having mauri, I want not to limit it to an un-important piece to get 'out of the way' in an introduction. My position on mauri will be proposed later in this chapter. First there is an immediate need to focus on kaupapa Māori research and theory: the momentous form of resistance which pushes to revitalise all that is Māori by Māori themselves. First, some general descriptions and discussion are presented, and later the position this research takes is proposed.

## Kaupapa Māori Theory and Research

Ingrained in Aotearoa is the understanding that those who produce generalizable acceptable knowledge are:

from the global North, are white, speak English, French, German, Spanish or some other European language, and share similar scientific knowledge traditions. Those from the global South are primarily objects of study, produce local knowledges, and are to be researched and known (Cooper, 2012, p.65).

Since the 1980s, the theoretical field of postcolonialism has worked to analyse relations of subordination and domination rooted in the history of European colonialism (Martins, 2013). Kaupapa Māori research and theory forms a response and challenge to the dominance of "Euro-reason" (Cooper, 2012, p.66). It attempts to make space for alternative ways of knowing and being (Cooper, 2012; L. Smith, 1999). Penehira et al. (2014) state that "as a response to colonisation, the quest for self-determination is concerned with our ability to

make decisions that are independent of the State that is responsible for the ongoing colonisation” (p.106).

Kaupapa Māori theory is not easily defined and is an evolving, fluid and developing theoretical field which can be articulated in many ways (Pihama, 2010). It is suggested by some that it is unwise to attempt to define kaupapa Māori research (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006), hence writers do not tell of how to *do* kaupapa Māori research. However some things are clear: kaupapa Māori theory is uniquely Māori (Jackson, 2015) and is now legitimately shaping forms of academic inquiry with momentum (Smith et al. 2012; Barnes, 2000; Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). The roots of kaupapa Māori are in critical theory (Smith et al. 2012). According to Smith et al. (2012) many Māori dismiss its genesis in critical theory as they consider it to be ‘Pākehā theory’. This is viewed as neglect by Smith, et al. (2012) who state that:

the politics of social change, the basis of critical theory, mean giving close attention to *action* focused on Māori self-development as well as to a theoretical *analysis* of the social order, including the forces of capitalism and colonisation... (p.11).

According to Smith et al. (2012), kaupapa Māori theory is a space for thinking and researching differently; it centres Māori interests and provides the opportunity to speak back to dominant theories in education. According to Walker et al. (2006):

kaupapa Māori research developed as part of a broader movement by Māori to question westernized notions of knowledge, culture, and research. Kaupapa Māori research has been used as both a form of resistance and a methodological strategy, wherein research is conceived, developed, and carried out by Māori, and the end outcome is to benefit Māori (p. 331).

Adding to this, Linda Smith (2012) provides an outline of Kaupapa Māori research.

Kaupapa Māori is a social project; it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and Western economics and global politics (p. 193).

Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006) state that “kaupapa Māori research critiques dominant, racist, and westernized hegemonies, and advocates for Māori to become more self-determining” (p.333). Smith et al. (2012) assert that political analysis and caution is needed if transformation is to become an outcome of kaupapa Māori research. In fact, transformation appears to be the integral driving element, which can be viewed as a decolonisation process (Smith, et al. 2012; L. Smith, 2012; Pihama, 2010).

There are a number of collective goals and themes aspired to by those who live, breathe, write and work kaupapa Māori theory, and these are woven throughout the ever increasing literature available. However, many of these writers and experts in the area have deliberately avoided suggesting examples of frameworks of how kaupapa Māori research may look (Pihama, 2010). I see the avoidance of an all-encompassing definition and utilisation guideline of kaupapa Māori theory as a good move, which in turn can encourage creative potential within research and not limit it to something that is knowable.

Constructing finite descriptions of kaupapa Māori means constraining its potential in research (Mika, 2016a). I therefore deliberately attempt to stay clear of defining kaupapa Māori theory in a restricting way. It has been acknowledged that if kaupapa Māori focuses primarily on the assertion of cultural ideas and imperatives, then the critical possibilities and aspects are easily neglected (Smith, et al. 2012). Further, problematically, kaupapa Māori has often been taken up in its weakest terms; as cultural practices such as kapahaka and powhiri (Cooper, 2012). A personal example of kaupapa Māori being taken up in its weakest terms follows.

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*I spent some time on the ethics application going back and forward for this research. In the feedback I received, the committee voiced their concern that tikanga protocol was absent in the application and therefore how could I be doing kaupapa Māori research? I surmised that the committee wanted to see words such as 'karakia', 'pepeha' and 'kai'. Perhaps for them, this would demonstrate that I was then working for the greater good of rangatahi. The committee no doubt cared about ethics. However, the way that they expected research with/by Māori to be written about in the ethics application concerned me.*

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Perhaps my experience above can be related to the description from Davies (2018) of commonplace research ethics practice where ethics is conceptualised in what she has called “box ticking” (p.115). It may be that there are certain things that a committee looks for if an application asserts to be undertaking Māori research. Perhaps the dominant Eurowestern ideal of the university institution is to reduce Māori research to something that is quantifiable and easily described, making my experience with the ethics application not ill-intentioned, but still, an example of limiting of what Māori research may *become*. Mika (2016a) describes kaupapa Māori as a free-thinking process and highlights his concern with criteria, lists and a proper way of ‘doing’ kaupapa Māori research as highlighted in my ethics application experience: “my fear is that ‘kaupapa’ has become too based on a ground that is not beyond our experience but instead has the effect of a text-book – a ground of certain discourse” (p.50). Here lies the problem, or the difference; all that is Māori cannot be measured and known.

There seems to be a need to know what kaupapa Māori means, so that control is maintained in some way: the mysterious or the unknown runs counter to Eurowestern ways of research. Mika (2016a) proposes that the Eurowestern need for a rational, rigid and enduring depiction of objects runs counter to a Māori ontological view of language. At the heart of Mika’s (2016a) concerns is his

belief that if we refer to our ideas and entities in a brightly clear manner – “we cause trauma to ourselves and to the world” (p.45). Another concern has been alluded to by Hokowhitu (2009), who unsettles the tendency to conceive language and culture as ‘traditional’ and to focus on ‘preserving’ Māori culture.

### **Moving Forward with Māori Theory and Research**

Kaupapa Māori research is developing and evolving, and needs to continue to expand and grow both as a theory and practice (Pihama, 2010). According to Smith et al. (2012) Kaupapa Māori research had a vibrant beginning, but today, over 30 years later, we need to think differently to continue to encourage the radical potential within it.

Smith et al.(2012) have voiced concern with the way that kaupapa Māori has not always resulted in action and are troubled by the way it has been used within the academy, going to the extent of suggesting that theoretical and metaphorical models have reduced its credibility. They argue that you cannot write from a distance, and encourage one to consider what has been achieved for Māori in the ‘real world’: “Show me the blisters on your hands to gain a more authoritative right to talk or write authentically about Kaupapa Māori” (p.13).

Smith et al. (2012) are calling for proof of change, which is worthy. However, the present research can be situated somewhere in-between, where the blisters are half formed; a focus on exploration, difference and unsettling through theory and analysis is needed to then provide grounds for more practical change. It would appear that other Māori academics including Hokowhitu and Mika, who, although they do not appear to put themselves under the umbrella of kaupapa Māori, would nonetheless also disagree to some extent with the need to focus more on direct action and ‘getting hands dirty’, as their work is highly theoretical in nature and provides philosophical platforms for Māori academics, making openings for such *action*.

Durie reminds us that “Māori have the knowledge, skills and foresight to create a future where younger generations, and generations yet to come can prosper in the world, and at the same time live as Māori” (Durie, 2011 p. 8). In his book *Navigating Māori Futures*, Durie (2011) presents a glowing optimism and

promise for the future of Māori. Positive change has been and continues to be made in education. For example, between 1983 and 2000 the number of Māori students who left school with no qualifications decreased from 62 percent to 35 percent (Durie, 2011). However, Māori should continue to consider the experiences of rangatahi, and in order to move further forward, more illuminating of current issues, whether they present positive or disheartening learnings, is still also a step forward for Māori. I see it that Māori should not deny what is occurring, through a false optimism that stays clear of the oppression of Māori. But Māori can listen better to the voices of our people on important issues in perhaps new or different ways that seek further change, and this, I suggest, is needed.

Not all Māori academics are clearly supportive of approaches that in some ways continue to highlight the colonial binary. Bidois (2013) has claimed that indigenous political resistance has operated to emphasise the binary in order to expose the machinations of binary thinking however “it could be argued that such polarizing politics provoke responses of fear, anger, resentment and, at times, violence” (p.144). I am aware that in claiming to do ‘Māori research’ in the first place, I may in ways be upholding a damaging dualism. However, perhaps this is unavoidable and it is my hope that the benefits of this research will outweigh any detrimental aspects.

A key concept suggested by Bishop (1995) is that kaupapa Māori research requires researchers to understand themselves to be involved somatically in the research process. Rather than being the ‘researcher’ concerned with the methodology, there is a need to be physically, ethically, morally, and spiritually connected to the study. More than 20 years have passed since Bishop’s recommendations were put forward and, now, more than ever, connections like these are unavoidable.

## Kaupapa Māori Theory, Indigenous Thought and My Research

Researching as a Māori student, within the institution of the university, leads to questions being commonly raised as to how the student’s research privileges

Māori world views (Mika & Southey, 2018). To describe the concepts, assumptions, expectations and beliefs that inform my study, it is necessary to present some order of importance. I seek to add to the field of growing research for Māori, where we can continue to benefit the lives of our people. I borrow the words of Mahuika (2008), who wrote that kaupapa Māori research, arguably like most indigenous research in Aotearoa, "... is about empowering Māori, hapū and iwi to carve out new possibilities, and to determine in their own ways, their past, present and future identities and lives" (p.12). However, as argued above, this research does not seek to find heroic solutions to questions on particular topics. For example, in assuming the heroism of Eurowestern education, I do not aim to address what can be done to 'improve Māori attitudes towards schooling'. There may well be, however, small pockets of writing in my analysis that have some relevance to that particular topic.

This is not a study that constitutes young Māori as 'culturally' different, in turn asking the reader to change their deficit view. This study privileges rangatahi voice and knowledge and experience in topics around sexuality, secondary school education and sexuality education. It does not aim for greater cultural understanding of Māori that will then make positive change. This has been referred to as the ever-popular 'culture thesis' by Cooper (2012). Central to the idea of the 'culture thesis' is the proposition that poor services for Māori and negative attitudes towards Māori are merely due to a lack of understanding of how Māori are culturally different, reducing the issue to a misunderstanding of the 'other', which requires anyone unfamiliar, for example teachers, to undertake some form of awareness development such as with the Te kotahitanga project (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009). Terms such as culturally responsive pedagogy, culturally sensitive and cultural awareness are cautioned by Cooper (2012), but seem to be in full flight throughout education documents and are proudly chanted within the language of schools in my experience.

Strongly supported as one of the fundamental aims of kaupapa Māori research, which seeks to unsettle the dehumanizing gaze of past and current objective research, is the honouring of Māori voices (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; L.

Smith, 2012). This is important in my research, which still attests to resisting the hegemony of dominant discourse. However, as far as addressing 'Māori problems', the prominent 'problems' of young Māori, Māori and sexuality, and, the ongoing 'problem' of Māori and education in the arena of research and beyond goes, it is not my aim to highlight or challenge these as such. Through the establishment of 'facts' and voice, I do not aim to 'gain a better understanding'. I deliberately choose to move away from reproducing normative views of young rangatahi in my research as I aim to move in a different direction that may well be more productive for rangatahi today. Although much of this research fits and aligns with kaupapa Māori research, I deliberately depart from using the monolithic term.

### **In Search of 'Authentic' and 'Traditional' Māori**

In a discussion of what indigenous existentialism may entail, Hokowhitu (2009) notes that many forms of indigenous research are somewhat divorced from the immediacy of the indigenous condition and have left power structures intact. According to Hokowhitu (2009), indigenous existentialism moves beyond the coloniser and the colonised dualism and seeks to focus on knowledge located in the present lived experience of now. In what Hokowhitu (2009) refers to as a tactical colonial move, Māori too have bought into the argument of discourse around the 'authentic Māori' and what counts as 'real Māori knowledge and culture'. In the present research I concur that this is detrimental, keeping Māori restricted to searching for something 'pure' in the past. Within this authentic Māori discourse, Māori can be positioned as unchanging and therefore assumable and knowable. Hokowhitu comments this debilitating focus and states that:

...such a focus on past traditions and authenticity disables cultural critique and assumes any authenticating cultural project is even possible...Fundamentally, the search for pure traditions and precolonial authentic identities relocates an indigenous sense-of-being in the past...The idealism indigenous people locate in the

pure-past limits how we conceive ourselves through the immediacy of experience (2009, p.103).

Hence, less focus and argument on what the 'authentic' past consisted of, and more on the here and the now is needed. Hokowhitu (2009) borrows the words of Clea Te Kawehau Hoskins.

Because this knowledge is sourced in a world and time we know little about, we feel almost completely unable to be critical of it. Rather we tend to accept and take up uncritically such discourses, placing our trust in those keepers and interpreters of what is promoted as 'authentic' genuine Māori knowledge, practice and thought... to add to this you may be accused of not being a 'real Māori', not 'tuturu' [true], or being a 'colonised-in-the-mind Māori (p.103)

This knowledge is indeed sourced from a time that many Māori today often know little about, and this is perhaps why some Māori researchers may, for example, struggle to carry out kaupapa Māori research that places te reo and tikanga as central foundations fronting their research, whatever that may look like. Although there is no concrete definition or recipe for kaupapa Māori research (Pihama, 2010), the accessibility of what some say 'good' kaupapa Māori research entails should perhaps be reconsidered. Just as Pihama (2010) argues that many Eurowestern theories are exclusive and elitist in their foundations, and therefore irrelevant and often inaccessible for Māori, I propose that the accessibility of kaupapa Māori research is perhaps also not so straightforward even for Māori. Not all Māori who envision further positive change for Māori through research hold the ancient knowledge, learning and experience highlighted by Pihama (2010) below.

What is important is the understanding that Kaupapa Māori theory is founded within knowledge that derives from learning, experiences, understandings, worldviews, values and beliefs that are ancient. These forms have been handed down through generations, and although

disrupted and disregarded through colonial impositions they have survived to continue to inform how we are in the world (p.15).

One of the first steps to a theory of indigenous existentialism where the strenuous analysis of the immediacy of the indigenous body is important is to move beyond binaries such as traditional/non-traditional and authentic/non-authentic, which this research aims to do (Hokowhitu, 2009). Hokowhitu (2009) also cautions about the claims of decolonising theory, agreeing that although it is a worthy project, he questions whether it could ever be defined, or even possible. He argues that the overall focus on tradition, decolonisation and resentment, combined with oppressive discourses of Māori has encouraged Māori to “locate cultural knowledge beyond their lived experiences and choice” (2009, p.107). Mika (2013a) too, supports development for Māori that involves a move away from speculating about the usual solid sites of debate such as te reo Māori, Māori educational achievement, and access for Māori to resources. I agree that we need to further broaden horizons by entering into what Mika (2013a) calls murky areas.

I speculate that it is as if the colonisation of one’s philosophies is too hard and unpleasant to talk about directly, or as if it has been conceived of as neatly dealt with in its root and scope (p.20)

With regard to the immediacy of the indigenous body; the ‘culture thesis’; the idea that the potential of kaupapa Māori as a theoretical process being held back by staying within the ‘culture domain’; and Māori being thought of as a ‘culture’ that can be known, seen and quantified, I make reference to the Eurowestern Gaze that has been alluded to by Mika and Stewart (2016), which can be seen to keep Māori ‘caught’ in a hegemonic trap. Mika and Stewart (2016) use the organisation of powhiri within the institution of a university to demonstrate the Gaze, and state that:

...beneath the apparent self-sufficiency and community of those events, however, lurks a larger yet more covert phenomenon that

insists on a normal and visible Māori order... The Gaze, as Foucault would call it, is shorthand for a glance or view that is commensurate with power (p.301).

In a situation like the powhiri (a ceremony where hosts welcome visitors onto their Marae), where celebrities may be present, the Gaze serves to distract Māori from the bigger matter. That is, in this hegemonic process, Māori are led to become caught up in what would adhere to 'correct' tikanga rather than to "question their potential complicity with a colonising Gaze" (Mika & Stewart, 2016, p.301).

In departing from the frequent use of the term kaupapa Māori, for the rest of this thesis I aim to move away from a seemingly fixed notion of what 'good' Māori research should be, and attempt to move to something more fluid and creative. Although feminist poststructural and new feminist Materialist concepts are employed in this research and will be discussed shortly, I believe that there is an aspect to humans and non-human things that "contains its own autonomy... regardless of how we construct it" (Mika, 2016a, p.46). Antithetical perhaps to most feminist poststructural thought, some may call this a spiritual essence: an essence that precedes our awareness, which is present somewhere within the life of the object or subject. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, as much as I can try to describe the ways in which this research attests to Māori theory and metaphysics, a Māori essence will be present in this research regardless of how it is described. This belief is supported by my discussion of mauri.

### **Mauri and this Research**

We ought to challenge the dominant idea that "the thing in front of us is all that there is to it" (Mika, 2015b, p.100). And further "...the appearance of a thing - related to the self through *whakapapa* - is likewise uncontrollable. It will show itself whilst retaining to its autonomy, and some concomitant absence" (p.103). In what follows I describe my positioning of Indigenous thought as the mauri or essence of this research. This is problematic and perhaps challenges and disrupts

commonly held ideas around research. However, this type of disruption has been described by Mahuika (2008) as one of the ultimate goals of Māori research, as Māori see and think about the world differently. Hence, within the research arena as in all facets of society, there is a need to resist the homogenisation that is asked of us. Further, the position of mauri in this research is a challenge to the institution, which encourages Māori to refrain from actively disturbing the rational nature of academic thinking (Mika, 2016a). For example, we can include our pepeha in the introduction of a thesis, but we should go much further than that (Mika, 2016a).

The marginalisation of wairua (Māori spirituality) continues today. Hence, Māori spirituality is commonly described as symbolic, not real (Simmonds, 2011), mythical, and based on farfetched notions and legends with imaginary characters. Because notions of spirituality cannot be known, measured or controlled, I see it that including any amount of discussion of it is a positive form of colonisation resistance. We know that spirituality is often glossed over and paid lip service to in discussions of decolonisation and Māori in general by the Eurowest (Moeke-Maxwell, 2003). Although this is not a study of Māori spirituality, I, like Mika (2017), still aim to make some claim to it, but this is not an easy task.

A key problem with discussions about indigeneity and metaphysics is that metaphysics cannot be seen or sensed as such. It is a lens through which the world is apprehended. We cannot say definitively that that is a non-indigenous metaphysics and this is not. What also makes it a difficult task is that indigenous groups have been integrated, colonised or assimilated (Mika, 2017, p.11)

I draw on Mika's work to help shape my position on indigenous thought as the mauri of this research. What I have discussed to this point provides a general outline of key concepts related to my use of kaupapa Māori theory and indigenous thought. I use these concepts in my research; however, I argue that the way it is positioned or, if you like, how it 'acts' in my study, perhaps differs also. Indigenous thought is not merely the methodology or method in this

research; it is the underpinning and force. Moreover, it is what I will call the mauri of this study, which is not so easily explained and is at first glance, as mentioned, problematic from poststructural feminist perspectives.

For me, being Māori means that a metaphysics of mystery is present in the PhD journey as it is in all facets of life. As Mika (2015b) notes, Māori metaphysics did not statically cast the world through perception and representation. However, the colonisation of Māori philosophy has led to Māori often taking up a Eurowestern perception of objects, and arguably kaupapa Māori theory, as partaking in a static notion of being that is knowable, unchanging and solid (Mika, 2015b). As mentioned earlier, I am reluctant to describe some Māori concepts, because in doing so, I risk reducing them to something that can be easily described. This is far from what I intend. Mika has written at length about Māori concepts, their complex meanings and manifests, and the way in which they do not easily translate to English. However, to provide a background to the use of mauri, I now provide some brief descriptions (for more in-depth reading on the philosophical and metaphysical concepts of Māoridom see Marsden, 2003).

Whakapapa helps to describe the spiritual and physical genealogical descent of all living things, the interconnectedness of relationships between people and the environment, and of people to each other (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Walker, 1996). Within a Māori worldview, the universe is not two systems of disjunction; rather the spiritual and physical worlds are irrevocably intertwined and connected (Eruera, 2015; Marsden, 2003; Pere, 1982). Spirit is ever-present. It is ubiquitous and imminent in the process of life. It sustains, replenishes and regenerates all things by its mauri or breath of life (Marsden, 2003).

Mauri thus connects the physical and spiritual worlds for Māori. It is an energy and life force that is mediated to present in all that is human and non-human. It is a metaphysical idea unique to Māori, and is therefore meaningful and real (Pere, 1982). According to Marsden (2003), “immanent within all creation is mauri... the bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together” (p.44). Mauri gives uniqueness and life force to all in the universe and at the same time bonds all in the world together in unity (Marsden, 2003). It has also

been described by Pere (1982) as the "physical symbol of the hidden principle that protects vitality, fruitfulness the psyche etcetera of people, lands, forests, buildings and so on" (p.28).

It is my belief that this research and everything within it has mauri. Mauri in this research is a way of *becoming*, interacting and thinking about everything in the research process; it is unavoidable. It is this thing that is there, but at the same time is fluid and unknowable, as spiritual values are always beyond the grasp of mortals (Marsden, 2003). Further, it is a spiritual essence with autonomous life force, which is a metaphysical idea and can be linked to the Māori belief of a sense of mystery to the world (Mika, 2012, 2015b) and the view that everything contains an essence (Peters & Mika, 2015b).

Mauri cannot be reduced to align with a set of procedures, criteria or specific traits. Therefore, I do not take up a Eurowestern view of the term where specific things have a knowable essence; an essence that is comprised of specific traits or properties (Mika, 2015b), such as a womanly essence or an animal-like essence of the animal; or the historical expression as Mika quotes the "the thingness of a thing" (Mika, 2015b, p.96). Eurowestern rationalism has limited what an essence can manifest as (Mika, 2015b). L. Smith (2012) explains:

...the essence of a person is also discussed in relation to indigenous concepts of spirituality. In these views, the essence of a person has a genealogy which can be traced back to an earth parent, usually glossed as an Earth Mother. A human person does not stand alone, but shares with other animate and, in the Western sense, 'inanimate' beings, a relationship based on a shared 'essence' of life. The significance of place, of land, of landscape, of other things in the universe, in defining the very essence of a people, makes for a very different rendering of the term essentialism as used by indigenous peoples (p.77)

My conception of mauri in this research stems from underlying personal beliefs; but, moreover, can work as a de-colonising political move that challenges hegemonic views of how a thing can manifest in a small yet tactical move to privilege Māori metaphysics. This positioning does not affect my strong alignment with concepts of feminist poststructural and new materialist thinking, which are also integral to this study. The term mauri may not be heard throughout other parts of the research, but it is there all the same.

### **Using Eurowestern theories to enhance Indigenous aspirations**

While exciting indigenous anti-colonial writing and thinking continues to flourish in Aotearoa, along with a shift from being the 'researched' to *becoming* the 'researchers', the questionable case and legitimacy around employing Eurowestern ideas to bring light to indigenous research remains. Strong arguments have been raised by influential Māori academics regarding this proposition (Mika, 2014; Pihama, 2001; G. Smith, 2012). Some respond by refusing to adhere to any Eurowestern ways of thinking to support research, and others see light in doing so, but warn to tread carefully. Using Eurowestern theories in Māori research has been described as an area of dangerous ground (Mika, 2014; Pihama, 2001). However, this research attests to Mika's (2017) proposition as he boldly states that:

It cannot ... be assumed that the Western philosopher has nothing to add simply because he or she is not indigenous (p. 17).

An underlying reason for Māori steering clear of Eurowestern theories is clearly linked to the history of demoralising experiences Māori have had with research and the West, which cannot be ignored and were discussed in Chapter Two. This staunch position is rooted in frustration, anger and emotional grievances towards past research deficit theories of our people. Linda Smith has written in depth on the destructive impact of colonial research on Māori, which has led to the disapproving and doubtful attitudes that Māori hold towards research (L. Smith, 2006, 2012). Perhaps less focus has been placed on the way that Eurowestern theorists' work *can* be used by Māori researchers to enrich their

work; if used carefully, Eurowestern theories can serve to support a kaupapa Māori goal and philosophy.

In this thesis I engage with Eurowestern ideas to serve kaupapa Māori research goals, as opposed to relying on the 'dead white man's' ideas to explain Māori reality (Mika, 2014). I take great care in order to continually reflect on how I use my own Māori voice while drawing on Eurowestern ideas. In his PhD research, Mika (2014) considers the place of Eurowestern theorists in Māori research, and in particular his experiences in drawing on the thinking of Novalis, the German Romantic poet and philosopher, demonstrating that the 'dead white male' can become a constructive, living impulse behind fresh and innovative Māori thinking. However, although Mika (2014) described Novalis as relating naturally to Māori notions, he asserts that this was not without difficulty.

...the culpability of the dead white male appears to lie on two fronts: first, that he has contributed to a field of thought that has denied an indigenous explanation for existence; and second, that he has constructed a way of thinking about indigenous thought that only replicates and self-affirms his perceived superiority (Mika, 2014, p. 25).

Despite Mika's caution, he found using Novalis productive in allowing him to pursue his philosophical study with some degree of autonomy. Similarly, Pihama (2010) agrees that theories have been and can be used in ways that are both detrimental to Māori and have positive forms. She notes that while Eurowestern theory is not inherently transformative, it is also not solely oppressive. More Māori researchers, such as Jackson (2015), are using what they argue are complementary theoretical and methodological frameworks that can contribute to a Māori agenda.

Graham Smith, one of the staunchest proponents of Māori theory and research, expressed no regret that his ideas were influenced by Eurowestern philosophers, including Paulo Freire and Jürgen Habermas, and still makes links to these Eurowestern influences in his recent writings. He argues that we need to know about Eurowestern theory, particularly about parts conjoined with kaupapa

Māori's struggle, rather than necessarily being against it. Smith, Hoskins and Jones (2012) also stated that strategy.

So my message to new people getting involved with kaupapa Māori is to understand theory and engage with Western ideas with an open mind. Take the lessons that we can learn from there as part of our revolution...we can still be selective about the theories we want to engage with, obviously- we want theory that helps us with our aspirations (Smith, et al. 2012, p.15).

The present research takes up this advice and uses both Eurowestern theories and indigenous Māori theories (more discussion of this later in the chapter), including the feminist poststructuralist ideas that follow.

## Feminist Poststructuralism

Feminists and poststructuralists have a history of working together (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000), although the terms feminism and poststructuralism have long been debated (St. Pierre, 2000). This may in part remain a political move in response to the humanist need to have some sort of grounded knowledge for what exactly something is or means. In response to grounded knowledge of a theoretical position, Childers, Rhee and Daza (2013) for example, support what they call 'dirty theory' and 'messy practice' with feminisms that transgress boundaries, and theories that are continuously contaminated as they meet with other ways of thinking and doing. Feminists have long taken up poststructuralist theories for the possibilities the philosophical field has provided, so instead of providing succinct definitions, some unbound descriptions of the theoretical field/s are needed here.

The effects of humanism that are everywhere have been operating since humans first began to believe that they, through proper use of reason, could produce truth and knowledge. Humanism has allowed and perpetuated the oppression of groups, including women, through the cultural structures and regularities of

patriarchy, racism, homophobia, ageism and so on. Humanism has worked to define the essence of things in a way that makes them identifiable and categorical, thus inscribing damaging dualisms and hierarchies such as man/woman, nature/culture, mind/body (St Pierre, 1997, 2000; St. Pierre & Pillow 2000). St Pierre (2000) emphasises the ubiquity of humanism:

Humanism is the air we breathe, the language we speak, the shape of the homes we live in, the relations we are able to have with others, the politics we practice, the map that locates us on the earth, the futures we can imagine, the limits of our pleasures. Humanism is everywhere, overwhelming in its totality; and, since it is so “natural,” it is difficult to watch it work (p.478)

Poststructuralism emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and formed a response that has cracked the foundations of humanism (Castree, Kitchin & Rogers, 2013; St. Pierre, 2000). Some of the front-runners of the group include Derrida, Foucault, Butler and Lacan (see Alcoff, 1988; St. Pierre, 2000). But the aim of post-structuralism, as Davies (1997) made clear, was not to demolish the humanist subject or create its binary other. Poststructuralism enabled us to see the subject’s fictionality, while recognising the powerful fictions that constitute what we consider to be real. It has allowed us to problematise humanist beliefs. It incorporates scepticism about objective truth, neutrality and scientific rationality, which provide seamless explanations of phenomena (Allen, 2005a). According to St. Pierre (2000):

...poststructuralism suggests that life is the way it is because of accidental and unintended convergences in history; because of the arbitrary desires and passions of individuals; because certain discourses, for no particular reason perhaps, became more important than others; and because anonymous and contingent

forms of knowledge have produced practices that can be contested and changed. Thus, the space of freedom available to us is not at all insignificant, and we have the ability to analyze, contest, and change practices that are being used to construct ourselves and the world, as well as the practices we ourselves are using in this work of praxis (p.493).

Feminist poststructuralism is a manifestation of feminism with its own political agenda for social justice. Feminist poststructuralist analysis has largely been concerned with key philosophical concepts, including discourse, rationality, power, resistance and freedom, knowledge, truth and the subject. Feminist poststructuralists would argue that in a complex process, we word the world we live in, and we must therefore examine our own complicity in the reproduction and maintenance of social injustice (St. Pierre, 2000). Due to the constraints of the thesis, I will not attempt to trace the complex history of feminisms, but the words of Davies (2014a) are useful here.

Liberal feminism gave us the concept and practice of equal opportunity for all individuals, and radical feminism the celebration of the feminine and a challenge to the automatic position of ascendance granted to the masculine. With post-structural feminism we began the complex task of deconstructing the entangled binaries that hold those dominant and subordinate relations in place (p.12)

In contrast to humanist ways of knowing, poststructuralists are not concerned with asking essentialising questions about anything (St. Pierre, 2000). From a poststructuralist view, the self can be positioned as a verb, always in process, as opposed to the self as a noun (stable and relatively fixed) (Davies, 1997). We must be careful not to become confused with poststructuralism and constructionism, as poststructuralists have long challenged the simplified view of the individual held by social constructionists decades back Davies (1989a).

We are beginning to understand, largely as a result of the thinking that is being done within the post-structuralist paradigm, that the individual is not so much the product of some process of social construction that results in some relatively fixed end-product but is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate” (p.229).

And further:

...generally, when we ask the question “who am I?”, we tend to hear it as referring to a fixed knowable identity, as if it were possible to have made a set of consistent choices located within only one discourse. And it is true we do struggle with the diversity of experience to produce a story of ourselves which is unitary and consistent. If we do not, others demand of us that we do so (p.230).

Identity is not fixed and we do not have a list of traits that make us who we are or which stay with us and are inherent, despite, as Davies (1989a) points out, the pressure from others who demand that we accept this.

### **Subjectivity and Discourse**

Feminist constructionists have long argued that subjectivity is the product of the culture and society in which one lives (Weedon, 1987). Poststructuralism, as opposed to humanist views of knowing, knowable and rational subjects, posits subjectivity as a socially complex and precarious site of controversy and conflict, which is always open to change. For poststructuralists, subjectivity refers to the way in which people identify themselves and their positions in the world at a particular time by inserting themselves into a particular subject position within a discourse. Hence, “an individual’s subjectivity is made possible through the discourses s/he has access to, through a life history of being in the world” (Davies, 1994. p. 3). According to some poststructuralists, we are able to take up different subject positions within a chosen discourse and as discourses evolve and are conflicting, our subjectivity too, is liable to change (see Chapter Two for discourse). According to Foucault (1978) discourses are:

...both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy (p. 101)

In the present research, culture, language and discourse are not considered to be the only key constructs of life and living. However, a focus on discourse, dominant discourses, and areas of resistance or ways in which dominant discourses are perhaps used productively by rangatahi in entanglements of secondary education, the school, and sexuality is important. This study may trouble dominant discourses that construct rangatahi, as: “the tensions and instabilities in each person’s subjectivity become visible in a poststructuralist analysis through an examination of the discourses and practices through which we are constituted” (Davies, 1994, p.11)

Discursive practices determine what can be regarded as meaningful statements (Barad, 2007). Once a discourse becomes ‘normal’ it is difficult to act or think outside of it (St. Pierre, 2000). “Poststructural theories of discourse, like poststructural theories of language, allow us to understand how knowledge, truth, and subjects are produced in language and cultural practice as well as how they might be reconfigured” (St Pierre, 2000, p.486). Working with Foucauldian views of discourse means being concerned with issues of power and domination.

As introduced in Chapter two, discourses are socially and historically situated. They construct our social world and are products of the social world (Grace, 2008). They offer available positions for one to take up, but are far from a personal ‘choice’. They are always changing and are specific to groups and cultures. Hollway (1984) described discourse as a group of assumptions that revolve around a common logic and confer specific meanings on the experiences and practices of people in a certain sphere. Discourse privileges and marginalises. Weedon (1987) provided a description of discourse: “For feminist poststructuralism, it is language in the form of conflicting discourses which constitutes us as conscious thinking subjects and enables us to give meaning to the world and to act to transform it” (p.31). More recently, Barad (2007), who argues that culture and discourse has been over-privileged to the demise of materiality, nonetheless gives a useful definition of discourse:

Discourse is not a synonym for language. Discourse does not refer to linguistic or signifying systems, grammars, speech acts, or conversations. To think of discourse as mere spoken or written words forming descriptive statements is to enact the mistake of representationalist thinking. Discourse is not what is said; it is that which constrains and enables what can be said. Discursive practices define what counts as meaningful statements. Statements are not the mere utterances of the originating consciousness of a unified subject; rather, statements and subjects emerge from a field of possibilities. (2007, pp. 146-147).

Most poststructuralists would agree that meanings do not exist prior to experiences, events or discourses. According to the pioneers of feminist poststructuralist theory, meaning is produced in language and people are constructed by, and manipulators of, language (Burr, 1995), and further, language is the central factor involved in analysis of social organisation, social meanings, power and individual consciousness (Weedon, 1987). The analysis of the discursive setting, which is located in discourse, is the primary vehicle used by poststructuralists to explore meaning, subjectivity, power and knowledge (Grace, 2008). Feminist poststructuralists have used deconstruction as an approach that aims to make visible how discourse operates to produce damaging structures in the world. Deconstruction, in short, is the process of destabilising what we have unproblematically come to accept (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). St. Pierre (2000) explains that:

deconstruction is not about tearing down but about rebuilding; it is not about pointing out an error but about looking at how a structure has been constructed, what holds it together, and what it produces. It is not a destructive, negative, or nihilistic practice, but an affirmative one (p.482).

Most recently, those aligning with theories of new feminist materialisms would argue that Foucault, along with other poststructuralists and feminists, has privileged language at the expense of the material matter of the world (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008; Barad, 2003). However, Foucault makes it clear that his ideas

represent neither a theory nor a methodology (Foucault, 1982) and in no place does he tell what one must do.

### **Instruments of Power: Surveillance and Normalisation**

Foucault once said: “the task of philosophy as a critical analysis of our world is something which is more and more important” (Foucault, 1982, p. 785).

According to Foucault (1980) knowledge is produced by power, and power is produced by knowledge. For this reason, many feminist writers draw on the workings of Foucault. However, as noted earlier, as well as being a strategic and privileged ally, Foucault’s work has also been the object of feminist critique and analysis (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Cook, 2013; King, 2004; McLaren, 2002).

In his analysis and studies of prisons and madness, Foucault has drawn attention to the constitution of our disciplinary society, which is always at work to separate the normal from the abnormal (Foucault, 1980). When considering issues around colonisation, Foucault’s insights around the relations of knowledge and power are useful; so too is the importance that he gives to history, in contributing to the construction of the present and how we may come to know something. As opposed to fixed and single histories, Foucault sees histories as overlapping, ongoing, inferring that history serves the interests of today (Foucault, 1980). He sees history as an ongoing struggle between various forces and forms of power (Schirato, Danaher, & Webb, 2012). It is necessary for both Foucault and for Māori indigenous theory, to look to the past to make sense of the present. Historical events and conditions can bring light to the rise of a particular discourse. Here we must remember that within Māori metaphysics and indigenous thinking, some would view the past and present as single or collapsed, and it is argued that what is present is equally past and future: it is with us (Mika, 2017).

Foucault’s book *Discipline and Punish* includes ideas useful for this research. It may be asked why I have used this and not *The History of Sexuality*, which would seem to have more direct relevance for sexuality, so it is necessary to explain the principal motive for this choice. First, gender is barely acknowledged in either

text. The relationship of the prisoner or the condemned and the prosecutor or the judge in *Discipline and Punish* aligns with the historical relationship between Māori/Pākehā; this relation is still applicable today where forms of power are based around branding and altering the abnormal individual (Foucault 1995). Race and ethnicity are not acknowledged in *Discipline and Punish*, and it may arguably seem more relevant to make reference to the class of the bourgeoisie in *The History of Sexuality* (where sexual repression during the nineteenth century was aimed at increasing the dominance of the bourgeoisie). This research therefore uses the 'tool box' notion; certain tools offered by Foucault are chosen and can then be put to use (Foucault, 1980).

The present research draws on Foucault's ideas of power. Although power is everywhere, there remains a need to distinguish between the dominated and the dominators from a feminist perspective and it has been argued by some that Foucault's conceptual work on power makes this difficult, particularly due to his 'gender blindness' (McLaren, 2002, King, 2004). Without neglecting this concern, Foucault's conception of power, which operates as a web-like network through discourses, institutions and practices, is valuable for understanding the way that power operates within, by, and around Māori students at a particular point in time. I posit that this web of power does not create equality, and of course domination is at work within this capillary network (Foucault, 1980).

According to Foucault, power should be viewed and analysed as something that circulates and functions in a chain-like form. Never is it localised or in anybody's hands; it is exercised in a web-like organisation (Foucault, 1980). Power is a machine in which everyone is caught. It is not exercised by birth right. We do not, however, all occupy the same position, and certain positions, such as the position of being 'Māori' or 'Pākehā', can permit an effect of supremacy to result (Foucault, 1980). Power needs to be viewed as much more than a negative phenomenon whose function is repression. Power does not only say 'no'. It produces things, induces pleasure, forms knowledge and produces discourse. Further, power is not only negative and oppressive. Power can be highly productive in reducing resistance to itself (Schirato et al., 2012). "If power were

never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it?" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). This research does not set out to focus on who holds power and who does not, but more on the way in which power may operate to shape particular entanglements.

According to Foucault (1995):

...power is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the 'privilege', acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions – an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated. Furthermore this power is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who 'do not have it'; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts pressure upon them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them (p. 27).

Foucault challenged the place of institutions and how power that has been produced and embedded through time operates in these places. Power produces what we are. For Foucault, power is a complex flow and a web linking different groups in areas of society, which changes with time and circumstance.

Money Penny (2013) provides a view of power and knowledge from a Foucauldian perspective.

The power/knowledge relation produces normalising judgements that form a self, relationships with others, and ways of being in the world. Power/knowledge operates on and through the person through the internalising, or enfolding of, these normalising judgments that are based on modern power's taken-for-granted, and privileged knowledges of life and ways of being. This means that individuals shape their lives, bodies and gestures according to taken-for-granted truths (p.15).

Surveillance and normalisation were seen by Foucault as being central in the history of repression. According to Foucault, this is where a regime of power came about that was exercised within the social body rather than from above it

(Foucault, 1980). Here Foucault refers to the capillary mechanisms of power: “the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (Foucault, 1980, p.39). The enduring punishment which extends across all points of disciplinary institutions, including the school, compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenises, and excludes. In other words: it normalises (Foucault, 1995).

In a sense, the power of normalisation imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialties, and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another (Foucault, 1995, p. 184)

Discourses that construct people as differing from what a society defines as ‘normal’ quickly become targets for techniques of power in forms of surveillance, punishment and reform (Green, 2011). Foucault’s (1984) concept of normalisation implies that the person in power has knowledge of the object and therefore can dominate it. This can be applied to Māori within the school setting, where Māori are the ‘other’ and are placed under surveillance and are normalised in often unforeseen ways. The power of normalisation in the school setting is supported by McKinley (2003) who states that “the education of the ‘colonised’ is often used as the ‘technology’ of normalisation” (p. 38). Schools have regulated student behaviour, often through a ‘hidden curriculum’. Students learn throughout their experiences of school rules. Lessons about discipline and power are being taught to students. Hence, the education of the ‘colonised’ is a ‘technology’ of normalisation (McKinley, 2003). Schools observe, evaluate, document, punish and reward; all of these assist in normalisation.

From here on, material-discursive will be the term used to privilege both the material and the discursive power of *becoming*, as both culture and matter are productive in the process of *becoming* (Bennett, 2010). So it is here that New Feminist Materialisms are turned to.

## New feminist materialisms

The disillusionment with the intense focus on discourse has contributed to the posthuman turn. One of the philosophical fields of the turn goes by many names, including:

...the new materialism, Deleuzian vitalism, the ontological turn.

Whatever the name, it is about the... nature of reality where things talk back (Lather, 2016, p.125).

There has been a momentous shift to include ethico-onto-epistemological ideas, which broaden the lens (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008). In short, feminisms and poststructuralisms have long been concerned with the politics of knowledge production, but it is posthuman approaches, including new feminist materialisms that include the 'others' that feminism and poststructuralism have not: all that are not human in the world (Taylor, 2016). The fields remain closely connected as many new materialists share an allegiance to feminist thought (MacLure, 2013). The present research is material-discursive. Therefore, key ideas of the recent new feminist materialisms are important in the conceptual framing of this research. As much as I agree that language, discourse and culture matter, so too does matter itself (Barad, 2008), The movement towards ethico-onto-epistemology and the material turn for feminist poststructuralism has challenged me to consider various concepts, including Matter.

### **Matter**

In thinking about the nature of reality and the world, an integral idea is the importance of matter in the world: its intra-action with us, and our intra-action with it. New materialists see that matter matters (Barad, 2007; Bennett 2010; Davies 2014b). They argue that there is a world that exists independently of the human mind. Instead of humans granting meaning to passive objects; objects are seen to exert their own autonomous existence. New feminist materialisms recognise the entanglement of things in the world in which we all are embedded (Taylor, 2016). The work of new feminist materialists is drawn on, as Davies (2014b) explains:

...ideas and concepts are not innocent or neutral, but actively engage in the diffractive entanglement of any research. Like particles of light, ripples on a pond, or crisscrossing waves on the ocean, they affect each other—they interfere with each other. Ideas and matter similarly affect each other. And just as ripples and waves and drops of foam do not exist without the body of water, or the wind, or the other matter they encounter (stones, sand, rocks, human bodies . . .), we, as researchers, are part of, and encounter, already entangled matter and meanings that affect us and that we affect in an ongoing, always changing set of movements” (Davies, 2014b, p.735)

Further to this description, Coole and Frost (2010) note that as:

...human beings we inhabit an ineluctably material world. We live our everyday lives surrounded by, immersed in, matter. We are ourselves composed of matter. We experience its restlessness and intransigence even as we reconfigure and consume it. At every turn we encounter physical objects fashioned by human design and endure natural forces whose imperatives structure our daily routines for survival. Our existence depends from one moment to the next on myriad micro-organisms and diverse higher species, on our own hazily understood bodily and cellular reactions and on pitiless cosmic motions, on the material artefacts and natural stuff that populate our environment, as well as on socioeconomic structures that produce and reproduce the conditions of our everyday lives. In light of this massive materiality, how could we be anything other than materialist? How could we ignore the power of matter and the ways it materializes in our ordinary experiences or fail to acknowledge the primacy of matter in our theories? Yet for the most part we take such materiality for granted, or we assume that there is little of interest to say about it (p1).

Like Coole and Frost (2010), other feminists, who take inspiration from the physical and biological sciences, increasingly reject the idea that biology and matter are passive or dormant and instead recognise the agency of matter in worldly phenomena and social and political behaviour. With this view, new materialism provokes feminist epistemologists to employ models of causation and explanation that may account for the complex mosaic of interactions through which the social, the biological, and the physical transform, emerge and persist (Frost, 2011). In making reference to scholars including Fausto-Sterling, Elizabeth Grosz and Karen Barad, Frost (2011) acknowledges their shared view that all matter has a peculiar and distinctive agency with independent impetus and force. Further, Frost (2011) states:

what they ask is that feminists leaven our analyses of the discursive constitution of embodiment and material objects with an acknowledgment of the forces, processes, capacities, and resiliencies with which bodies, organisms, and material objects act both independently of and in response to discursive provocations and constraints (p.70).

In following Frost's advice, it is important to acknowledge the work of Barad (2007), who proposes that humans, like all other matter in the world, are emergent phenomena. Barad (2007) offers the idea that “we are of the universe—there is no inside, no outside. There is only intra-acting from within and as part of the world in its becoming” (p.396). And further that “existence is not an individual affair. Individuals do not pre-exist their interactions; rather, individuals emerge through and as part of their entangled intra-relating. (p. x. 2007). Notions in Taylor's (2016) interpretation of Barad's (2007) agential realism are used as a summary that best fits this research:

Agential realism proposes that intentions are not the interior possessions of individuals but cohere and are expressed in human-non-human networks, that subjectivity is not the property and possession of a separately bodied individual but that all that exists comes to being through intra-active material processes of emergence (not as pre-existent separate entities), and that

causality as a linear and traceable series of effects between isolated objects has to be rethought as a material practice in which who/whatever makes an agential cut – and in a classroom that doing could be done by a coat, a chair, a pen, an iPad, a computer screen, the atmosphere, the temperature, just as much as any human – generates ongoing and continually differentiating interconnections that constitute the mattering of the world." (Barad, 2007, pp.13-14)

Agential realism for this research means that matter and discourse are inseparable, nothing is fixed or demarcated, agency is not a humanly held attribute, and entanglements are open ended and always in process. Further, it is useful to draw on Taylor's (2013) insights around bodies, space and mattering in the classroom as an example of what new feminist materialist research might ask and do. Taylor asked "what does the chair do?" (p.695). Hence, the teacher's chair formed a key section in Taylor's work on the classroom:

Focusing on Malky's chair brings to the surface the usually unnoticed dynamic force of things and their capacity for confederate intra-action with human agencies. It encourages us to notice how much the thing-power of the chair contributes to Malky's gendered practices and how the chair-body assemblage together choreographs a material practice of mattering in this classroom space" (p.695).

Focusing on Malky's chair acknowledges the more recent concern for research that not only identifies the presence of normalizing meanings, but explores how these discourses are embodied (Allen, 2015b, 2015c), thus supporting recent shifts in poststructural and feminist theory that have historically privileged language while often not acknowledging the material and all that is non-human (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008; Barad, 2003; 2007; 2008; Dolphijn, & Van der Tuin, 2012). Thing power, as Bennett (2010) calls it, was important in Taylor's (2013) and the current research alike.

## Thing Power

In the present research bodies are no longer disconnected carriers of minds and mountains are not background static things to be constructed and conquered by humans. As discussed earlier, from a Māori perspective, we know that everything has its own mauri (life force) and is alive, so to speak. As Roberts et al. (1995) state:

...everything in the universe, inanimate and animate, has its own whakapapa, and all things are ultimately linked via the gods to Rangi and Papa. There is no distinction or break in this cosmogony, and hence in the whakapapa between supernatural and natural (p.3).

Although new materialists might not agree with a spiritual perspective of matter or things, they still grant a real respect to the rocks, a bird, the soil. New materialism gives no credit at all to spiritual essence of course, and believing that a woman or a rock has some kind of innate essence remains an incomplete and perhaps unjustified way of thinking. According to Cook (2013), the next revolution in feminism may be the acknowledgement of spiritual essence. However, a transformation in thinking about the world, which acknowledges the materiality of the world, moving beyond a human-centred view, is a good move for feminism, which can better support Māori thinking and *becoming* in the research process.

Political theorist Jane Bennett has been influential in the posthuman ontological turn, and in particular her philosophical and political project, the book titled *Vibrant matter: a political ecology of things* (Bennett, 2010 ) provides insight that I draw on. Thing Power disrupts the habit of regarding matter as raw, brute or inert and instead argues that everything has thing power. When things demand attention, provoke affect and make things happen, they of course *become* more than simple 'stuff', but become full of thing power (Jackson & Mazzei, 2016). Here man-made items like a t-shirt, a table, or a plastic bottle can exceed their status as objects and can become strangely alive and effective (Bennett, 2010). Bennett (2010) does not dispute that things are already alive and effective whether we perceive them or not. However, from a Māori perspective this is

important, as it means that humans do not have the power above all else to decide when something is acting in an entanglement, or constituting us. Things happen when we are not aware. One of Bennett's most notable commitments to demonstrating thing power took place when she came across a storm water grate over a drain where there was one plastic glove, a dense mat of pollen, a dead rat, a plastic bottle cap, and a smooth wooden stick. She states:

as I encountered these items, they shimmied back and forth between debris and thing— between, on the one hand, stuff to ignore, except insofar as it betokened human activity (the workman's efforts, the litterer's toss, the rat-poisoner's success), and, on the other hand, stuff that commanded attention in its own right, as existents in excess of their association with human meanings, habits, or projects. In the second moment, stuff exhibited its thing-power: it issued a call, even if I did not quite understand what it was saying. At the very least, it provoked affects in me: I was repelled by the dead (or was it merely sleeping?) rat and dismayed by the litter, but I also felt something else: a nameless awareness of the impossible singularity of that rat, that configuration of pollen, that otherwise utterly banal, mass produced plastic water-bottle cap. (p.4)

In short, thing power is the dramatic and subtle effects produced by the curious ability of things acting. The ethical aim of thing power is to give more value to other-than-human bodies and agree that this attentiveness to matter will not solve exploitation and oppression, but it may lead to a deeper appreciation of the way in which all bodies are enmeshed in a complex network of relations (Bennett, 2010). So "...in a knotted world of vibrant matter, to harm one section of the web may very well be to harm oneself" (Bennett, 2010, p.14). The present research takes up the political aim of bringing the non-human world to an equal playing field with humans and I also wonder, like Bennett, whether things might change in our world if we gave the force of things more due. She asks:

...why advocate the vitality of matter? Because my hunch is that the image of dead or thoroughly instrumentalized matter feeds human hubris and our earth-destroying fantasies of conquest and consumption. It does so by preventing us from detecting (seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling) a fuller range of the nonhuman powers circulating around and within human bodies (p.xi).

And then:

...how would political responses to public problems change were we to take seriously the vitality of (nonhuman) bodies? By “vitality” I mean the capacity of things— edibles, commodities, storms, metals— not only to impede or block the will and designs of humans but also to act as quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own (p. viii).

Things have thing power, but that power is always produced in relation to other things. Thus, the world around us is made up of entanglements that are forever in process and are never static.

### **Entanglements**

Entanglement is a central theoretical concept taken up in this research. I choose to use the term entanglement. However it could be interchangeable with assemblages as its descriptions align with notions of Deleuze and Guattari’s assemblage. Like entanglements, assemblages are living, vibrant confederations. They offer ways of thinking about the world in less human-centred ways, challenging human-nonhuman binaries, as they are produced by both animate and inanimate things and also are not governed by one individual force (Jackson & Mazzei 2016; Bennett, 2010). Barad (2007) uses the terms together and describes an assemblage as a complex entangled web of phenomena. In an entanglement each thing contributes its own difference. Bennett (2010) provides a useful example of entanglement when she discusses the forming of her book.

The sentences of this book also emerged from the confederate agency of many striving macro and microactants: from “my”

memories, intentions, contentions, intestinal bacteria, eyeglasses, and blood sugar, as well as from the plastic computer keyboard, the bird song from the open window, or the air or particulates in the room, to name only a few of the participants. What is at work here on the page is an animal-vegetable-mineral-sonority cluster with a particular degree and duration of power. What is at work here is...an assemblage (p.23).

Barad would say that in an entanglement things intra-act. Key to Barad's (2007) agential realist framework is the idea that intra-action communicates the mutual constitution of entangled agencies that emerge only at the point of coming together. The concept is not interchangeable with 'interaction', as the latter assumes that there are separate individual agencies that precede their interactions. Due to research constraints, this thesis does not go into depth with this argument but I appreciate that it has opened new ways of thinking about other important concepts such as agency and subjectivity. An entanglement is an intensity that is beyond the habitual practices of the already-known; it involves listening, being open, and vulnerable with all one's senses, to the possibilities that the entanglement might present (Davies, 2014a).

The notion of entanglements then impacts how agency can become. An entanglement owes its agentic ability to the vitality of the materialities that constitute it. The locus of agency is always collective (Bennett, 2010). I take up Bennett's suggestion that we can still comment on what agency a human may appear to have and what that may do in an entanglement. But at the same time I remember that the surfer may manoeuvre a board to go up into the air off a wave, but the surfer is merely one part of the active entanglement. In this research project then, I choose, or arguably something else chooses, which entanglements come to the forefront to say something.

Using new feminist materialisms offers this research opportunities for considering how rangatahi may *become* constituted in entanglements of discourse together with the materialities of bodies, spaces and things within sexuality and the school (Taylor & Ivinson, 2013). Careful attending to these

areas may enrich our work, as these things are very much part of the entanglement of becoming rangatahi. Further, as Taylor and Ivinson (2013) have argued, new material feminisms can put everyday things such as food, an asthma inhaler, a stormy day and the air-conditioning system on the radar and value them within 'educational theory'.

### **Becoming**

The notion of always being in the process of *becoming* is key to this research and the concept is italicised to highlight its importance throughout all aspects of this research journey. The notion of *becoming* does not threaten to reduce something to a stable fixed identity; it is an unfolding of difference, which makes possible other ways of seeing, thinking, and acting in the world (May, 2003). Like Jones (2013), the concept is used to support my endeavours to think against the grain and to de-stabilise stable subjectivities that have been solidified by common sense. In reflecting on *becoming* and the work of Deleuze, May (2003) concludes:

... the concept of becoming and of becomings are rooted in a philosophical perspective whose goal is to overturn philosophy's traditional "dogmatic image of thought" and to open up new pathways down which thinking and living can travel. These concepts do not ask of us our epistemic consent; indeed they ask nothing of us. Rather, they are offerings, offerings of ways to think, and ultimately to act, in a world that oppresses us with its identities (p. 151).

The ethico-onto-epistemological concept of being in the process of *becoming* is not new in feminist poststructural theory, and is a central notion for some feminist poststructural writers (Davies, 2000a; Davies, 2000b; Somerville, 2007; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Far from the fixed liberal humanist self, one is always in the process of coming into being. The concept of *becoming* is more encouraging of transformation and change, which is a central goal of Māori research (Smith, et al. 2012). It challenges normalised ways of being and experience as measurable, unchanging and individual. Somerville describes the concept of

*becoming other*, which is the definition I use to support my thinking and engagement with *becoming* in this research.

I want to take up this self that is in a process of becoming, and extend it into an ontology of emergence as becoming-other...Such an ontology needs to incorporate elements of our past self-history (ontogeny), who we imagine ourselves to be, and our embodied relationship with others. It also includes our participation as bodies in...a reciprocal relationship with objects and landscapes, weather, rocks and trees, sand, mud and water, animals and plants, an ontology founded in the bodies of things. In this ontology, bodies of things are dynamic, existing in relation to each other, and it is in the dynamic of this relationship that subjectivities are formed and transformed. And within this there is the relationship with inanimate objects and technologies, that we, in the process of becoming-other, can intentionally manipulate—stone, wood and clay, pencils, crayons, brushes and paints, computers, words and paper, cloth, thread and scissors—among the myriad other things that we humans have chosen to use to create” (Somerville, 2007, p.234)

It is suggested that we are always in process, and that identity constantly changes as bodies interact with the discursive and material worlds. “We do not have bodies, we are our bodies...We write-think and feel-(with) our entire bodies rather than only (with) our minds and hearts” (Trinh, 1989, p.33). Further, “...bodies do not have a final, fixed essence... bodies shift, stretch, co-extend with/in multiple landscapes and with/in language and all its multiplicity” (Davies, 2000b. p.249) Hence, subjectivity is not fixed or stable and is continuously *becoming* in relationships with others (human and non-human) in every day practices (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; Barad, 2007) Subjectivity could be better understood as an entanglement of connections with other things and other bodies (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). I appreciate the commentary around conflicting subjectivities offered by Jackson and Mazzei (2012).

The social structures and processes that shape our subjectivities are situated within discursive fields, where language, social institutions, subjectivity, and power exist intersect, and produce competing ways of giving meaning to and constructing subjectivity. Reflecting certain values, competing discourses emerge within discursive fields, and the language and practices of these discourses give rise to an individual's conflicting subjectivities (p.50).

Jackson and Mazzei provide a valuable example, which outlines the complexity of *becoming*.

A woman's subjectivity is not stabilised or essentialised by identity categories (race, class, gender) because her ways of existing in the world can shift depending on social relations, historical experiences, and material conditions. For example, a white, heterosexual, middle-class Christian woman may have a specific sense of herself and may therefore behave in certain ways when she is with other white, heterosexual, middle-class, Christian woman; however, when she is in the company of others who are very different from her, her sense of self may temporarily shift in response to those specific relational demands. Her self, then, is never stable but is constantly shifting in response to particular situations and conditions, and notions of subjectivity capture this active process of taking up certain subject positions in an ongoing process of "becoming"- rather than merely "being" – in the world (2012, p.53).

The present research takes the position that historical experiences, social relations, and material conditions restrict and enable how we may *become* in a particular entanglement. The term *becoming* can work to demonstrate the complexity of our always 'in-process' experiences of living, and in doing so it highlights the way in which Māori perceive the universe as a 'process' alike (Marsden, 2003). The notion of *becoming*, and the theoretical discussion to this point, impacts the way that this research positions the notion of agency.

## Agency

Agency has long been considered something that is individually held and that only humans can have (Bennett, 2010) and humanism has theorised agency as something that we naturally have and are endowed with (St. Pierre, 2000). From a humanist position, which was often assumed in interpretivist and critical research, agency is an innate characteristic of the 'free subject', which enables one to act on and in the world. From this perspective choices are made rather than determined (Mazzei, 2013). Poststructuralists would argue that agency is a discursive position that we sometimes have access to. Agency cannot free one's self from discursive constitution of the self but presents the:

...capacity to recognise that constitution and resist, subvert and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted. It is the freedom to recognise multiple readings such that no discursive practice, or positioning within it by powerful others, can capture and control one's identity (Davies, 1991, p. 51)

The conscious stepping into agency is termed as subjectivation by Foucault (1982). There are varying degrees of agency a subject is able to move into and according to Foucault there are two ways that the subject is constituted by discourse. "If the person is unaware as to how discourse constitutes him/her, s/he unwittingly takes up a subjugated subject/object position. On the other hand, if a person is aware of the position calls being made by discourses, s/he can take steps towards agency to accept, refuse or resist these position calls" (as cited in Money Penny, p.19, 2013). "Agency is enactment in the possibilities and responsibilities of reconfiguring entanglements" (Lather, 2016, p.126)

In keeping with poststructural theory, I deliberately choose to not explicitly use the terms agency or subject in my thesis. I do this to move away from the notion of the individual and their existence before material-discursive entanglements and to decentre the human, as agency is not an attribute someone has (Barad 2008). Rather, the complex entanglement of the material and discursive world can be brought to the forefront through an appreciation of Barad's view of agency as the ongoing reconfigurations of the world:

Agency is a matter of intra-acting; it is an enactment, not something that someone or something has. Agency cannot be designated as an attribute of “subjects” or “objects” (since they do not pre-exist as such). Agency is not an attribute whatsoever—it is “doing”/“being” in its intra-activity. Agency is the enactment of iterative changes to particular practices through the dynamics of intra-activity...Particular possibilities for acting exist at every moment, and these changing possibilities entail a responsibility to intervene in the world’s becoming, to contest and rework what matters and what is excluded from mattering (2008, p.144).

Mika's (2017) brief discussion, which follows, on worldedness, although different, does not entirely support the idea of Barad's intra-action; however it certainly moves away from thinking about the world as separate from humans.

The concept of worldedness relates to the fact that one thing is constituted by all things in the world, to the problem of perception and worldview, to the place of an utterance and thought in the life of a group, to how landmarks will influence the self, and to whether one decides to label a phenomenon or not (p.34).

Mika (2017) challenges these claims that we may very well make but then perhaps not live through.

Posed in various ways, phrases and utterances such as ‘worldedness’ and ‘one thing is constituted by all others’ are easy to place in the abstract realm, and there they will remain largely under-theorised and will have very little impact in everyday activities, simply existing as tired sayings to invoke at particular times (p.34).

Because my aim in this research to not privilege discourse over matter or human over nonhuman, agency is brought into being through the co-constitutive entanglements of humans and non-human matter (Taylor, 2013). This view

impacts the way I position sexuality and gender, which are key material-discursive concepts for exploration in this research.

### **Sexuality and Gender**

There are varied views around the ethico-onto-epistemology of sexuality including dominant biological perspectives, anthropocentric ideas and the notion that sexuality is simply a product of culture. A discussion of these is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a broad definition of sexuality has been offered by the World Health Organisation (2006), and it is one that many would agree with. It is useful here, due to the way in which it lists various facets of sexuality.

Sexuality is described as follows:

...a central aspect of being human throughout life encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors (WHO, 2006, p.4)

In presenting this definition however, I am careful not to take up the view of sexuality being an innate attribute of an individual as perfectly posited by Alldred and Fox (2017).

Sexual desire, sexual arousal, and sexual pleasure can seem so personal, so *interior* to a body, so typically focused 'outwards' on to external objects of desire, that it has appeared self-evident to many (biologists, psychologists, doctors, therapists) that sexuality is an attribute of an organism, be it plant, animal, or human (p.657).

As established earlier, I see it that we are always in a process of *becoming*, and this view shapes the way I view sexuality. I take up the notion that sexuality is always in flux, and is a complex material-discursive process of becoming: an entanglement. Braidotti's description is poignant. Braidotti (2011) describes sexuality as a:

complex, multi-layered force that produces encounters, resonances and relations of all sorts...an active space of empowerment and becoming that is capable of producing spaces of intimacy, experimentation, and relation to others (p.148).

In further describing what sexuality may mean, I draw on Allen's (2015a, 2015b) experimental thinking about sexuality within new feminist materialisms frameworks. Allen discusses new and complex ground that she is calling "a 'new' ontology of sexuality at school." In short, Allen (2015b) argues that sexuality is always in a process of becoming, through entangled human and non-human intra-actions. Hence sexuality in school is an emergent field where non-human forces are also at play in constituting sexuality's becoming.

In this sense then, sexuality is not the property of the individual (i.e. as in having a sexual identity). Nor is sexuality, something that is socially conceived via discourse that subjects 'take up' or are 'constituted by'. Sexuality is not nature or culture, or some kind of combination of both, where properties of each remain distinct. Instead, sexuality might be seen as *material discursive*, whereby nature and culture emerge in the moment of their coming into relation with each other (Allen, 2015b, p.943).

Allen's thinking around sexuality and schooling is of use in this research. A view of sexuality informed by Allen's work requires me as the researcher to be open to the co-constitutive entanglements of and between practices, meaning, humans and things of all kinds (Allen, 2015c). Allen's recent research perhaps more easily and explicitly acknowledges the material, as her analytic work is based around a very material method focused on capturing sexuality in photographs. This method is easily material. My more normative data collection

processes of group hui and interview methods can also, of course, privilege both the discursive and the material in less explicit ways. Nonetheless, in the analysis of data I aim to notice and appreciate both the discursive and the material entanglements of sexuality, as I take the position of sexuality involving ongoing unstable entanglements of human and non-human things (Allen 2015b).

As the positioning and experiences of young Māori in secondary school with relation to concepts of sexuality are at the forefront of this research, it is necessary to consider the complex issue of gender. How do we become gendered? Māori views of gender have certainly centred on the notion of there being wahine and tane elements of gender. This is reflected in Māori gods and tupuna (Marsden, 2003; August, 2004). For example, the intimate relationship between Ranginui, the primeval celestial father and Papatuanuku, the earth mother, demonstrate what we could perhaps call a 'model' heterosexual relationship, where femaleness and maleness are shown. However, this does not reflect traditional Eurowestern gender roles of being female, as Papatuanuku was not in any way passive, as demonstrated by Jenkins and Harte:

"Papatuanuku was not just a mute, passive partner ... She was active, thoughtful and outspoken" (2011, p.2). A Māori view of gender sees that both genders have masculine and feminine energies and are a mysterious combination of both energies (Royal, 2004).

Although I have some views of gender, which stem from a Māori world view introduced above, for the purposes of this research, I choose to use a largely new feminist materialist view of gender, which builds on poststructuralist analysis, as this can assist in the critical analysis of gender issues and can allow me to consider how gender intra-acts with all other matter in the lived experiences of rangatahi in this study. As stated by Pillow (2002): "gender is alive and well" (p.11). An over-simplified feminist poststructural position of gender would be that gender is culturally produced through discourse and that gender does not exist outside discourse. Poststructuralist theory has allowed us to see the various discourses in which we are inevitably and contradictorily caught up in, including discourses of gender (Davies, 1994).

Highlighting the complexity and the always-in-process nature of gender, Butler claimed that “gender is a complexity whose totality is permanently deferred, never fully what it is at any given juncture in time” (Butler, 1999, p.151). Feminist poststructuralists have often drawn on Butler’s exploration of gender as performative, as tools to explain cultural understandings of the world:

“performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration” (Butler, 2007, p.16).

A basic premise of feminist theory is that gender matters in our day-to-day lives, and that how we experience our everyday lives is affected by gender matters (Pillow, 2002). Poststructuralists have long called for the de-naturalisation of gender. Davies provided the proposition:

If the dualism were rejected and people were able to position themselves as a person in terms of their interests and abilities quite independently of the set of genitals they happen to have, and were free to dress and move through the world without being obliged to mark themselves as male or female, then there would still be many people who would recognisably be what we now think of as male or female, and there would be many who were not (Davies, 1989b, P.135).

Femaleness and Maleness, then, are not innate attributes of individual people; they are structural properties of society (Davies, 1989a). I take the position in this study that gender continues to be socially, politically, historically, culturally (Weedon, 1987) and materially (Barad, 2003) produced. I certainly agree that we are all entwined in language and ways of being that construct us as being male or female, holding the dualism strongly in place. Some discussion of dualisms is necessary here, due to the seemingly natural and taken for granted ways in which they function and are upheld in our everyday lives. According to Davies (1998):

...language is littered with binaries or category systems which may or may not be more useful (or obfuscatory) in any particular

context or time. We can describe what we are doing as structuralist or post-structuralist, British or non-British, masculine or feminine, white or black, essentialist or non-essentialist. The important question to ask is, what is achieved by each of these apparently innocent descriptive acts? That is, how have we constituted each act of speaking or writing in so naming it? How has that constitutive act been read by the various speakers and writers, listeners and readers? (pp. 122-123).

There is no homogeneous way to conceptualise dualisms, which is demonstrated in the wide range of terms that resonate somewhat with this concept, including dichotomy, binary, polarisation and schism (Mander, Danaher, Tyler & Midgeley, 2011; Singh, 2011). Although the term binary is well-used (Singh, 2011), and the terms binary and dualism are often used to mean the same thing, where appropriate, I choose to use dualism alone, as when thinking with binaries there are generally only two parts: for example white vs not white. This is, in linguistic terms, marked and unmarked language. So the hierarchal relationship consists of one part that is usually considered normal, while the other is not, and is seen to be deviant or deficient. This positioning sees that one part of the binary is superior while the other is weaker and passive (Singh, 2011).

But this is too simple and uncomplicated. For this research, dualism allows for multiple positions and further accounts for the messiness of ways of becoming. I also think that now, more than ever, if I as a researcher insist on using the term binary, reinforcing the idea that they are normal in some sense, then binaries will continue to thrive. In this research, I do not deliberately create a space to trouble, disrupt and unsettle dualisms, but will discuss their complexities when necessary. Nearly three decades ago, Davies (1989a) unsettled the male or female divide and used the term dualism in her article:

Current understandings of what it means to be a person require individuals to take themselves up as distinctively male or female persons, these terms being meaningful only in relation to each other and understood as essentially oppositional terms. The opposition embedded in the terms is not an opposition of equals,

but one in which part of the definition of one is its dominance over the other. So deeply is the linguistic division assumed to be reflective of a 'real' state of affairs that the idea that a person could be other than male or female is almost unthinkable, though each of us has probably experienced more than one moment in which we were aware of not correctly achieving ourselves as an appropriately gendered person (p.234)

Drummed into us at an early age is the most basic dualism: the male/female gender divide (Muirhead & Dean 2011), and it is heteronormativity which actively maintains heterosexuality as the 'right', 'normal' and 'natural' way of being. It is the effect of construing certain forms of sexuality, gender and the family as normal (Gunn, 2015). Here, heterosexuality is the 'norm' and any 'other' or 'variation' of sexuality is rendered deviant and 'abnormal'. We know that living as a 'normal' man or woman means engaging in and actively pursuing hegemonic heterosexual relations and identities (Renold, 2006, p. 489).

Gender is a congealed bodily effect and process of historical repetitions and norms (Bennett, 2010). It is produced through body acts and styles. These daily repeated rituals or gender performances then become natural and true and this produces hegemony and the fiction of a stable identity (Butler, 1999). Gender is not naturally derived and stable but materially-discursively constructed and in-process throughout our entangled lives. This emphasis on both discourse and the material of gender is what new feminist materialisms can offer, meaning the lens is broadened to consider the entanglement of objects, discourses, bodies and other non-human material things in the process of gender. As stated by Ringrose and Rawlings (2015): "non-human agentic matter such as space, objects and even time too, shape the constitution of gender" (p.83).

### **Indigenous Māori Theory, Feminist Poststructuralism, New Feminist**

#### **Materialisms: together and apart**

Although many would assert there are clear complexities and dilemmas in using ideas from the theories of feminist poststructuralism, new feminist materialism and indigenous theory, in line with arguments presented earlier, I maintain that

in this research, concepts from these theoretical places support one another and provide a harmonious, though not equivalent, theoretical foundation. For example, there are points of connection where feminist poststructuralist thinking can complement Māori theory and research. The most obvious synergy is the focus on social change; a focus on unsettling power structures and what is normal often through careful analysis of power relations and discourse (G. Smith, 2002). Exposing power structures which promote the continued binary construction of Māori as Other has been posed as inherent throughout the development of kaupapa Māori research (Smith, et al., 2012). My juxtaposing of these theoretical views is consistent with Jones and Hoskins' (2016) view that Māori ideas need not fit with any other field of thought.

Some prolific Māori writers clearly support feminist goals. Cooper (2012) locates kaupapa Māori research within the tradition of feminist thinkers, which both challenge the dominance of scientific methodologies and practices and the Eurowestern reason that supports these. Further, Te Awekotuku (1991) asserts that feminism is what we make it, how we define ourselves. She sees the history of loss and deprivation experienced by Māori women as inviting a feminist approach to research. Feminism brings an ability to “address the questions of how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender, class, and race might be transformed” (Weedon, 1987, p.20). We must remember here, however, that the variety of feminisms does not constitute a homogenous theory; allowing for ongoing discussion and reflection that are attentive to their political effects (Amigot & Pujal, 2009). More fitting is the notion that feminist research is *becoming*; it is dynamic and is what happens when theory, methodology and action intra-act in the world (Childers, 2013).

Aligning with feminist concern, in her PhD research *Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, Pihama (2001) asserts that the privileging of Māori women's voices in her research is integral if change within the colonial state of dominance is to occur. She argues that a critical and reflective voice of Māori men is needed also, if oppressive structures that continue to demean Māori are to be lifted. She notes that:

Māori men, in particular, have both a role and an obligation to engage with issues that marginalise Māori women. The failure of most Māori men to engage critically with these issues means that Māori men themselves are not having to reflect on their own positions and their contribution to wider societal sexist structures ( p.35).

Staying on the borders of the argument, it could be said that just as feminism is not the answer to Māori concerns, Poststructuralism is not of course the answer to the concerns of feminism, nor were the theorists who shaped poststructuralism (e.g., Foucault) unsympathetic to feminism (Cook, 2013; McLaren, 2002; Weedon, 1987). For example, Balsamo (1996) argued that Foucault writes from a power site centred in discourses of masculinity. In Cook's conception of Foucault she argues that Foucault leaves the 'man/woman' dualism firmly in place. Cook (2013) is passionate that it would not be right for her to employ the ideas of Foucault.

As a result and as his own life experience reveals, Foucault also leaves the 'hetero/homosexual' dualism firmly in place. For his own choice to remain discursively silent and closeted about his homosexuality reveals enduring power of the sexual dualism, underpinned by every man's homophobic fear of (fatal) feminisation, to retain its fixed, hierarchically divided form. In this case, Foucault's resistance to his 'othering' seems to have simply reinforced the repressive dualisms that he sought to dismantle (p.139).

There are possible arguments which may present the use of Foucault as controversial in indigenous research. For example it has been noted that Foucault's attention to European imperialism does not sit so well with Māori thinking (McKinley, 2003). However, Foucault may still offer insight into ways of thinking about the present research, and his ideas continue to influence Māori research and thinking with success, appearing frequently in the work of Māori writers such as Mahuika (2008), McKinley (2003), Green (2011) and Mika and Stewart (2016).

Poststructuralism has however, offered ways of thinking about the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness, which focus on how power is exercised, and the possibilities for change. With regard to Foucault's ideas, I agree that: "Foucault's work is an evolving and unfinished product and that his approach is deliberately evasive, elusive and provocative" (Joseph, 2013, p. 41). If I can see value and logic in drawing on theories, although I am aware that the theorist's ideas may too at the same time fall short of the ideals of Māori research, I believe I can still justifiably use the ideas.

I have chosen to use some Eurowestern ideas to inform my study, though I do not wish to emphasise a Western/non-Western dualism. This does not mean that I wish to privilege Eurowestern frameworks as being the best way to research, but that in my view these ideas lend themselves to the goal of research that may lead to positive transformation for Māori. Because colonisation remains a concern, I deal with this dilemma with great care. Like Love (1999), I can ask myself two questions. What do I want Eurowestern ideas to do for/in my research, and what do I not want Eurowestern ideas to do for/in my research? I will consider the impact of each idea as I attempt to use it in my study and feel I can employ Eurowestern ideas to challenge Eurowestern dominance where necessary as a way to 'give back' to Māori.

### **New? Feminist Materialisms**

It needs noting that although the material turn has been viewed as a promising new way of thinking, its efforts should not be attributed to a few scholars. In fact, the under-acknowledged work and labour of many indigenous thinkers, according to Todd (2016), is what informs many current trends in Eurowestern scholarship. In discussing the idea that indigenous philosophy and knowledge has been ignored, Todd (2016) provides an example around climate change and indigenous Arctic people. According to Todd, the way in which climate change and the Arctic come to matter quickly erases and dismisses Arctic indigenous people and their philosophies.

Comparable to the recently proposed addition of 'Māori designs' on the New Zealand flag, it is easier for some to interact with a symbolic polar bear on a Greenpeace website than it is to acknowledge the indigenous people of the land and their philosophies and knowledge systems. This example illustrates the way in which indigenous peoples are still today dismissed as dynamic philosophers and intellectuals altogether. Some continue to battle this domination of thought and others, as Mika suggests "...have been colonised philosophically as well as by loss of land, language and wellbeing." (Mika, 2013a, p.14).

For this research, new feminist materialisms mean not neglecting or embracing either nature or culture at the cost of the other. Using a new materialist slant means matter and discourse are co-constitutive and neither one comes first or is foundational (Taylor & Ivinson, 2013). It means I can also consider my participants' experiences of sexuality beyond discursive construction, when the opportunity presents. Although "there is no single Māori perspective on any subject" (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi & Kirkwood, 1995, p.8), an important theme expressed in a Māori world view is that "humans are a part of nature; they belong with all other things, animate and inanimate" (Roberts et al., p.10). This contrasts with a Christian world view, where god created man and he is dominant over the rest of creation, thus creating the man/nature dichotomy. I borrow Davies' (2014a) words to posit what is most important perhaps in drawing on and applying new feminist materialist theory:

this is a feminism that does not already know what is right and proper, but is experimental, courageous, open and evolving, always mindful of the being of others, both human and non-human (p.17).

Although in the fledgling stage, there are Māori academics who are doing Māori research and experimenting with new feminist materialist theory (Jones & Hoskins, 2016; Kotze, Crocket & Waititi, 2016).

## Chapter Summary

The entanglements of feminist poststructuralism, indigenous Māori theory and new feminist materialisms together and separately, help in providing an ethico-onto-epistemological lens for seeing the world and in turn, shaping all the complexities of the research process. An outline of key concepts central to the research, with relevant discussion from and between the three paradigms, has been presented. Poststructuralism offered feminism a way of producing knowledge different than that achieved by humanist approaches, and new feminist materialism is arguably another step in the development, which can offer ways of coming to the different, not necessarily better, knowledge and ways of thinking that this research proposes.

The way in which I work with 'data' does not seek some form of truth, but aims to go beyond a thematic analysis and discussion. I aim to notice what I might not usually notice, to think in less normalised ways, to notice conflict and resistance, to acknowledge my own becoming and intra-actions with the data, to think about discourse but beyond it too, to consider how matter comes to matter, and ultimately privilege the lived experiences of rangatahi in the complex area of the school to inform and challenge the current situations and lead to positive transformation in some way. This, as I see it, can attest to my use of the specific data analysis method I use – *Moving Through Entanglements* (Chapter Five).

The literature review and the present theoretical framing have together shaped the overarching questions for this research. The literature review discussed and reviewed key issues, research and research gaps on/with rangatahi, sexuality education, sexuality and secondary school education. The review explored the key topics of this research. However, for this research, it was equally crucial to have a well-thought-out theoretical framing developed and presented before the questions could be carefully constructed and posed. So it is here that the research questions are logically placed.

## Research Questions

- What are some important entanglements in the context of sexuality and sexuality education for rangatahi, taking into account theory, literature and the views of rangatahi themselves?
- How do rangatahi experience *becoming* students in the 'everyday' material-discursive settings of secondary schools, particularly regarding key entanglements that will be explored in the present research?



# CHAPTER FOUR

## Research Design and Methods

This chapter outlines the design and methods that inform the research. First, a posthuman research approach is described. Following this, participant recruitment processes are presented, and the specific methods that were used with rangatahi to collect *data*, including group hui, individual interviews and journaling, are detailed. Last, attention is given to relevant ethical issues. Firstly, however, it is necessary to trace over what has come so far.

The entanglements of rangatahi, sexuality education, sexuality and secondary school education were discussed in Chapter Two. The literature review showed a significant gap in past research: that rangatahi are still barely heard beyond a whisper (Keelan, 2014). In the sexuality and education research that has taken rangatahi seriously, the voices of rangatahi were marginalised, suggesting that researchers could listen more perceptively to their answers. Such research might, however, require new methodologies. The studies reviewed covered a range of well-worn methodological approaches. The theoretical framework covered in Chapter Three offered new possibilities for methodologies that are culturally significant for rangatahi, particularly around posthuman theorising, which may unsettle the deeply ingrained and normative ways of doing and thinking in qualitative research.

Applying more creative methodological approaches in educational research such as the present study, offers the possibility of new insights that could expand the boundaries of established research with rangatahi/young people in the areas of sexuality/education and *becoming* a secondary school student. The promise of such theoretically informed research is that, ultimately, in some way not yet known, the research may lead to positive transformation for rangatahi in Aotearoa. The arguments for such an approach are given below.

## Posthuman research design

This research is situated within the theoretically exciting and increasingly momentous field of posthuman approaches to research. Conducting research within a posthuman theoretical framework offers challenges for research design. As Taylor (2016) noted: “doing posthumanist research in education is a challenge” (p.5), though fortunately his work offers a number of insights that the current research draws on for its research design and processes. My experience in working through the design of this research shows how daunting and yet exciting its possibilities were for me.

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*There are several others embarking on their PhD research in the building where I work. My office space is directly beside the photocopier. A PhD student who is undertaking a quantitative study on some area of management in social work has a quick chat with me, as he often does if I decide to emerge from behind the strategically placed book shelf on my desk, when he comes to collect his photocopying. As usual after talking with him, I feel frustrated, as I cannot provide him with clear-cut answers to the questions he is asking me about the specifics of my research design. He had his design all worked out for his study, and seems to be questioning my approach (and perhaps my ability to do research?), when I was unable to blurt out some simple research design answers.*

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It is suggested by some academic texts that research design is one of the initial elements to be decided upon (Farber, 2006; Phellas, 2006). This is the approach my master’s research took. The present research has *become* in a different order or process, and this is why for quite some time, I was not easily able to answer my colleague’s questions around research design. In a strange way, I did not plan to do posthuman research, but my thinking and movement, reading and participation; my *becoming*, in various entanglements brought me to the realm of the posthuman, which I have come to appreciate.

Posthumanism is an emergent and flowing constellation of different theories, concepts, approaches and practices (Taylor, 2016), which although still in relatively initial stages, is being put to work in educational research (Taylor, 2016; Snaza & Weaver, 2015; Lather & St. Pierre, 2013). Posthumanism is theory-rich and complex. It encourages those who 'use it' to develop strong theoretical underpinnings in the initial stages as well as throughout the research (St. Pierre, Mazzei, & Jackson, 2016).

Taylor (2016) states that "posthumanism invites us (humans) to undo the current ways of doing – and then imagine, invent and do the doing differently" (p.6). New feminist materialisms, the post-qualitative turn, new empiricisms, and interests in ecological perspectives are each veins in the engagement of posthuman research (Taylor & Hughes, 2016). In an attempt to best define the theoretical field of posthumanism that forms the messy design of this research I draw on Taylor's (2016) description.

Posthuman research enactments are a practice of the plunge: letting go, diving, freefall, surfing, swimming, waving *and* drowning. They are a plunging into particularity that collapses scale, structure and level to (try to) see a world in a grain of sand, indeed – and a committed ethico-onto-epistemological venture to (try to) do away with the binaries that have held 'man' and 'human' so securely in place as a means to everything/everyone else. Plunging is a messy, ungainly and sometimes dangerous business: there are no methodological safeholds, handholds or niches for secure knowing. Yet one of the forces that traverses and propel us in the not-known of posthumanist research in education is *potencia*: energy, vitality, the constitutive desire to endure (p.20).

Using a posthuman research design is exciting and experimental. It seems that despite progressive philosophical and theoretical development, there has been less focus on the specific methodological aspects of posthuman research. Taylor

and Hughes (2016) signal that the following questions need specific attention, which my research may contribute to in some way:

What do empirically grounded explorations of posthumanism look like in practice? How can they be designed? What sorts of *data* are produced and how might they be analysed? And, importantly, what are the social, cultural and educational effects or impacts of empirically driven posthuman research? (p. 1).

The questions that Taylor and Hughes pose challenge me, as the present study is both posthuman and postqualitative. A brief discussion around qualitative research is necessary due to its monolithic standing in research and the general requirement for a researcher to align with being a qualitative researcher, a quantitative researcher or somewhere in between. Qualitative research is an umbrella term covering an array of techniques, with some of the most popular being narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), “basically qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed; that is how people make sense of their world and the experience they have in the world” (p.15). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) add that:

... qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (p. 2).

The quote suggests that researchers are able to stand at a distance and observe, to then discover meaning. Further, the notion of things in their “natural settings” needs troubling. These assumptions have likely influenced the present educational research climate, which remains constituted by dominant approaches to research; it desires fast and simple relay from theory to practice, where ‘evidence’ is produced to inform pedagogic interventions. Educational research is saturated in neo-positivist ideals of ‘big data’ and it is very hard to

escape one's training. For example, in a typical qualitative inquiry the doer comes before the deed and the researcher comes before the research, as Lather and St. Pierre (2013) explain.

[S]o the researcher can...write a research proposal that outlines the doing before she begins. The assumption is that there is actually a beginning, an origin, that she is not always already becoming in entanglement (p.630).

It is no surprise then that a very recently released qualitative research guide book by Merriam and Tisdell (2016) fails to mention posthuman research designs in descriptions of qualitative approaches, and poststructuralism, which the present research also draws on, is described as the most recent and 'different' way of doing qualitative research. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggest in their descriptions of what qualitative research may be that qualitative researchers often undertake a study because there is a lack of existing theory to adequately explain a phenomenon. The idea that there is a lack of theory about something could imply that an approach of posing research questions, then getting out in the field to then gather *data*, can come before any complex theoretical work has been considered. This is often commonplace in qualitative analysis, and was how I approached my Master's research as mentioned earlier. Another unsettling part of Merriam and Tisdell's position is the idea that something can be adequately explained in the first place. It implies that if enough *data* is gathered about a phenomenon, it can then be explained and known. Throughout out my research this idea is troubled: I do not study the world to know it (St Pierre, Mazzei, & Jackson, 2016). Other suggestions which bring unease include claiming that theory is *data* driven, which assumes that it somehow magically emerges as part of the research process (McLeod, 2017).

A note on the use of the term *data* is necessary. I have used the word *data* to ensure clarity in this research. However, throughout this thesis it is presented in italics, as I do not use the term in a humanist fashion. *Data* needs troubling and has been re-thought by posthuman theorists (Denzin, 2013; St. Pierre, Koro-

Ljungberg & MacLure, 2013; St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Denzin (2013) discusses problems with the word data, which include:

...the word data invokes a positivist epistemology and a politics of evidence based on terms like reliability and validity; the word data invokes a positivist ontology which turns the world into nouns and other things; the word data turns things into commodities that can be counted and sold; the word data perpetuates the myth that objective observers can make the world visible through their methodological practices; data has agency; it is not passive (p.355).

*Data* do not 'speak' to a distanced researcher; even if they had mouths, *data* do not speak (Snaza & Weaver, 2015). Posthuman ideas around what is called *data*, are different. *Data* are not seen as inert, waiting for the researcher (the autonomous agent) to code and make sense of them. Rather, "...data have their ways of making themselves intelligible to us" (MacLure, 2013, p.660). MacLure (2013) provides examples of how *data* may *become*.

This can be seen, or rather felt, on occasions when one becomes especially 'interested' in a piece of data – such as a sarcastic comment in an interview, or a perplexing incident, or an observed event that makes you feel kind of peculiar. Or some point in the pedestrian process of 'writing up' a piece of research where something not-yet-articulated seems to take off and take over, effecting a kind of quantum leap that moves the writing/writer to somewhere unpredictable. On those occasions, agency feels distributed and undecidable, as if we have chosen something that has chosen us (pp. 660-661).

I do not presume that the 'right' research methodology and methods will somehow reveal the 'truth' of the subject under inquiry. The enlightenment ego that has separated the self from the world, the self who stands apart from the world to observe and describe it to 'know' it, is a tragedy on which postcolonial, feminist, poststructuralist and posthuman thinkers would agree (Taylor, 2016)

and which many indigenous, including Māori, have always already known. Posthuman research practices radically critique some of these fundamental assumptions of educational research and offer both different starting points for research and new ways of grasping educational experience (Taylor, 2016). As stated by Snaza and Weaver (2015):

...we think that educational studies could benefit from more wonder. Indeed, in large part due to the neoliberal takeover of schooling at all levels and its attendant shrinking of “educational research” to mean randomized, large-scale quantitative studies of specific pedagogical and curricular interventions, educational studies have become tedious, instrumental, and boring...

Posthumanism, by virtue of seeming so far outside the realm of what is ordinarily considered relevant to these discussions, may just be able to explode these tired debates, reorienting us toward futures that are far less foreclosed, far less preplanned (p.7).

Posthuman research thus goes against the grain and may foster more wonder in education research. However, posthumanism cannot simply be ‘chucked and blended’ into a research design and Taylor (2016) adds, “nor will it do to ‘add’ a posthuman analysis to the interpretation of the *data* that has been conventionally collected” (p.18). The *data* collection methods I apply in the present research are considered conventional: group hui, individual interviews and journaling. However, it was not suitable to do something less conventional, like dance or dress up for example. Using more unusual methods would not have made my research any more posthuman. Although interviews are used in my research, they are *not* positioned as St. Pierre and Jackson (2014) state below.

Interviewing has become the predominant method of data collection in qualitative research, and the authentic voices of participants are hallowed, treated reverently by researchers, as if their words—supposedly

uncontaminated by theoretical interpretation—can serve as a foundation of knowledge (p.715).

Although interviewing is the predominant method of *data* collection in qualitative research (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014), I take the position that an interview can be as conventional as we make it, and further, it is how we continue to deal with the entangled and in-process *data* afterwards, which is most crucial in deciding whether a method has been the normative producer of well-worn approaches. And further, a posthuman stance can enable a researcher to materialise a different conception of the interview and interview *data* (Mazzei, 2013).

What has become my analysis process, termed *Moving Through Entanglements*, is my take on a diffractive analysis (Davies, 2014; St. Pierre, Jackson, & Mazzei, 2014) which attests to moving away from normative ways of doing research. For example, in this analysis approach (Chapter Five), I argue that *data* are lively and things have the strange ability to call to me (human or nonhuman); others talk of *data* glowing, hotspots and shining points (MacLure, 2013; Taylor, 2013). Further, things that may be otherwise considered mundane in a heavily coded thematic analysis may come to the forefront in this research.

According to St. Pierre and Jackson (2014), not surprisingly, analysis is so complex to explain to university students embarking on posthuman research that lecturers have often resorted to equating *data* analysis to coding *data*. So analysis is taught as coding because it is easier. Coding *data* where words are waiting to be labelled and can merely be reduced to numbers is not supported in this thesis (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Analysis does not have a beginning or an end, an origin or destination. Analysis occurs all the time and everywhere (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014) and is triggered by an agentic clash on the surface with *data* (Mazzei, 2013).

Posthuman approaches are most aligned with Māori indigenous theories. They encourage us to re-imagine Eurowestern assumptions about the entanglement of nature and culture which were historically not separated by Māori (Jones & Hoskins, 2016). As I have presented in detail, a key notion for Māori indigenous

theory, and both posthumanist and new materialist thinking, is that humans and all that is nonhuman are equal players in the *becoming* of the world. St. Pierre, Mazzei and Jackson's (2016) confronting argument highlights the complex ethical imperative of which this research privileges.

If humans have no separate existence, if we are completely entangled with the world, if we are no longer masters of the universe, then we are completely responsible to and for the world and all our relations of becoming with it. We cannot ignore matter (e.g., our planet) as if it is inert, passive, and dead. It is completely alive, becoming with us, whether we destroy or protect it (p.101).

If we take the ethic-onto-epistemological position that humans are not the only ones participating in our research, then the way knowledge is produced in education will be destabilised. There is then a need to include nonhumans, other-than-humans or more-than-humans in our work (Taylor, 2016). The present research takes seriously the relationality with other beings/matter (Taylor & Hughes, 2016). Taking up a new feminist position in educational research means that materiality is explored, as human bodies, buildings, desks, spaces, policies, practices, theories and other inanimate and animate things are forces shaping the research. Here "the material then carries equal weight with discursive constructions of research and, together, they mutually constitute the 'matter' of fieldwork" (Childers, 2014, p.819).

I take the view that there is a need to be careful not to exclude those who are attempting to work in this emergent field, as with an 'emergent' field comes experimentation with new ways of doing old things. Taylor (2016) indicates the complexity when he asks: if we can plan to do posthumanist research in advance then how can we proceed?

## Research Processes and Methods

### **Participant Recruitment**

Nine rangatahi from two central North Island secondary schools: Kauri School and Green School participated in the research. The secondary schools were selected for personal links I have had to them. This connection makes the research experience more meaningful. I would like to describe my links here, but refrain, as this could jeopardize the promise of upholding confidentiality and anonymity.

The first step to gaining access was approaching the two school principals via email. This seemed the most practical way to approach initial participant recruiting in schools. After speaking with school leaders and specialist Māori teachers, it was decided that the teachers would approach six rangatahi from each school who were over the age of 16, with a mixture of girls and boys who expressed an interest and a willingness to talk about being a student, being Māori, and topics around sexuality. A short hui was then arranged where I met with the students to gauge their interest and provide them with relevant information on what the research goals were, and how they as participants would be involved, should they choose to participate.

Six students from Kauri School and three students from Green School participated in the research. At the time of working with the participants, one student was in Year 11, six were Year 13, and two students were Year 12. In Aotearoa, 13 academic year levels, numbered 1 through to 13 are used to describe school classroom levels. Year 13 for example marks the 13<sup>th</sup> and final year of schooling, and Year 1 the first, which begins at the age of five years.

In Kauri School, three students identified as boys and three as girls. In Green School, two girls and one boy participated; they were close friends and advised that they would like to work as a group (the other three students who attended our initial meeting were absent from school on the day of Hui One, so we

decided to proceed with a group of three rangatahi from Green School).

Pseudonyms are used for schools and rangatahi.

#### Green School Students

Kari (boy/tane) Year 13

Holly (girl/wahine) Year 13

Ana (girl/wahine) Year 13

#### Kauri School Students

Peta (girl/wahine) Year 12

Mahia (girl/wahine) Year 12

Mata (girl/wahine) Year 13

Joseph (boy/tane) Year 13

Tana (boy/tane) Year 13

Harley (boy/tane) Year 11

#### Group Hui

Students participated in two group hui. In short, a hui is a meeting or coming together, a place for collective talk (Mead, 2003). I use the term hui, as it is less formal and structured than typical methods or terms such as focus groups, and assumed that the rangatahi would also be more comfortable with the term hui. Each hui was approximately one hour long. In Kauri School the hui were separated into boys and girls. This was done to keep the groups small and also because I thought that rangatahi might be more comfortable in this setting to talk about topics of sexuality. In Green School the three students worked together, as outlined above. The hui outline and focus was the same for each group, but each hui took its own direction. The hui had a general aim of listening to what rangatahi had to say around sexuality education, and other issues of sexuality, and *becoming* Māori in secondary school. The hui content and plans can be viewed in the appendices.

The focus of hui one was a photo activity. Students were asked to discuss seven photographs of people, which I had selected for the possible richness of discussion I thought they may provoke. The photos included a pregnant young person, Sonny Bill Williams (Aotearoa All black) and a scantily clad Miley Cyrus. Hui two began with asking more about key topics that were raised in Hui One, and then included a stick figure activity where students were asked to create a typical 'girl' and 'boy' student.

### **Interviews**

Individual interviews took place after the hui were completed and provided a place to speak with rangatahi in a one-on-one setting about similar topics (see appendices). An interview, from a posthuman perspective, means that 'voice' is not produced by a unique essentialist subject who exercises agency to make choices during the interview. Instead, in taking up a posthuman approach of interviews, I see it that agency is not held by anyone or anything, but is a complex in-process network, which emerges within entanglements (Mazzei, 2013). Nothing can be separated from the entanglement in which it was produced, and Mazzei (2013) has called this the enactment among "researcher-data-participants-theory-analysis" (p.732). Thus, "there is no separate, individual person, no participant in an interview study to which a single voice can be linked – all are entangled" (Mazzei, 2013 p. 734).

Hui and interviews were audio recorded on a digital device and then later transcribed. A simple transcription key was used which I modified slightly (OBSSR e-source, n.d.). For example, instead of including more symbols, like for example £, to indicate a participant smiling, I found it more useful to provide researcher descriptions in double parentheses.

Symbol	Example	Explanation
(0.4)	Yes (0.2) yeah	Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence in tenths of a second
(( ))	Confirm that ((continues))	Double parentheses contain author's descriptions rather than transcriptions
!	No way!	Exclamation marks indicate especially loud sounds
(.)	To get (.) treatment	A dot in parentheses indicates a tiny gap, probably no more than one-tenth of a second

### **Journals**

Each participant was given the option to keep a personal journal for the duration of the *data* collection process. Journals were given to students at Hui one. It was explained that in the journals, students could do whatever they wished.

Examples were provided, including: keeping a record of ideas, drawings, poems, reflections of experiences, concerns and issues, whether they seemed related to topics of our research or not. The journals allowed participants to record experiences, their thoughts and feelings as they occurred, should they wish. Only three journals made their way back to me. This was not a problem for the research design, as it was clear to participants that it was not mandatory to use them. I do not draw on the journals in this thesis.

### Ethical Issues

Ethical approval was obtained from Te Oranga – the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee. In taking ethical matters seriously in research, I have a clear understanding of the University's policies on research ethics. Researchers are responsible for the integrity of their research project; therefore steps were taken to ensure that the ethical issues relevant to the research were addressed.

Informed consent was gained through formal letters. Information sheets were given to parents and caregivers, students and school leaders. The participants

were presented with formal consent forms and information sheets clearly outlining the research project, and the participants' role within the research.

Pseudonyms were used throughout the research, and all information that was shared in the research was kept confidential. It has been acknowledged that the area of sexuality is 'risky' ground. Rangatahi were aware that they were not expected to discuss something that they wished not to share, and could choose not to respond to particular questions or topics. I endeavoured to not in any way pressure participants to discuss something that they wished not to share. Participants were told that they could choose not to respond to any questions during our hui and interviews.

I explained to rangatahi that this research project was not in any way a judgment of them; it was concerned with learning about their experiences and ideas, which may somehow inform and improve the future for rangatahi. I informed the participants that this was positive research, unlike some of the research 'on' Māori that has come before (L. Smith, 2012).

Rangatahi were aware that they could decline and withdraw from the study at any time. If a participant decided to discontinue their participation in the project they could approach me, or, should they wish, my supervisors, via email, text message, or the university of Waikato free phone number and extension. No explanation or reason was needed. Participants had my and my supervisors' contact details readily available to them. Every effort was made to minimise classroom disruption, and meeting times were decided by school leaders and negotiated with students based around timetables

The *data* that were collected from participants could also be withdrawn by them if they chose to withdraw the information. However, I made rangatahi aware, through information and consent letters, that they could withdraw the information up to one month after all the data was collected, which was the point of data analysis. Rangatahi were advised that the procedure of withdrawing was simple. Materials, including transcripts and journals, were kept

in a locked filing cabinet. Rangatahi checked and approved their interview transcripts once transcribed.

## Chapter Summary

The present chapter has outlined the overarching posthuman research design that my research aligns with. Discussion detailing what makes this research posthuman was presented, which built upon Chapter Three where the theoretical framing of this research was described. Details of the research hui and individual interviews were described and ethical procedures outlined. Chapter Five presents the specific method of analysis, *Moving Through Entanglements*, that this research applied.



## CHAPTER FIVE

# Analysis Method: Moving Through Entanglements

### The Mokoroa Grub

The work of the mokoroa grub is used as an analogy to describe my approach to the analysis of the research hui and interviews. In moving through the bark of the kahikatea, the mokoroa does not simply or repetitively move through tunnels already chewed (Davies, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). It also creates new paths, and continuously bores, chews, tunnels, ingests and digests the bark of the kahikatea in a complex process of entanglement (Barad, 2014). As the mokoroa tunnels, all types of complex encounters *become*. Thus, *Moving through entanglements* is the analysis approach this research applies. As outlined in Chapter Three, concepts from the areas of Māori indigenous theories, new feminist materialisms and feminist poststructuralism create the overall innovative research approach. The present chapter builds on the theoretical framework to more specifically consider how I worked with and analysed the 'data'. I will return to the *data*, not to come back to it or reflect on it, but, as Barad (2014) suggests, to re-turn to it over and over again – intra-acting and diffracting anew. This is like the work of the mokoroa grub, or as Barad describes, the doings of the earth worm to the soil, who ingests and excretes, tunnels and aerates the soil to allow oxygen in, “opening it up and breathing new life into it” (p.168).

Like the mokoroa, I needed not only to move through the well-chewed tunnels, but aimed to work in a way where something new might emerge in my take on a diffractive material-discursive analysis (Barad, 2014; Davies, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). I do not provide a list of particular steps for the way the analysis was applied to 'data' as this would conflict with the ethico-onto-epistemological

positioning of this research and its *becoming*, which is more concerned with difference, and creative ways of thinking about, and doing research.

I see with some passion, like Mika (2017), that our theorising is always guided by our human and non-human ancestors. Here, claim is made to Māori metaphysics that cannot be seen or sensed as such (Mika, 2017) and that conflict with concepts from areas of new feminist materialisms and feminist poststructuralist notions that I used to work with my findings (see Chapter Three). So as the mokoroa grub moves through the research entanglements, I as Māori, take it for granted that there is always something else that is influencing the entirety of the research, something bigger and beyond. To support my attempt at keeping a sense of mystery alive in this thesis:

...it is moreover entirely likely that the Māori lens is at work even when it is not being explicitly mentioned (and here we meet a tantalising possibility: one's essential and ancestral influence imbues thought and writing, sometimes perceptibly, although it may not be explicitly mentioned!) (Mika, 2017, p.12)

Ancestral influences call for the troubling of definite forms, so to consider the complex experiences and entanglements by which rangatahi as students in secondary school education and sexuality issues *become*, the boundaries of human/nonhuman, researcher/researchers, dead matter/living matter, and nature/culture need blurring (Allen, 2015a, 2015b).

## My Take on a Diffractive Analysis

In a diffractive analysis, research problems, concepts, emotions, transcripts, memories, and images all affect each other and interfere with each other in an emergent process of coming to know something differently (Davies, 2014b, p. 734)

*Moving through entanglements* involves plugging into multiple texts which interfere with each other in an emergent *becoming*. It is argued that we should aim to distort, expand and stretch previous ways of knowing in qualitative

research (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) and imagine, invent and do research differently (Taylor, 2016). As the previous chapter outlined, this is no easy task (Mazzei, 2014) and resembles Deleuze and Guattari's encouragement for us to 'think the unthought' (1994).

Those most experienced in the ontological turn have alluded to the sheer difficulties in doing posthuman research (Mazzei, 2014; St. Pierre, 2016a, 2016b). And although writers grapple with ways of privileging and paying attention to matter in entanglements, it is said that we are always already caught in our human-centredness. Researchers may experience feeling somewhat stuck and uncertain about their procedural 'method' (Jones & Hoskins, 2016). However, this may be the way that unstable and more creative 'methods' desire that we work. Therefore, a diffractive approach to analysis works as both an act of experimentation and a ploy to unsettle dominant ways of doing qualitative research (Taylor, 2013).

St. Pierre (2016a) has provided staunch debate around refusing the use of the concepts of method and methodology, in a deliberate attempt to move with the ontological turn and 'move on' from past conventional humanist qualitative research approaches. In Chapter Four I argued that *data* is a word to be treated cautiously if we are to steer clear of qualitative research that lends itself to what St. Pierre and Jackson (2014) have termed a vacuum cleaner approach. To keep a sense of clarity, this thesis uses some conventional terms such as methods and *data*, but without carrying the normative baggage as I maintain that the analysis approach aims to trouble "prescription, steps, procedures, schemes, matrices, sequences, imposed structure, clarity, and maybe the biggest sin of all, counting" (Childers, 2014, p.819).

Qualitative *data* analysis is too often predictable, free of context and circumstance, based around mechanical coding, the emergence of themes, and simplistic write ups. These may do little to critique the complexities of life (Davies, 2014b; Jackson and Mazzei, 2012; Mazzei, 2014; Taguchi, 2012). This analysis method engaged with concepts of new feminist materialisms to stretch my thinking, because, if we are courageous enough, qualitative research can

then take us on an exciting and very challenging path of experimentation (Davies, 2014b). In *moving through entanglements*, ideas can spread in unforeseeable, productive directions and patterns (Mazzei, 2014), thus supporting a Māori perspective which views the stifling of creative thought and theory as a fundamental principle of colonisation (Mika & Southey, 2016).

Following Barad's (2007) notion of the 'agential cut' "a diffractive methodology is most persistent in calling us to account in new ways for the choices we make by including *these data* and *these* incidents and not others" (p.691). In the analysis, attention was paid to what Davies (2014b) calls micro-moments of being, which work against the grain of taken-for-granted ways of seeing (or not seeing) the entanglements that rangatahi come to be in. Jackson and Mazzei (2016), along with Davies (2014), make suggestions that inform *moving through entanglements*. Jackson and Mazzei (2016) posit "posthuman analysis in qualitative research as attending to what happens when things get knotted up with other things in an assemblage, which acts with an agential force" (94). Here humans are only one part of the entanglement and other matter "must be given their due" (p.94). Thus, matter, both human and non-human, is vibrant in making agentic contributions. Matter has "thing power" (Bennett, 2010, p. xvi). And further:

...thinking with agentic assemblage in a posthuman frame, then, challenges the imperative to consider context as a stable, referential and foundational site of meaning-making: our analysis shifts from a human (i.e., contextual) experience of objects to the vibrant matter animating an agential assemblage (Jackson and Mazzei, 2016, p. 95)

New feminist materialisms stretch previous ideas of agency (see Chapter Three). Agency is not attributed to humans alone: in entanglements, humans and objects make things happen and agency is not attributed to one source but is spatially distributed among all that is caught up in the assemblage (Jackson & Mazzei,

2016), or what I have called in this research “the entanglement”. Taking this position means, as Jackson and Mazzei (2016) suggest, that we give up on practices that keep in place the fantasy that as humans we are the only ones in control.

*Moving through entanglements* is influenced by Barad’s concept of diffraction, which offers a way of working with entanglements, which is not dissimilar to the Deleuzian notion of assemblages. The approach involves reading important insights through one another, hence the terms ‘*moving through*’ in the title of this chapter. One of Barad’s original discussions of the phenomenon of diffraction involved applying it to ocean wave behaviour. Diffraction is presented by Barad (2007) using wave formation. Barad describes the way in which waves combine when they overlap, and the bending and spreading out of waves that can be seen when they encounter an obstruction.

Analysing *data* in this study was diffractive, as other approaches have usually aimed to represent what is there, independent of the researcher’s gaze (Barad, 2007). Moreover, diffraction is itself the process whereby a difference is made and made to matter, opening up an ethico-onto-epistemological space where a researcher’s task, in contrast to telling about something that exists independent of the encounter, can open up a subjective truth which becomes onto-epistemologically true, in the moment of the encounter, because every encounter or event is a moment of production in a continual flow of changes, which becomes different in the course of its production and reproduction (Davies, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). The discussion of a diffractive approach offered by Barad below is useful:

... a diffractive methodology is respectful of the entanglement of ideas and other materials in ways that reflexive methodologies are not. In particular, what is needed is a method attuned to the entanglement of the apparatuses of production, one that enables genealogical analyses of how boundaries are produced rather than presuming sets of well-worn binaries in advance....diffraction

does not fix what is the object and what is the subject in advance, and so, unlike methods of reading one text or set of ideas against another where one set serves as a fixed frame of reference, diffraction involves reading insights through one another in ways that help illuminate differences as they emerge: how different differences get made, what gets excluded, and how those exclusions matter (Barad, 2007, pp. 30-31).

Using diffraction in *data* analysis processes is somewhat experimental; it breaks lineal thought (Davies, 2014b). It opens possibilities for seeing how something different comes to matter, in the world, and in our research practice. The research space is both experimental and it is a space of encounter, where the researcher's task, among other things, is to make matter intelligible in new ways, and imagine other possible realities entanglement in the *data* (Taguchi, 2012). *Data* is not static and unchanging, but a constitutive force that disrupts and works upon me (Allen, 2015b). It may well choose me (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). In working with the *data*, Jackson and Mazzei (2012) suggest that pieces of *data* should be stretched in a manoeuvre of "plugging in" that involves:

...working the same *data* chunks repeatedly to "deform [them], to make [them] groan and protest" with an overabundance of meaning, which in turn not only creates new knowledge but also shows the suppleness of each when plugged in (p.5).

Taylor (2013) states that *data* makes us "follow it on nomadic theoretical journeyings. On to-and-fro zig-zags and 'backwards' readings as we work 'on' it to make sense of it" (p.691). Diffractive thinking requires a change in research practice, because diffractive research practice should reflect the changing onto-epistemology of the world. I did not, therefore, aim to limit the *data* analysis process to following a sequence of methodical steps (Barad, 2007; Davies, 2014b). I see it that we are part of already entangled meanings and matter, which means that entanglements affect what is possible to both see and do ethico-onto-epistemologically (Davies, 2014b). Further, in accounting for the

complexities of the student's lives, I aimed to resist anthropocentric notions and representations (Hohti, 2016). Perhaps using the analysis I propose can encourage other ways of knowing, being and *becoming*.

The conceptual shift, from the self-as-identity to the subject-as-intra-active *becoming*, is a shift away from will, intentionality, and repetition, toward receptiveness to the not-yet-known (of self and other), and toward emergent possibilities of thought and being where being includes all beings, human, animal, and earth. In being open to the possibilities that such thought opens up, one must struggle against the limitations of the individualized self-as-identity. To be and become that emergent subject requires constant work against the seductions of the lines of descent that require no effort, that confirm who one is and how the world works (Davies, 2014c p.36)

Davies (2014a, 2014b, 2014c) encourages a move towards emergent possibilities, and suggests researchers let go of tired clichés and already-known normalised explanations, categories and coding. The new and experimental whakaaro method supports this and informed my analysis approach of *moving through entanglements*. (Mika & Southey, 2018).

## Whakaaro

As an indigenous student and researcher, I am affected by what Mika (2017) describes as the researcher/scholar and knowledge/speculative thought binaries. The idea that we must consider what counts as 'proper' orthodox research in the university institution means that more often than not "the reservoir of thinking that was so highly valued in precolonial times, while not necessarily reduced in acuity, is simply underutilised" (Mika, 2017, p.15) Attempting to put ideas from the method of Whakaaro to use in my analysis method aimed to blur these boundaries and support a Māori metaphysics. Mika (2013b) notes:

the term whakaaro , which refers to an active “*becoming of thought*” as much as to “think” in a cognitive sense, also implores the thinker to cast their concern towards what cannot be discerned, because one is constantly *becoming* (whaka), concerned about (aro) something, with the implication that this process is one always in the making (p.24)

Whakaaro, a responsive thinking method, is an approach to research that supports Māori metaphysics and can stand as a research ‘method’ in its own right. It emphasises a space for creative and responsive thinking, which can serve as a valid and central method in Māori research (Mika & Southey, 2018). Further, it supports diffractive approaches to research analysis. Although untried and very new, as far as published literature is concerned, the speculative and exciting work offered by this method combines:

... empirical *data* with the somewhat creative and arbitrary thinking that many of us are inclined to indulge in on an everyday basis. Yet, it is also necessarily rigorous within our own metaphysical notions of mystery and uncertainty (Mika & Southey, 2018, p.2).

With reference to the quote above, and an inherent craving to wonder and question, I often found myself in moments between the ‘normal work’ of reading and forming ideas based on an article or chapter of a book, where I moved to another space in which other ideas, and things, arguably just as valid and related, would take over my body, and I found myself thinking in perhaps crazy, creative and less-patterned ways. Although I could see the value in including a dimension where I could ‘show’ myself in entanglement of the research, I felt unease in justifying my position of including an alternative ethico-onto-epistemology that was very unlike empiricist principles of research. Kaupapa Māori research has recognised responsive thinking, which is perhaps under-acknowledged and has been taken for granted in some instances, as acknowledged by Mika and Southey (2018). So it is here that the whakaaro method can help to fill the ‘void’ I have described.

I have argued in this thesis, through my onto-epistemological and wider theoretical discussions, that we are not separate from entanglements: we are emergent with them (Davies, 2014). My place in the analysis then, as the *mokoroa grub*, meant that I objected to the common goal of interpretation and representation in qualitative analysis. I deliberately and unavoidably showed myself in the research entanglement by including, in places, my perhaps creative and emergent voice and experience in the analysis as it emerged (see Chapter One).

Above all, in this research, the Whakaaro method encouraged creative, speculative and responsive thinking (Mika & Southey, 2018). It challenged me as a researcher to remain open to the influence of things in the world, while knowing that any resulting thought was owed to those things (Mika & Southey, 2018) Further, the method attests to my aim to position Māori or indigenous studies as the *mauri* of my research, as it acknowledges the unknown, mysterious ways of language, research, and the world, in settings where the researcher and the participants are caught up in a somehow uncontrollable scenario. Here it moves away from expected research approaches, attesting to a Māori metaphysics of mystery where things have their own autonomy that cannot be knowable to humans (Mika & Southey, 2018).

Mika and Southey (2018) provide ways of applying whakaaro to an interview setting. The use of whakaaro in the present research was focused on analysis, after the interviews and hui had taken place. However, the principles that the writers propose, such as, for example, the notion of an unrestrained interview setting where humour is used, were encouraged, and took place in hui. There are two lines of action that the whakaaro method offers when approaching the entanglement of *data*:

...one seeks to react to terms and fragments provided by the interviewee; the other thematises the *data* as much conventional research does, but reacts to a core aspect of them, whether this is in the form of an overarching central idea that appears to be obvious, or else as a much subtler feeling that arises for the researcher from each theme (p.6)

In this research, both approaches were applied in a suitably unplanned manner. It may have been a word, a sentence, a moment, that could be brought forward and then used in discussion across different onto-epistemologies, or a seemingly solid and reoccurring theme that provoked thought. I picked up the printed transcripts and became with the *data*; I could not, before it took place, decide on what I would be drawn to. But it is the beauty of proposing this very idea that makes the research process mysterious, exciting, and as Mika and Southey (2018) claim, puts more emphasis on the researcher. This emphasis is not a righteous, self-indulgent position, but one that is unavoidable, as there is no arguing that I, as the researcher in the hui, did not play a pivotal role in the diffractive entanglements that took place, and that it was largely my speculation that would shape the analysis of the research.

As Mika and Southey (2016) claim, thinking is an untidy, non-methodical thing that is just as indefinable as the world, as it is formed by and with the world in the first place. So this is the position I took with analysis: it is not a tidily preconceived process with an ideal end point. My method of analysis required me to be open to the influence of things. Whakaaro meant moving away from holding my participants as vessels of knowledge to be tapped into, but rather, seeing the participants influence and provoke my own creative speculation. This means that as opposed to the common approach of searching for clear themes and tidy explanations, whakaaro encourages us to never underestimate what may seem to be banal and insignificant. Both the Whakaaro method and methods used by many new feminist materialists do not aim to shed a final light, reach conclusions, expose truths, or provide certainty about what a person has said, but instead encourage fresh or different speculation.

## Reflexivity

A note on reflexivity is necessary here. Reflexivity is a widely used term in qualitative research, which there is a wide range of discussion about (Pillow, 2003, 2015). Practices of reflexivity in research are an expected commitment of the feminist researcher (Pillow, 2003), and in rejecting positivist research

approaches, it is neither acceptable nor possible, I believe, for me to write as if I were not present in every piece of this research *becoming*, as stated earlier (Davies et al., 2004) . Foucault's reflection supports this.

Every time I have tried to do a piece of theoretical work it has been on the basis of elements of my own experience: always in connection with processes I saw unfolding around me. It was always because I thought I identified cracks, silent tremors, and dysfunctions in things I saw, institutions I was dealing with, or my relations with others, that I set out to do a piece of work, and each time was partly a fragment of autobiography (Cited in Davies et al., 2004, p. 364).

We are always present in our texts. I, as the researcher, thus need not be described as a fixed entity independent of the research text. Rather, as Davies et al. (2004) state "the texts are thus oneselves, and oneselves are there, embodied in the texts- able to be written and read in multiple ways" (p.365). So as opposed to me standing above and separate writing this research, I like Barad's (2007) idea of writing each other. The writing and I:

'we' have 'intra-actively' written each other ('intra-actively' rather than the usual 'interactively' since writing is not a unidirectional practice of creation that flows from author to page, but rather the practice of writing is an iterative and mutually constitutive working out, and reworking, of "book" and "author") (p.x)

Reflexivity is not a straightforward act or idea and there are tensions in the practice of researcher reflexivity. For example, reflexivity is often reduced to a practice of minimising or being 'up-front' about researcher biases in qualitative research and asks the researcher to 'come forward', so to speak, in turn increasing validity. This is a realist view, which I completely resist. Davies et al. (2004), argue that we need to be careful that reflexivity is not used in a realist fashion. That is that the researcher, as the subject, is the legitimate explorer of a legitimate ground, searching for an authentic account of life. This is also considered by Pillow (2003) who notes that reflexivity is commonly understood

as involving an on-going self-awareness throughout the research process that helps to make visible the construction and practice of knowledge in the research, that in turn should produce more 'accurate analyses' of research.

Further, according to Pillow (2003) reflexivity in feminism has been concerned with investigating the power embedded in one's research, and the need to do research differently. Possibly without realising, many researchers are using reflexivity in a way that reflects a modernist, fixed and knowable subject. Here being reflexive can make a subject known (Pillow, 2003). Reflexivity then becomes a type of scientific process where validity can be made possible. Some forms of reflexive writing have been dismissed as indulgent and narcissistic, lacking in method and not theoretical enough (Davies et al., 2004).

Doing as Trinh (1989) suggests, I am working within and against the colonial gaze of a researcher. I agree that a critical intent of reflexivity is needed (Pillow, 2015) and appreciate the analogy of a hall of mirrors offered by Davies et al. (2004), to describe the process of reflexivity in research.

...the reflexive process is, thus, like being held within a hall of mirrors—the hall of mirrors that enthralls us in sideshow alleys at fairs and amusement parks. Standing in front of one mirror, our reflection is caught in another, and that other reflects yet another image in a ceaseless infinite regression. The boundaries between “illusion” and “reality” may be broken... If reflexivity is a process, a back and forth process, then the act of catching the moment, the doing of the reflexive gaze and of listening with the reflexive ear, must change the thinking that is being thought. That reflexive process is elusive and exhausting and often threatens to disrupt the very thing it sets out to observe (Davies et al., 2004, p.386).

The ethico-onto-epistemological posthuman turn is producing emergent, transgressive writing that challenges the normative boundaries of what counts as academic writing. Some examples include Claiborne (2017), Davies (2011), Jackson & Mazzei (2012), Somerville (2007) and Tulloch (2013). These writers,

among other things, do two things that proved important for the present research. They respect and attend to all that is non-human and carefully acknowledge the existence and interconnection of what others in the arena of Euro-Western research often fail to see as valid in academic thinking: a rock, a termite, the feathers of a bird, a box, dry soil, water, the Brisbane River. This is not unlike the beliefs held by Māori, which value the deep interconnectedness and mauri of all things in our world. Mika (2013a, 2016b) talks of an indigenous view of metaphysics, which maintains that all in this world that is non-human is imbued with life, and this belief, which I hold with a degree of passion, I believe lifts some of the restrictions on thinking, writing, and speaking around and during the research journey.

Secondly, their approaches to writing in an experimental way bring their own memories 'alive', and this reinforces their move away from researchers who situate themselves at a distance from the *data*. The researchers' own material and discursive reconfiguring happens when they insert themselves into the *data* or event. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) argue that we become researchers as we read and engage with *data*. They let go of the self-conscious, of representation, and open up to a way of writing in which the world is not merely reduced to what they already knew (Davies, 2011). Foucault (1988) sums up the journey of the unknown, which can be applied to my '*Moving through entanglements*' approach to analysis.

The main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning. If you knew when you began a book what you would say at the end, do you think you would have the courage to write it? What is true for writing and for a love relationship is true also for life. The game is worthwhile insofar as we don't know what will be the end (Foucault, 1988, p.9)

I do not claim to know what the entangled experiences of participants were; this is not possible in research that traverses normative boundaries, including research that unsettles the notion that there is one truthful, actual experience. However, participants' entangled experiences certainly led to what became *data* and then the analysis in this research (Iverson & Renold, 2016).

## Chapter Summary

*Moving through entanglements* includes a more complex, more lively and less human-centred approach to the way material-discursive matter *becomes*. As this chapter has established, there is no methodological step-by-step process for the way I proposed to work with *data*. *Moving through entanglements* contrasted with the hierarchal and lineal shapes of normative qualitative *data* analysis strategies including the very ‘teachable’, ‘doable’, yet questionable methods of coding where themes and categories naturally emerge (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014).

*Moving through entanglements* helped to explore the complex ways in which rangatahi, myself as the researcher (or the mokoroa grub), other bodies, thoughts, experiences, colonisation, matter, the school, sexuality, concepts, theory and beyond, intra-acted in a material/discursive entanglement where nothing existed alone in the research experience. This approach equally privileged the discursive and the material (Childers, 2014). The whakaaro approach (Mika & Southey, 2018) supported my aim of doing analysis in more speculative, responsive and creative ways.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight use the concepts described in this chapter to *move through entanglements*, where thought is spread in unpredictable patterns producing different knowledge as findings were read in various ways. The analysis chapters progress in the level of their attention to both matter and discourse. Chapter Six is more focused on discourse in entanglements, while Chapter Eight aims to bring the materiality of entanglements to the forefront of the analysis.

The focus of Chapter Six is sexuality education as well as two other complex entanglements; ‘relationship goals’ and ‘tap and gap’. Chapter Seven explores ‘Healthy Māori bodies’ and ‘The Good Māori’, and Chapter Eight considers hickies, hair and skin, and clothing in rangatahi entanglements. Thus, the analysis moves in unknown and unprescribed directions, keeping thought in

train, or as Mazzei (2014) would say, keeping knowledge production on the move, and further, keeping a sense of mystery alive in Māori research (Mika, 2016a, 2016b).



## CHAPTER SIX

### Moving Through Entanglements (i) Sexuality Education, ‘Tap and Gap’ and ‘Relationship Goals’

I think our past makes us who we are, but I think she is stuck there, like the way she thinks is stuck there. So like she says ‘Oh youse did this to us, youse took our land, youse did all that, so let’s just separate and let the Māoris own the school’. Stuff like that which is just dumb. Cause we, wanna be, we’re loving people, we want to be everywhere, not just ‘you stay here, you do this, you’re Māori, you’re part of this’. No. No. I want to make it in the modern Māori world. Best of both worlds;  
Hanna Montana. It’s a song ((Starts singing and laughing))

The words above were spoken by Ana. These words are placed here as the introduction to the first of the analysis chapters because of Ana’s perception of the position that Māori occupy, and because of the productive and positive possibilities of *becoming* that she highlights. I surmise that this is increasingly the way many rangatahi today think and speak about the multifarious issue of colonisation and everything that surrounds it. Ana could be alluding here to the decision that she does not want to be positioned as a young Māori woman who is primordial and traditional, one of the types of Māori the nation desires: the ‘authentic Māori’, the Māori who continue to fit the early descriptions given by their colonisers (Cooper, 2012; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Ana may be aware that Eurowestern thinking has failed to see Māori as knowledge producers, “but

rather as cultural, that is, as producers of local cultural practices” (Cooper, 2012, p.68). Perhaps Ana is aware of the notion that ‘culture’ is not a threat to Pākehā, as Cooper (2012) has highlighted: “culture does not challenge epistemological dominance” (p.68).

Wahine have been historically driven by three dominant identification discourses: traditional, assimilated and pathological (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005), making Ana’s expression more promising. Something refreshing and positive comes from Ana’s words, which highlight the notion of productive progression for Māori, contrasting with the common struggle of many Māori, as posed by Hokowhitu (2009), who states that:

... constant referral to the power another holds over oneself can only lead to the state where indigenous people romanticise a pure-precolonial past, are anxiety ridden in the present dialectic, and resigned to a future where our identities will be tied to an eternal colonial struggle (p.105)

This chapter, and the following two, include further examples of rangatahi demonstrating an awareness of the oppressive web of powers functioning to shape them. And yet, rangatahi remain mostly positive and forward-looking rather than holding a dim and resentful view. The present chapter begins with a focus on rangatahi’s experiences of sexuality education. It then moves to consider two unplanned entanglements, which came to the forefront of our hui demanding attention: ‘relationship goals’ and ‘tap and gap’. These complexities became more important than discussing the rather mundane content delivered in sexuality education classrooms. As stated in the previous chapter, my aim of bringing the materiality to the forefront of entanglements progresses across the three analysis chapters.

## The ‘Plumbing’ of Sexuality Education

To learn about what rangatahi thought about the types of sexuality education lessons they were involved in, and with a particular interest in the content and topic coverage, I asked rangatahi what important

messages they thought teachers wanted them to learn or remember. This question was also used to help to gauge the level of satisfaction rangatahi experienced with sexuality education. What follows are some fragments of the responses rangatahi gave to the same question, which I asked in each individual interview. Some supporting questions were asked to encourage some of the students to elaborate.

Jade: Do you remember what some important messages were that teachers wanted you to learn or remember?

Kari: Use a condom

Peta: Protect yourself I suppose. Like a lot of them were just talking about STIs and all that sort of stuff cause. In all years that was a thing

Harley: Um so you have PE and when it comes to the time in the year, half of PE turns into sex education and it's only for a short period of time, maybe like a few weeks. So I have forgotten what it was like to be in a sex ed class. (1.0) I believe they're thorough with their research, and they do get the message across. But like for everyone to get that message though I don't know though

Jade: What message?

Harley: So the message of like protection, or like information on STIs or just like info on the opposite gender's genitalia or stuff like that or what happens or what is healthy and what not. Stuff like that. I don't know if it hits everyone, cause everyone's a different learner. But Ooh I have a class to be in! ((bell rings))

Kari: The same old shit. Like what we learnt at intermediate! How your body changes and condoms

Joseph: Um (3.0). They're a bit awkward sometimes, but ah (1.0) yea, I get through them. Just like showing heaps of photos and stuff, you know

Jade: What sort of photos?

Joseph: Photos of you know penises and stuff of STIs and stuff. Um. (2.0). Just like they teach you how not to get STIs and stuff. Like to go check doctors to see if your partner has STIs and stuff. Teach you about contraception, different types of them. Um yea. Oh they teach you about how babies and stuff are made yea, heaps of stuff like that

Mata: Safe sex. Lol. Ohhh I didn't learn anything but, no I did learn from that, I just mean I didn't learn any of that sex ed stuff but yea. All round the school they'd always have signs that say 'rope it before you tap it' or 'don't be silly, wrap your willy' and all of that and then they've got all these contraception posters and yea it was kinda disgusting and yea there were also drug posters with druggy looking people apparently that just looked really yuck to put you off. It didn't put half of the students off but yea. Um then they have alcohol signs as well. Is that to do with sex ed?

In the excerpts above, some content, some embarrassment and some boredom can be sensed from what was shared. Joseph seemed uncomfortable and embarrassed about sharing what he learnt in sexuality education. He paused for long periods, looked down, and I could sense in his voice the awkwardness he was feeling. The embarrassment intensified when asked by me, a researcher he had met a handful of times, what the photographs were of. Mata was frustrated with the boring content, which she already knew. She rolled her eyes when telling me that it "didn't put half the students off" alluding to the explicit nature of posters put up on display around the school that were not achieving the desired outcome. Mata and Joseph both recalled the visual educational material, perhaps because the posters and what they depict are designed with punch to warn of danger. The posters act, they do things (Bennett, 2010).

Mata makes reference to posters explicitly, referring first to sexuality education messages, and then, in the same sentence, she tells me that there were posters with messages about drugs and alcohol too. Mata then asks me "is that to do with sex ed?" I sensed in her voice and manner that it was more a statement, or a 'quick check' to see if I saw them as related, as opposed to a question she was

unsure of and wanted me to answer. Mata was likely aware of the issues and connections between sex practices, drugs and alcohol for young people in Aotearoa (Elliott & Lambourn, 1999) and that may be why she gave examples of them together.

If we take an untroubling approach to the responses and consider Harley's response above and Mahia's, which follows, we might assume students to be relatively satisfied with the content they are experiencing in sexuality education. Mahia gave a more lengthy response when I asked her in our individual korero if she could talk more specifically about what she did in sexuality education lessons.

Mahia: Um last year in year 10 at the end of the year in PE we all had to like, every single year 10 had to learn about sexuality and what it was like and I mean how boys had to put on condoms and the right ways and stuff. And like contraception what girls could use. I mean there were some immature kids in our class but most of us were quite good because we wanted to learn about it, we needed to know about it. And I knew, I knew the basics stuff like, the condom things and protection and all that stuff but, I mean the way it was explained much more, because we were older we were able to understand more then what was taught to us before that

And then she immediately went on:

And last year was the first year I had ever had sexuality class. In didn't in year 9, year 8 and I was surprised cause all my friends were like 'have you been in sexuality class?' and I was like 'no' and they were like 'gasp' and I was like 'what have I missed out on?' And I mean I knew all of it because Mum and Dad, I mean they've told me all of that stuff and I bet your Mum and Dad had when you were younger, like all the talks that you'd have and stuff like that but, the, most of the things that we talked about was just pregnancy, teen pregnancy and um how our bodies mature. And I took a grasp of both of these things, because that's what I needed to know, I mean how girls, I mean if you were to get pregnant, your insides

would change, and your intestines would move down and your liver and stuff would move up to make room. That whatever that thing is would widen? ((looks to me then remembers)). Yea your cervix! And then for guys, their bodies would change. They'd grow hair, their voice would deepen and that sort of stuff

Mahia begins by painting her broad view of sexuality education. She describes the key basics as being largely around contraception and bodily changes during pregnancy and puberty. Mahia seems to be concerned with the need to be mature and sensible as this is all 'real life' educational 'stuff' that needs to be mastered or 'grasped' accordingly. Mahia, unlike her friends, missed out on sexuality education and disclosed she had her first lessons in year 10. However, she ended up not missing out on anything as she had learnt "all of it" from her parents in talks they had had. She made the comment to me during the interview that my parents would have had the same talks with me when I was younger and when the timing was appropriate. These talks and the content Mahia shares highlight sexuality education that is aimed at the basic 'plumbing' type of level. She continued to describe her experiences of sex education.

I mean all of us took in a lot of information because in the end test we all passed. And it was about all of that stuff and about, some of the boys didn't even know how to use a condom and once they had we got asked questions and we got given things to put the condoms on so we knew and he gave out like different things like the pill, he gave them out to show us what they look like and some didn't even. Like there was an international student who didn't even know what a condom looked like. So he gave one out, told him to open it and he was like playing with it and feeling the latex and stuff and everything like that. So I guess we all learnt something different. And it's, it sticks with you for a lifetime cause I mean, you need to teach, if you have kids in the future you need to teach them that sort of stuff. And it's good for your future as well. I like sex ed it's cool. It wasn't too overwhelming for me cause I sort of knew that stuff and most of my friends around me knew that stuff too so it wasn't childish. We kind

of, it was like a mature setting really. We, we all took it in and listened to what the teacher had to say and I guess it was just cause it's life lessons. Yea. (3.0)

Mahia seemed pleased to recall that the whole class passed the test in the end. She does not appear to have any concerns with the summative assessment of sexuality education. And perhaps the long list of key facts she shared with me attests to her content in really 'mastering' the topic. Unless the local implementation of the national curriculum guidelines in the school has since changed, students at this school are most likely still involved in these 'tests'. However, this is a curriculum area that is ultimately 'untestable' if we are teaching what 'should' be taught, based on the curriculum and students' needs and desires. This highlights a key point highlighted in Garland-Levett's (2017) discursive analysis of the sexuality document *Guide*: "the rational knowledge that sexuality education seeks to impart reproduces a thinking over feeling approach in which student learning must be quantified through academic assessment" (p.125).

Mahia seemed quite impressed and proud of what she had learnt when she made comments like: "and it's, it sticks with you for a lifetime" and "It's life lessons". She appeared to be taking a teacher's point of view, which is supported by her comments on the lessons not being "childish" or "too overwhelming" and the setting being "mature". She said that because she already knew the stuff, she could handle it quite well, and so could her friends. It seems that Mahia works hard to meet expectations of being a good, well-informed sex education student, and this, from a feminist poststructuralist perspective, and according to Allen, (2007b), places them in particular ways that may offer her greater exercise of power. This demonstrates that the issue is much more complex, as students' responses most often reflect the dominant discourses circulating in and beyond the school borders and across Aotearoa (Allen, 2007b), perhaps even more so if they are a 'good, obeying student' like Mahia, who is aware of the powers functioning in schooling.

School as an institution has long been a place that reproduces wider social patterns of power (Allen, 2007b; Foucault, 1977) and it is 'common sense' that a young person who practices safe sex, or moreover a student who is non-sexual, is in a position where power may work to privilege them (Allen, 2008) in our neoliberal schools (Quinlivan, 2017). Dominant discourse constitutes what is viewed as natural and normal (Tolman, 2005) and thus works to maintain inequality; Mahia knows what her teachers and school push as important in sexuality education and are therefore is perhaps repeating this back to me during our hui. I did not assume that Mahia was necessarily learning about what is most important to herself or other rangatahi. I asked students about what they learnt and that is why these dominant discourses of sexuality were brought forward.

It is worth noting that the emphasis on coverage of safe sex and contraception highlighted by rangatahi in my research is in stark contrast with the view of Kirkman and Moloney (2005), who argue that young people have limited knowledge of contraception and how to use it. In the excerpt below, Mahia recalls more specifically what her physical education and health teacher wanted Mahia and her fellow students to remember.

Mahia: Stay young while you can...And yea um, he told us in sex ed when he was teaching us to stay as young as we could and as pure as we could and not go and do all that stuff that you think you can like an adult would. I mean go and live your life, travelling and experiencing now things overseas or like in New Zealand if you haven't already not go out and jump on the next girl or guy that you see.

The teacher's advice (and Mahia said she had two teachers who gave this same advice), perfectly demonstrates the goal of achieving a 'non-sexual' student. The advice of 'staying pure' seems an easy-passing yet clear way of urging students to resist becoming sexual in any way, or, that the less sexual they are the more pure they will be, and this will enhance life. This is because the institution of the school has long denied the existence of students as sexual beings (Allen, 2007a) and has favoured risk approaches to education (Goicolea, Torres, Edin, & Öhman, 2012). Mahia's comments indicate that she really took this advice on board and agreed with it. This was interesting as it starkly contrasted with her life outside of

school where she had a partner (Todd) of over a year, who she lived with, who was five years older than Mahia and with whom she was sexually intimate. Mahia talked about Todd both during and after the individual interview. Mahia and I also discussed contraception and she shared problems she was experiencing with the contraceptive pill she was taking. Sexuality education seemed disconnected from Mahia's day-to-day life.

The types of responses that Mahia and the other rangatahi gave are typically consistent with past research (Allen, 2005b, 2008, 2011a; Young, 2002) and largely uphold the normative, heterosexual and ever-enduring 'safe sex curriculum' as well as a biological focus on the body. Sexuality programmes that focus on STIs and contraception - the safe sex discourse (Allen, 2008) – inform young people "about how their bodies work and dangers to be avoided concerning them" (Allen, 2001, p.111). This serves economic imperatives which encourage 'good' citizens while indirectly controlling undesirable behaviours through surveillance (Foucault, 1977). So although we have accepted for at least the past 15 years that sexual health goes far beyond the avoidance of STIs, unwanted pregnancy, heterosexual relationships and reproductive health (e.g., Aggleton & Campbell, 2000), it seems that the ever-enduring critique of sexuality education still indicates that the interests and needs of students remain unmet (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000; Allen, 2007b). We may still face the problem of viewing "sexual health in largely negative terms - as the absence of infections such as chlamydia, gonorrhoea and HIV, as the avoidance of pregnancy among teenagers, and as the avoidance of sexual violence and abuse" (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000, p.284).

Based on the excerpts above and other discussion around sexuality education, the assumption could be made that the programmes are still delivered in a traditional way that maintains dominant reproductions of a heteronormative sexuality in schools (Allen, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 2015; Gunn & Smith, 2015). There was no mention of troubling the positioning of man and woman and heterosexual relationships (Davies, 2014a; Weedon, 1987) and boys and girls

were always well-separated in rangatahi talk of sexuality education content. Peta challenged this however.

Peta: Um I reckon it was mostly about like heterosexual relationships, more of a boy girl type of thing. Like that's what they were almost teaching us.

It is interesting to note that Peta included "almost" in her words above. It seemed Peta sensed the unspoken presence of the dominant discourse of heteronormativity here. She felt that, "they" (the school and teachers) were imparting the message of being heterosexual as normal and anything else as not. This is no surprise as heteronormativity places heterosexuality as a normative notion that asserts heterosexuality as the right way to live, making the material-discursive norm present throughout entanglements of politics, media, institutions, culture, families and beyond (Reingarde, 2010).

Sexuality education, as stated earlier (Chapter Two), has been granted a clear standing in government education policy through New Zealand curriculum documents (Ministry of Education, 2007, 2015) so it should have importance in Aotearoa schools. The most recent Guide provides promising statements, which would become meaningful if they translated into what takes place in every Aotearoa school classroom. For example, according to the Ministry of Education (2015):

...all young people need access to information and opportunities to think about, question, and discuss issues related to relationships, gender, sexual identities, sexual orientation, sexual behaviour, sexual and reproductive health, and societal messages. Sexuality education provides a framework in which this can happen (2015, p.4).

When discussing sexuality education content in the excerpts above I felt that students seemed to 'rattle off' what the school and society more broadly want them to say. Kari more bluntly said that "the same old shit" is being taught; they know it already. The lack of interest that was shown appears to be largely due to the mundane and irrelevant content coverage (Allen, 2008). And although Harley

and Mahia may have answered, when asked, that everything taught in sexuality education is appropriate, there is certainly a huge canyon between what was described as having been taught in the sexuality education classroom and what was discussed as important in the lives of rangatahi. During the individual interviews, I asked rangatahi to reflect on anything that stood out to them in sexuality education. Harley's responses from his interview follow.

Jade: Cool. So first of all we're thinking back to the other korero we've had so the first question is was there a particular topic in our hui that stood out to you? Or was there anything that you forgot to mention on any of the topics we discussed in sexuality education?

Harley: Hmmm there hasn't been any topics we haven't discussed. I believe the relationships um one stuck out a bit. I think it's a growing thing that um that this area is turning towards like going to parties and it's actually like the norm really, it's weird. Lol. Yea that one, I don't know why. Could be personal experience

Jade: Personal experience. The relationships topic?

Harley: Yea that and um maybe tap and gap

Jade: Oh cool do you want to talk more about that?

Harley: Can I come back to it?

Jade: Sure

I appreciated the moment of Harley's vulnerability in the excerpt above. Harley let his normative masculine guard down and shared that 'relationships' was an important topic to him. Moreover, he suggested that relationships have become weird and are changing, and seems to be concerned that relationships have become more related to going to parties. Perhaps Harley is alluding to the idea that relationships are difficult terrain for himself and other young people. Harley seems to have chosen to speak about the relationship topic because it was something important to him. In the excerpt he agrees that 'relationships' is of personal significance for him, he also adds '*tap and gap*' which will be

explored later in the chapter. When Harley asked “can I come back to it?” I sensed that he was keen to talk about it, but it was a complex issue that would take some effort for him to discuss, and the bell for lunchtime had gone five minutes prior. I asked Holly the same questions and she responded with ‘relationships’ also.

Holly: Um relationships?

Peta also raised the issue of relationships during our individual korero.

Peta: Ah ah yea like there are always obstacles in a relationship cause yea like my ex he was like an up there type of dude and like a lot of girls were into him. And sometimes I’d get a bit insecure and real protective because they would always try and message him.

Peta and Holly both acknowledge the complex and very present nature of relationships in the entanglement of their day to day lives. When Holly responded “um relationships?” as a question, it seems she wanted to put it forward, but was not sure if it counted as a topic related to sexuality ‘education’. Relationships and the complex nature of sexual relationships was almost shouted at me by students as a missing part of sexuality education, which they desperately wanted opportunities to learn about and talk about in sexuality education. Interestingly Tana, who mostly focused on ‘health’ (see Chapter Seven) did say that relationships were taught in sexuality education, but then only mentioned trust and respect. It seems one thing to touch on the borders of a topic in a conservative normative way, and it is perhaps another to get ‘stuck in’ and talk about relationships in a way that is critical and relevant to rangatahi. In fact, past research has found that wanting to know more about sexual relationships is the topic ranked by rangatahi as being the most of interest (Nikora, Tamatea, Fairbrother & Te Awekotuku, 2001) and if we accept that what students want to learn more and focus on are issues such as relationships, which involve things like ‘desire’, ‘dealing with break ups’ and ‘making sexual activity pleasurable’ then we imply a view of sexuality that is embodied and emotionally invested (Allen, 2008).

When discussing 'real life experiences of sexuality' the topics that fall under a 'discourse of erotics' (Allen, 2011a) are the topics that young people want to explore about discuss and these came to the forefront. A discourse of erotics seemed largely absent in what rangatahi said took place in their sexuality education classes but was ever-present throughout the rest of the hui and interviews, making up some of the most discussed topics. Thus, the analysis now moves to consider two unplanned entanglements, which build on from the topic of relationships, and which came to the forefront of hui two demanding attention: *relationship goals* and *tap and gap*. These are the focus for the remainder of the chapter as they were both more important and relevant in rangatahi lives than the mundane content delivered in sexuality education classrooms. *Relationship goals* and *tap and gap* were influential in the day-to-day experiences of rangatahi, and rangatahi described just how 'huge' and contrasting these two material-discursive matters were throughout school life.

### 'Relationship Goals'

*Relationship goals* first surfaced when rangatahi were presented, during the photograph activity (see Appendices) with a picture of what could be described as a young, attractive, happy, heterosexual couple in an embrace. Rangatahi in each of the three groups described the photograph in two words: "*relationship goals*". *Relationship goals* was an automatic response to the photo. It needed no further explanation. It seemed to be a shared and agreed normative understanding that could occur and function on/around two real bodies, or, in photographs of two bodies. Hence, during our hui, it almost felt like a race to see who would first notice that the photograph depicted *relationship goals*. One person in each group hui recognised it first and called out *relationship goals* and the others quickly joined the chorus. In the successive comments below, wahine from Kauri School explained what *relationship goals* were to them.

Mata: It's pretty much trying to do the ideal thing of what a relationship should look like

Mata: Relationship goals are getting out of hand!

Peta: They're annoying to be honest. Everyone says 'goals, goals, goals, goals' to every single little thing

Jade: So what is something you could walk out of here and hear someone saying goals about?

Peta: People holding hands, people hugging, kissing. And it's like ah grow up that's just normal

Mata: Yea like have you never been hugged before?

Peta: It's like they make it a big deal like 'oh that's goals' or 'their goals'. It happens everywhere

The excerpt above shows that the girls experienced frustration with the overwhelming presence of *relationship goals*. *Relationship goals* or the shortened version '*goals*' were mentioned everywhere in life, according to the girls, and were made to be a 'big deal'; the girls disagreed with this, as relationships are "just normal". *Relationship goals* seemed to be part of their everyday experiences. It is necessary to first try to locate the sources of *relationship goals*. To do this I turned to sources of popular evidence in the online Urban Dictionary and Facebook. Though these are not NZ sources, in my experience, explicit examples from these popular sources are ones that young people engage with. In particular, rangatahi said they used Facebook and Instagram. The online Urban Dictionary (n.d.), a source of contemporary global (Eurowestern) slang words and phrases, gives several possible descriptions of *relationship goals*.

[W]hen two people are in a relationship and girls envy them, usually a celebrity couple or popular couple in high school. A couple who are the best couple out there. They are the power couple. Everyone wants to be like them

The most fucked up way of saying "I want a relationship like theirs."  
[Examples of using the term read as]: "omg Brenda and Austin are relationship goals!" "You guys are relationship goals"

The ideas provided in these descriptions are not dissimilar to the types of definitions rangatahi provided, and this may be because relationship goals, through social media in particular, have become a global influence. Norms and practices of peer groups largely impact how young people participate in social networking activities (Livingstone, 2008), and *relationship goals* is an example of a benchmark that has come to set a norm. Despite their dissatisfaction with *relationship goals*, the girls used the term frequently throughout our meetings, which seemed to demonstrate an ingrained and unavoidable presence.

*Relationship Goals* functions as a Facebook page that has close to 4,600,000 followers. The page seems to mostly consist of daily posted photographs of what represents dominant discourses of 'attractive' young heterosexual couples. The photographs usually feature two people in a place that features romance, paradise and sensual bliss; for example, a plush-looking messed up bed or a tropical island. Captions include: "I love this when boys do this; hugs at the airport; let's take selfies like this; hug me tight; a relationship like this; I'm this kind of girlfriend; every girl's dream; all I want this summer" (Relationship Goals, 2017).

Other social media platforms such as Twitter and Instagram are overflowing with the hashtag *#relationship goals*, making social media a crucial piece of the entanglement of *relationship goals*. Not exclusive to relationships, the trending term 'goals' is used also. 'Goals' also pairs neatly with prefixes such as "life," "body," "hair," "squad,". It is a "goal" that is something outlandish; a perceived quality of life that we categorize as unattainable (Harman, 2015). Another material-discursive concept in the entanglement of *relationship goals* is 'relfies' short for relationship selfie (Renold & Ringrose, 2017).

*Relationship goals* seem to be influential in day-to-day experiences at school. *Relationship goals* normalise, and are potentially damaging because if something

is defined as relationship 'goals', then something else is 'not goals', thus creating a damaging dualism. Dualisms operate to maintain oppression and individualise deciding who can be or become (Quinlivan, 2017). When Mahia described what *relationship goals* was she gave the following example:

Mahia: yea if you were to give us two pictures in front of us and there was a couple and they had everything like, cool clothes like they look styley and if we looked at that we would say yea we want that but if you were to give us a photo of like a couple that lived in Papua New Guinea or something that's a poor place you wouldn't have them wearing what the others were wearing. There would be like a dusty background and all that stuff. Then you'd ask us would you want that sort of relationship and we'd say no (2.0)

Mahia clearly outlines what are not *goals* in her example of a couple in Papua New Guinea and another couple, who in contrast, "had everything". Here, notions around race, fashion and poverty were central. It seems that *relationship goals* is a neoliberal goal of 'getting it right' (Quinlivan, 2017). Certain people and certain matter set the material benchmark for what can be a *goal*, and others engage with these entanglements to try to reach the *goal*, which fits in a neat normalising box full of all the right 'attributes'. It is perhaps not unlike the goal of always striving to become a role model student, with all the right 'attributes', who will then become a good productive citizen (Wardman, 2016). *Relationship goals* could be viewed as a material-discursive entanglement, which functioned through material representations of the social norms of the time. Within this entanglement it is popular slang, which, in its simplest form, expresses a normative verbal response to a 'beautiful' material thing. *Relationship goals* is based around the normative view of a desirable relationship for a heterosexual couple. Both members of the couple have to fit certain material markers for the couple to be seen to fit the term *relationship goals*.

As mentioned earlier, although the girls commented that *relationship goals* are unrealistic and annoying, they seemed to use the term all the same and the citational chain of speech acts (Butler, 1997) function to produce students with a

trained eye to spot it, judge it and label it. The speech act of *relationship goals* produces things. It constituted young people's becoming by reinscribing what *relationship goals* was. During our hui on several occasions 'goals' was called out to describe desirable people and things; for example among wahine at Kauri School, *goals* was used when commenting on "eyebrows", and a "ball dress". "Being called a name is also one of the conditions by which a subject is constituted in language" (Butler, 1997, p.2). These moments where *goals* was blurted out did not simply remain in that moment; they shape every entanglement, as stated by Butler (1997): "as utterances, they work to the extent that they are given in the form of a ritual, that is, repeated in time, and, hence, maintain a sphere of operation that is not restricted to the moment of the utterance itself (p.3).

The discussion of *relationship goals* with girls from Kauri School moved to focus on phones and relationships after Peta looked up an example of *relationship goals* on Facebook to show me on her phone. Several minutes later the girls continued

Peta: In this generation everyone is known to like cheat on each other and text other people. Facebook and social media is basically taking us over. Sometimes I have to force myself to just leave my phone at home. Cause I'm too anti. Like anti-social we are all like this ((puts phone to face)) and we're in the same room but we don't talk to each other. We just text each other and we're in the same room. I reckon it has gone out of hand to be honest. And then it sucks because when you date someone, it sucks cause that's how you communicate, by texting not by actually physically going up to them and talking well (lol) they text you for the physical stuff. You know what I mean. They'll text you so you have sex or get together or whatever and then afterwards you get a text you know

Mahia: yea like it's easier to text or whatever and then when you see the person it's awkward. Even to say hi

Peta: Yea it sucks for us cause that's sort of how our generation has been brought up. You know only knowing how to communicate through text

and not actual in person. I mean like yea we still talk to each other in person but you wouldn't say some of the things you say to each other behind the screen. Cant' send emojis in real life. Relationships are everything

Peta's experience of frustration demonstrates the very active role that cell phones and social media have in the entanglement of young people's lives. Peta and Mahia both shared that phones and social media are detrimental to healthy sexual relationships. It is ironic then that phones and social media are the biggest platform for *relationship goals* and the depiction of 'great relationships', yet at the same time are probably the most worrying obstacle in achieving a 'great relationship', according to the girls. The girls are concerned about how much the phone has taken over; it seems to be the third member of every relationship entanglement.

During our meetings, cell phones were ever-present. Rangatahi shared pictures with me including school ball photographs, photos on Facebook, photos of activities taken place in sexuality classes. I had to borrow a phone to make a call, and phones were always in pockets and close to bodies. Schools still generally consider cell phones with a great deal of suspicion as they are seen to be disruptive to schooling and education (Allen, 2015b; Albury, Hasinoff & Senft, 2017). I do not call cell phones into question in terms of whether they are good or bad (Allen, 2015a; 2015b), but do see that danger discourse does not lead to positive change. Just as the home telephone was once part of bedroom culture (McRobbie, 1991), the cell phone is part of school culture, bedroom culture, and beyond, due to its non-limiting materiality. Cell phones are active in the lives of most young people and certainly for rangatahi in the study. Hendry (2017) explains that the way in which they engage with social media in everyday use is:

...never entirely static, predetermined, or standardised. Actions such as writing a status update on Facebook, "liking" a picture on Instagram or "reblogging" a video on Tumblr may be enacted using different devices, be viewed by broad, diverse, and at times unknown audiences, and hold vastly different meanings for each individual (p.514).

Entanglements are always unpredictable, in-process and complex. Thinking about young people and sexuality means also considering the internet and cell phones and all their manifestations, as the digital corporeal culture creates invasive relations in young people's *becomings* (Renold & Ringrose, 2017). Further, research on social media and young people continues to reveal the intersectionality of young peoples' sexual wellbeing, social media practices and mental health (Hendry, 2017). When it comes to social media, young people and education, however, it is risk narratives that perpetuate what is taught and learnt in schools (Hendry, 2017). 'Keeping ourselves safe', 'cyber safety' and 'digital citizenship' are terms used for the education provided to young people in Aotearoa around accessing the internet (Ministry of Education, TKI, 2017). There is risk in accessing the internet as there is with crossing the road, but risk does not inevitably lead to harm as students are taught in school (Hendry, 2017). In their work around sexting and young people in Australia, suggestions by Albury, Hasinoff and Senft (2017) –although they admit that these exercises are not new – include: considering Facebook profile pictures looking for depictions of masculinity and femininity; exploring online sites; and critiquing normalised notions of beauty and attractiveness. These exercises seem rather basic and obvious. Rangatahi I worked with were not taught this in sexuality education but knew it and commented on these notions all the same. Perhaps the capabilities of young people are underestimated.

Phones seemed to be the breeding ground for the entanglement of 'goals', and secondary school students, perhaps more than others, are involved in all sorts of complex material-discursive entanglements with humans, machines, social media and sexuality. It is acknowledged that matter other than human is equally responsible as an active element in the production of meanings in school, including sexual meanings. Neither the non-human nor the human is foundational in this process (Allen 2015b); "sexuality at school is a never-ending enfolding of non-human, human, practices, objects, affect, motility, discourse, nature, smells, sound and other earthly elements (including those that are unrepresentable in language and /or known to humans)" (p.951). Therefore we can

accept how powerful and complex a photograph on Facebook (for example), or a seemingly mundane saying such as '*relationship goals*' may be in the entanglement of sexuality and rangatahi.

'*Tap and gap*' was another prominent part of our hui, which came to light during the photograph exercise in our initial hui. It is very different from *relationship goals*.

## 'Tap and Gap'

'*Tap and gap*' was not a topic I planned to discuss with rangatahi. However, in the first group hui, without any encouraging, each of the three groups raised the notion of '*tap and gap*'. It was clear that the phrase and act, like *relationship goals*, needed further exploration, so in the second hui I asked rangatahi to elaborate on their understandings and experiences of *tap and gap*. So what might *tap and gap* be? Who or what is *tap and gap* done on/to? And what do rangatahi have to say about it? The excerpt below is taken from the hui at Kauri School:

Jade: So, based on some of the stuff you guys said last time and also the other young people that I'm working with, I wanted to ask about a couple of things. So the first thing I was hoping that we could just talk to and talk about, just wherever it leads to is tap and gap. So we'll start with tap and gap.

((All in the group laugh))

Peta: Oh my god that is just everything these days. That's um. Like what do you want us to tell you about it?

Mahia: What it means to us?

Jade: What it is? What it does? What you think about it?

Peta: What it is is basically it is self-explanatory really. It's like getting with someone and then leaving them basically like it was just a one night thing or one-time thing

Mahia: Sometimes it can lead to feelings and the person that caught the feelings is just heart broken

((All in the group laugh. Not because Mahia's words were humorous; it was more like laughing to conceal the seriousness))

Peta: It's like leading someone on and building up feelings and emotions and then disappointment.

Mahia: Just for a quick slay.

Peta: Yea that's usually what it is. But like these days that's how it is anyways. Or you just get something you want from a certain person and then you just leave. It doesn't necessarily have to mean sex but (2.0)

The moment I mentioned *tap and gap*, rangatahi laughed and rolled their eyes in a way that alluded to their extensive knowledge about it, and that talking about *tap and gap* was opening a 'can of worms'. *Tap and gap*, like the material-discursive entanglement of *relationship goals*, is "everything these days" as Peta from Kauri School explained. Peta's words highlight the idea that many young people seek, and are involved in, sexual experiences. Peta also stated that *tap and gap* is "self-explanatory", showing how ubiquitous it is in rangatahi lives. Whether they 'do it' or have it 'done to them' or not, it certainly seems pervasive. The students in the excerpt above were very keen to tell me about *tap and gap*, they spoke fast and almost over top of each other.

Mahia used the words "quick slay" and I took the words to be the same derogatory word used in violently killing or 'slaying' a deer for example. However, Mahia does not seem to like the term "a quick slay" as she says it to build on from Peta's comment of *tap and gap* involving "leading someone on and building up feelings and emotions and then disappointment" - "just for a quick

slay". It is clear that the girls chose not to speak in the first person and did not share their own experiences of *tap and gap*.

The descriptions in the excerpt show that *tap and gap* involves some form of sexual experience which is quickly over and does not lead to any further relations. So tap, like the bodily tap one may give another on the shoulder, implies that one has some sort of sexual experience with another but then, like the empty space of a gap, after the encounter the situation rather promptly comes to an end or, as Ana from Green School (Hui Two) put it, "you gap it" meaning you take off quick. In 'gapping' after the 'tapping', perhaps a real 'gap' is left and this 'gap' may be the "feelings" and "emotions" the rangatahi speak of. It is interesting to note that the students speak from a distance, for example when Mahia says "it can lead to feelings and the person who caught the feelings is just heartbroken" she uses the word "feelings" instead of using words more informative such as humiliation or despair. Feelings are caught after *tap and gap* takes place. Further, like a disease, you have caught the feelings and they may lead to becoming heartbroken.

The girls from Kauri School were very familiar with *tap and gap*. Their descriptions align with *tap and gap* definitions provided by the popular online Urban Dictionary (2017) which include: "having sex with the intention of leaving afterwards never to be heard from again", "a one night stand with no potential for seconds" and "to have sex then run away". Casual, 'no strings attached' sex is not a new phenomenon (Bogle, 2008; Boden, Fergusson & Harwood, 2011; Cooper & Gordon, 2015; Farvid & Braun, 2017; Weaver & Herold, 2000) and casual sex research is imbued with risk discourse (Boden, et al., 2015; Clark, et al., 2014).

Casual sex offers immediate interpersonal contact and leaves people vulnerable to risks such as getting sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy, and mating with genetically incompatible mates (Sevi, Aral, & Eskenazi, 2017, p.3).

However, listening to what rangatahi have to say about these important sexuality topics is much less common. Below the boys from Kauri School add to the descriptions from the girls:

Harley: Well that's um hooking up and you know. It just gets awkward after that so you gap. Cause you don't wanna stick around. It's pretty much like a, like a, (1.0) like a object.

Jade: Like a goal?

Harley: Yea like a no respect type of thing. You do it for fun. Not for fun though, but it's like I dunno. Do you guys know?

Tana: You just get a short feeling of what it would be

Harley: Lust

Jade: So I remember that tap and gap might happen at parties. Do you agree?

Harley: Yea definitely

Jade: Can you speak to that at all?

Harley: Yea definitely. Um so you're at a party and I guess the alcohol kicks in, and it's pretty much like if you did hook up at the party it's that alone. It like, after that it pretty much gets really awkward at school, or like at, you know meeting up. So it's like fun while it lasted

Perhaps when Harley relates *tap and gap* to an "object" he means "a goal" as I quickly suggested. Or, I may have indeed sanitised his comment with my response. Maybe Harley sees *tap and gap* as a person being treated as an object "like a no respect type of thing". *Tap and gap* may mean a disrespectful sexual encounter where one is not treated with respect. Perhaps Harley was suggesting that the body is merely a sexual object. Harley gives the example of *tap and gap* happening at a party and the way he tells the story seems as though he is recalling his own experience.

Harley mostly discusses *tap and gap* from a dominant discursive position. In fact, he speaks throughout our hui as the most 'expert' in the group, as experienced in sexual pleasure. However, when I recall meetings with Harley, I always sensed something else functioning behind the often macho, confident and assertive young man's words. It was clear that he was aware of many power relationships in school and in society with regard to being a Māori and male, so perhaps he chooses to live and talk in ways that reflect dominant heteronormative discourse that highlight him in a 'safe' light, which is explored in Chapter Seven. But in his last words, Harley could be resisting the position of *tap and gap*. He seems to be stuck between the normative discourse of being a man and an expert on *tap and gap*. Harley says "you do it for fun" but then withdraws the comment. Further, he explains that after *tap and gap* things become awkward at school and that is fun while it lasts. These comments do not represent a young man who is not emotional but merely wants to 'fuel his sexual hunger'. It could well be the opposite, and Harley does not like the material-discursive realities that *tap and gap* creates.

Tana takes a leap and seems to make himself vulnerable and suggests that "you just get a short feeling of what it would be". I did not ask Tana to elaborate as I sensed that making this utterance took a lot of courage. I also felt that I knew exactly what Tana meant by the comment anyway. Tana did not like the notion or act of *tap and gap* as it could only give a short feeling of how it would be in a relationship. This contrasts with the dominant portrayal of boys having a stronger interest in the sexual as opposed to the emotional side of relationships. Tana subtly shared with the group that he was completely inexperienced with sex, relationships and anything intimate (This discussion continues in Chapter Seven).

It has been said that one night stands are non-emotional (Jonason, Li & Richardson, 2011). Rangatahi's discussions in this research suggest otherwise. Perhaps using the term *tap and gap* serves as some form of social protection. It may be that many entangled experiences of *tap and gap* are not necessarily what is desired by those involved (particularly the *gap*), which Tana alludes to,

but is what seems to be the social norm. So in young people safeguarding themselves from undesirable experiences such as social humiliation and betrayal, if it was only ever *tap and gap*, with no intention of further relations, then there is less reason to be hurt or for other peers to think less of them. Perhaps if young people use language such as ‘oh it was *tap and gap*’ then no further explanation is needed and sexual pleasure has ‘supposedly’ been achieved.

As established in Chapter Two, colonial influence has worked to distort and suppress what Māori today know about the history of Māori sexuality (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Le Grice & Braun, 2018; L. Smith, 1999). Prior to colonisation, same-sex relationships were common, as was the enjoyment of multiple relationships. This fluidity, diversity and celebration of sexuality has been oppressed, and today, it seems that only in a heterosexual, married, monogamous relationship can ‘sex’ be enjoyed (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007). This has become so ingrained, for both Māori and Pākehā, that it is hard to imagine how a more fluid, diverse and positive sexuality may have functioned. Perhaps some form of *tap and gap* functioned in precolonial times. Perhaps these types of bodily experiences did not come with experiences of guilt, pain or social shame, and were experienced a different way. It may have been the case that the kinship and social systems Māori established meant that ‘*gap*’ could not happen; there was nowhere to ‘*gap*’ to, as one could not become invisible. And perhaps becoming invisible, as the ‘*gap*’ alludes to today, was not desired. Encounters like this may have been life-affirming (Le Grice & Braun, 2018).

Rangatahi seemed to describe both young men and women as relatively equal in engaging in the act, moving away from heteronormative discourses of women as the ones to whom *tap and gap* is done, and challenging the dominant material-discourse of femininity, which “encourages girls and women to be desirable but not desiring” (Tolman, 2005, p.115). This is significant, as young women in Aotearoa have often been positioned as less sexually focused, more emotionally involved, more responsible, and more concerned with preserving a good reputation when it comes to sexual relationships (Allen, 2008). In contrast, young Māori wahine have been oppressed with negative discourses around teen

pregnancy and promiscuous, risky behaviour (see Chapter Two). Thus, *becoming* wahine and Māori is more complex. Ringrose (2008) has suggested that if a young woman is not 'white' or middle class perhaps there is more to 'lose' in being identified as 'a slut' or similar. And for this analysis it is likely, because other oppressive discourses already operate more for these wahine than for wahine of Eurowestern decent. Throughout our hui, Peta showed that the competing and contradictory discourses of being a 'good girl', and a 'good student', in contrast with being an object of masculine desire and trying to maintain sexual desires as a woman, are difficult landscapes to manage. For example, Peta made the comment:

It's just a shit cycle. And they always try and find. Like I'm being honest, most people find their boyfriend or their thing at a party. So it's like 'he's at a party, he's obviously not a good dude. Like he's obviously there for the same reason you are you know. He wants to go find him some

First, Peta states that both women and men go to parties with the intention to "find their boyfriend or their thing" and to "go find him some". They both seek sexual experiences. Peta goes to parties for the same reason as young men do, which positions her as choosing a sexual self. Peta said earlier on, while talking about *tap and gap*, "you go girl" and "go get you some" meaning 'go get the sexual experience you are after', 'go get some of it'. When young people discuss topics relating to sexual pleasure and relationship emotions, they are positioning themselves as legitimate and sophisticated sexual beings (Allen, 2008).

Coming back to Peta's words, however, there is no mention of boys going to parties to find their girlfriend although she said that girls do go to find a boyfriend. Further she calls it "a shit cycle" and said that if "he's at a party, he's obviously not a good dude". Peta's words suggested she did not really enjoy these experiences. This appears to highlight a complexity where perhaps some young wahine (and tane) are participating and appear to be equally willing to strongly exercise their sexual freedom by "getting them some", but it is likely not the position that they want to be in. Complexity was shown in the entanglement

of discussions of *tap and gap*, where some fragments kept dominant discourses in process and others resisted them.

*Tap and gap* did not have the social media presence that *relationship goals* did. It seems that *relationship goals* is the 'fake' thing that young people should be actively participating in, yet the contradictory *tap and gap*, which is less visible, is equally functioning in the lives of rangatahi, and produces complex experiences. I felt that although in places young people talked openly with me about *tap and gap* and seeking sexual partners, at the same time they were aware that it was a 'taboo' area. Thus, a discourse of erotics, which has been discussed as seemingly absent from sexuality education, is ever-present in rangatahi entanglements (Allen, 2011a).

## Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a focus on rangatahi experiences of the sexuality education they received. When discussing sexuality education, rangatahi shared with me the narrow, limiting and 'plumbing' approach to sexuality education they were receiving. Despite some sense of satisfaction, sexuality education at large did not appear to be providing a platform to discuss the issues most important in the lives of rangatahi. In fact, for these young people, sexuality education seemed to be a very small and disconnected fragment, which did not translate into sexuality entanglements beyond the classroom.

*Relationship goals* and *tap and gap* were two unplanned, complex topics raised by rangatahi, which came to the forefront of our hui and formed their own 'sexuality curriculum'. They became entanglements that 'found me' or as Taylor (2013) would describe them: shining points. Rangatahi said that both are important and both are very present and central in the material-discursive entanglement of being a secondary school student. Exploring *relationship goals*

and *tap and gap* highlighted the 'gap' between what is learnt in the classroom and the complex everyday sexuality entanglements that rangatahi experience.

In stark contrast to *relationships goals*, and other material-discursive *goals*, which uphold 'perfect', 'happy' heteronormative and neoliberal ideals, *tap and gap* also actively functioned in rangatahi entanglements. *Tap and gap* seemed to operate more quietly in the background of the 'loud' and ever-present *relationship goals*, and produced young people as sexual subjects who are involved in sexual experiences. It seems that experiences of *tap and gap* are likely not often spoken of, in contrast to the unspoken 'race' to notice and then label what might count as *relationship goals*.

These entanglements are complex and I have discussed only a fraction of some parts of them. Entanglements function beyond what a 'human' may discuss. What this chapter makes clear is that rangatahi entanglements of sexuality are increasingly complex. The type of sexuality education rangatahi in this research have experienced is largely disconnected from their lives and seems likely to do little to enhance their complex sexualities.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# Moving Through Entanglements (ii) 'Healthy Māori Bodies' and 'The Good Māori Student'

This analysis chapter continues to explore the complex entanglements of rangatahi, secondary school and sexuality education. It hones in on parts of the entanglement that became important 'hot spots' (Taylor, 2013), taking the position that the nature of rangatahi, secondary school and sexuality are much more complex than often assumed and described. 'Healthy Māori Bodies' and 'The Good Māori Student' became two central hot spots in the hui and interviews. This chapter continues the research method of *Moving Through Entanglements* where thought is spread in unpredictable patterns, producing different knowledge, as *data* are read in various ways. It tunnels in unknown and prescribed directions, keeping knowledge production on the move (Mazzei, 2014) and a sense of mystery alive in Māori research (Mika, 2016).

### 'Health' Lessons

When Kari came to our first group hui and before we started recording, he spoke of the "strict diet competition" he had recently joined. It was some type of low carbohydrate diet that he and his friends were doing together. They had just done a "weigh-in" that morning, and Kari had lost a significant amount of weight. He told us this smiling with excitement. Now the food that I had brought in for us

to share (which, due to convenience, was high in carbohydrates) was sitting in front of us, and throughout the hui Kari resisted the temptation to eat any of it, despite saying it looked "yum". Discussions like this with Kari from Green School, and concerns raised by Tana from Kauri School led to the *becoming* of this chapter, which considers the complexity of the entanglements of 'healthy Māori bodies' using the two boys as the central focus. This chapter also listens to powerful experiences that rangatahi shared, instances that rangatahi described as being unique to Māori students in school and all of which relate to being a 'good student'. I draw on the work of Foucault and Hokowhitu in particular to think through some of these entanglements.

Fragments taken from the individual interview I had with Tana begin this discussion. When specifically discussing the topic of sexuality education (see Chapter Six) Tana, unlike all of the other students, did not mention protection, safe sex or sexually transmitted infections, although he did touch on relationships (which I acknowledge first). Instead, he talked largely of what he called "health". What follows, are fragments taken from our interview where I asked Tana specific questions about sexuality education:

Jade: How do you feel about sexuality education lessons at this school? Tell me about what you did in them.

Tana: Oh um (2.0) that's a mind boggling. I don't mind it really. Just teach you about as you were talking about, relationships, um. You can talk about I dunno, health? Health can be a big one. Talk about, they talk to students about like what's right to eat and what's not, and like, or exercising or you know exercising good or sitting down, don't do much. Or like hm (2.0).

Jade: Well this might help you remember something else. What do you think the most important messages are that

teachers want you to remember from your sexuality education lessons?

Tana: I think there'll be two answers to that one. The ones I said before, health and relationships.

Health, yea um, I guess they just want you to, you know, have a healthy life. Well not a hundred percent but, you know, just, I dunno, stay active um. I dunno communicate and all that. Eating the right things. Being positive I guess would be my main one. You know, never thinking of the negative things. Never showing like like um inferior, not inferior, like minor to the major health um, health um, what's the bloody word for it, it's, yea just health wise really. Never put yourself or anyone else down really. Um what was the other part of the question. Oh I got it aye.

Although Tana puts forward 'relationships' as a topic covered in sexuality education, that is all he does. There is no elaboration of what he means by relationships, and instead, Tana's words clearly centre on the topic of 'health'. Perhaps this is because relationships are more difficult to speak about beyond the tired clichés of 'a good relationship is about respect'? Or maybe Tana mentions relationships because a relationship would be something he would like, yet 'health' restricts this? Perhaps Tana feels that the issue of health is closely related to the status of being or not being in a relationship? Either way, Tana places significance on 'health' lessons and the 'healthy body'.

Later in the same conversation I tried to elicit direct comments from Tana about parts of the lessons that were more-clearly focused on sexuality. I acknowledge that in the excerpt which follows, I took the position of the scientific researcher, attempting to pull Tana away from what he wanted to talk about. It was the normative researcher behaviour coming through; the person who seeks answers

and findings on already anticipated themes. I was expecting to hear responses that clearly linked to sexuality education in the classroom.

Jade: Can I ask is there anything that you did or learnt about in sexuality education that was more to do with things like sex or more that sort of thing as oppose to being healthy or not really?

Tana: Really we didn't learn much about the sex because it came more to health. Cause the class that I was in was more of a sports class cause basically every student in my class played a sport like soccer, rugby, netball, hockey and all that so um I don't really know much about sex and all that stuff, unless it was in science but that will be more like towards body parts and how they function and all that so. I didn't really learn much of it, only certain body parts. It wasn't like not like the sex body parts it was more like muscle functioning. Didn't get to learn that much on that subject (2.0).

Tana's words above suggest once again (see Chapter Six) that he had very little experience in a classroom that explicitly discussed sexuality topics. He says he does not "really know much about sex". But Tana was keen to learn about sexuality, and he made this clear throughout our meetings. For example, Tana said when describing what *tap and gap* may be in Chapter Six that "you just get a short feeling of what it would be" Here he most likely, is talking about getting a short feeling or experience of a relationship. He also subtly disclosed that he would like to become involved in a relationship, which remained foreign to him. Tana shared this during our group hui and then during the individual interview with me below:

Jade: One thing I'd like to talk about is remember how you said you haven't been in a relationship. Can you tell me about (1.0) well remember on the other hand Harley talked a lot about being in relationships. So you know, two different perspectives, but you didn't get to speak to yours so much.

Tana: Um (1.0) How to put this in words (3.0) I got it in my head I just can't explain it. (Lol) I think from my point of you, I don't think we get to see very much of what goes on in a relationship and like what they do or how they do it I guess, or just what goes on really. Um. So like because I haven't been in a relationship.

Although Tana did not clearly state that he is longing to be in a relationship, his keenness to talk about relationships and listen to the 'experts' in the group like Harley, as well as making his own opinions heard despite his complete 'lack of experience', demonstrates this. Tana told me that he thinks about being in a relationship from "time to time". Tana, a 17-year-old in his last year of schooling, who has a very large, thick dark beard, which suggests he is older, puts forward with a little awkwardness that he is a novice on relationships. This seems to trouble dominant discourses of masculinity. Tana said that he does not know about relationships. Despite the talk of relationships supposedly being a crucial component of good sexuality education (Ministry of Education, 2015), perhaps rarely is the complexity of what relationships involve, what they may do, and how they do it discussed or taught. Perhaps a quick sweep of the cliché attributes of good relationship may be as complex as relationship education gets.

However, the underlying issues of food, exercise and the body came to the forefront of specific talk around sexuality education with Tana and quickly became 'the elephant in the room'. And although it was spoken about, there was an 'uncomfortable' feeling or presence that remained and Tana always spoke from a distance (although I sensed he was talking from experience). I felt that Tana really challenged himself to talk about what he felt strongly about and this 'health' that he speaks of demands attention. It is very likely that these 'health' topics of, eating right, exercising, and having a healthy life, do form the main components of the health and physical education curriculum delivery, perhaps because it is easier and safer to teach these topics from a teacher's perspective. Eating and exercise were the topics which Tana discussed as being most central to the teaching of 'health', and sexuality education became overshadowed by health by in my individual talk with Tana.

It is very likely that Tana's talk of food and exercise may be related to his size, and this may well be pointed out in the teaching of the health curriculum. Tana is tall, and is what could be described in normative terms as overweight, or possibly obese by medical measures. His stomach and chest areas protrude the most, which contrasts with the prevailing dominant Eurowestern perception that a low body weight is ideal (Nichter & Nichter, 1991). I speculate that based on the details above, Tana therefore becomes positioned as 'unhealthy' during these lessons and consequently, beyond.

Tana tells me that his most important message from sexuality education is "never showing like like um inferior, not inferior, like minor to the major health um, health um, what's the bloody word for it...". I think that Tana was telling me here that the lessons tell students whether they are healthy or not and therefore worthy or not. It seems that Tana decided this from his own oppressive experience. He does not tell me this directly, but I sense it in his calm passion and the urge in his voice.

Tana demonstrates an awareness and concern about the body messages that are ingrained in the fabric of the society. So his advice to others who do not have a normative body is to not let it make them feel inferior and abnormal "to the major health". Tana seems to allude to the idea that sexuality and other health and physical education topics become blurred in the classroom and the curriculum becomes more of a 'what is normal and healthy' and 'what is not' or, the abnormal body vs the "major health" or the normal body. Here the "major health" as Tana seems to describe it or, normal body, is defined as: thin, white and fit (Rice, 2014). Tana highlights that the classroom becomes an unsafe and dangerous environment for those who do not fit the mould of 'good health' and this does not uphold the underlying concepts offered in the New Zealand Curriculum (2007).

Attitudes and values – a positive, responsible attitude on the part of students to their own well-being; respect, care, and concern for other people and the environment; and a sense of social justice (p.22).

As suggested, Tana's real concern with health and body size may be clearly related to his position on relationships. Tana did not clearly signal this to me; however, it is likely that being in the dominant position of health at school; thin and fit, means having better access to intimate relationships. Perhaps oppressing discourses of inferior 'health' prevent Tana from feeling any entitlement to a relationship. The dualism of the normal body and those that are not, is likely at play here and a normalising gaze; surveillance works in the classroom to offer a visibility through which individual bodies like Tana's can be measured and judged (Foucault, 1977).

### **Surveillance**

The body has long been a target of power that may be subjected, used, improved and transformed. It is manipulated, trained and shaped to obey and respond. And just like the army or the hospital, the school has functioned to control and correct the body (Foucault, 1977). Foucault (1977) tells us that political anatomy was born early in the history of secondary schools and Tana made clear that the body curriculum is 'alive and well' in schools. In particular, it functions in the health and physical education curriculum where the body curriculum is explicitly taught as a compulsory component. But it may just as effectively work as a hidden curriculum, where it is not explicitly taught but is functioning all the same. Rice (2014) has described the 'body curriculum' as the informal and formal learning experiences in school that are integral to shaping young people's understandings of their bodies and the bodies of others. In fact, of the seven key learning areas in the health and physical education curriculum, three of them are food and nutrition, body care and physical safety, and physical activity (Ministry of Education, 2007).

The body curriculum serves as a gentle way of punishment, where power works to conceal itself beneath the gentle force of 'nature'; where the big person is only one of the targets of punishment, as punishment is directed at all students, fat or thin, who may become potentially guilty as this increases its effectiveness. Here power operations are both invisible and visible (Foucault, 1977). Students may be gently controlled and punished through the circulation and teaching of

values and knowledge that fit society's interests and therefore the interests of the school (Foucault, 1977; Foucault; 1980). This curriculum does more than circulate knowledge; it engages students in self-surveillance; we can draw on Tana's clear acknowledgement of the power of self-surveillance below

Jade: Is there anything missing that you think is needed in the lessons?  
Anything you wish you could have learnt about really?

Tana: Um. I guess they should have showed how the person felt. Not just what they showed but like who they talk to and how they talk about it. Or like you know like um (2.0). Just like if it come to like health as I said before, they hm I don't think that, well I'm not saying that they all like put the person down but it's just like if it came to like talking about a big person and there was, and the teacher was talking to the class and there was a big person in there, I think well I know, that the big person will be thinking to themselves like 'oh no everyone will start talking about me' or like 'damn I should eat the right stuff' or you know 'do exercise' and yea. I think it should go like not just always about the big people not big, unhealthy people I should say.

Tana once again in the excerpt above is likely expressing, in a safe and indirect way, what he feels during these lessons. In his words Tana 'calls the teacher out'. He says that it is not ok when "they", presumably teachers and perhaps other students, discuss the body at the expense of individuals. He seems to be suggesting that what is taught in a classroom should not diminish a person. Tana's example of a big person in a health lesson feeling humiliated because the lesson is aimed at them, demonstrates health and physical education's focus on the body as the site of attention. Tana highlights the power of normalisation and surveillance, which he seems well aware of when he speaks from a big person's position. Normalisation and surveillance are one of the greatest tools of the web of power (Foucault, 1977) and Tana knows that schools instruct students to monitor themselves in order to become healthy, worthy and productive students and citizens (Rice, 2014). Here "discipline rewards simply by the play of awards,

thus making it possible to attain higher ranks and places; it punishes by reversing this process” (Foucault, 1977, p.181). Not unlike the processes of normalisation; ‘getting it right’, a term used by Quinlivan (2017) is a colonising and normative orientation to knowledges and knowing, which operates across schools. ‘Getting it right’ aligns with Foucault’s overview, where:

among school children, it makes it possible to observe performances,... to map aptitudes, to assess characters, to draw up rigorous classifications and, in relation to normal development, to distinguish ‘laziness and stubbornness’ from the ‘incurable imbecility’ (Foucault, 1995, p.203).

The health classes Tana describes may individualise bodies though hierarchising and rewarding, which privilege the healthy body so that “the envied healthy body is an enunciation, the materialization of healthism” (Hokowhitu, 2014a, p. 34). So the disciplinary institution of the school continues to compare, hierarchise, homogenise and exclude: “in short, it normalises” (Foucault, 1977, p.183). Hokowhitu (2014a) describes the entanglement of healthism in producing able and disabled bodies.

The healthy body manifests and is produced through, within and because of, for example, packaging on food labels, bourgeois privilege, statistics on childhood obesity, the mechanical and robotic nature of exercise regimes, lifestyle magazines, daily and weekly schedules, gendered workplaces and family structures, culture, physiognomy, politics and race (i.e., the materiality of skin) (p.34)

There is an ever-present material discursive entanglement of Māori (and Pasifika) people being represented as unable to understand what makes a healthy diet, less health conscious, placing less importance on dieting and exercise compared to their white-skinned counterparts, and this is represented in the media very effectively (Burrows 2009, 2011). Big brown bodies carrying

excessive fat are framed by discourses of obesity and disease. For example, featuring currently on national television is an advertisement raising awareness that we, in Aotearoa are 'feeding our young people too much'. The message is delivered by Valerie Adams, a brown skinned woman who is a successful Olympian, and the target audience is no doubt also brown people. Perhaps Valerie was chosen for the advertisement for several reasons including that it is the normative 'duty' of a mother to feed her children. But further, because Valerie has 'beaten the odds' of being brown skinned; she is resilient (see Chapter Two).

Next I move to consider another possible tool in the web of normalisation, depending on its method of application: Te Whare Tapa Whā. However, I first reflect on an experience that took place in the final months of my PhD research journey. It seems fitting to place it here as I distinctly recall seeing many larger-bodied Māori men and women in the pages that the colleague below was flicking through.

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*I sat at my desk working on my analysis chapters, in my usual corner behind the photocopier with my earphones in to create another reason to be left in peace. A fellow office occupant, a Pākehā academic in the building approaches me and asked if I could be interrupted. I could hear him because in fact my earphones weren't actually plugged into the computer; I was using the earphones to attempt to get a little privacy and prevent interruption. I said "sure". I don't know him well and have only participated in small talk with him. He starts whispering, which seemed weird, as (unfortunately for my work) no one ever whispers in this building. He placed some brightly coloured shiny A4 papers in front of my face of very complex and powerful photocopies of Māori paintings and excitedly told me to look at them. Then he quickly flicked through these photocopies pointing out to me various 'bits' he liked. While mumbling all sorts of noises of admiration he said something like:*

*“Aren’t they beautiful? Look colonisation [pointing to the middle of the painting and nowhere in particular], amazing aye? I just love them. [He then flicks to another page] You know, look at the whenua” [specifically points to the grassy scrub-like area]*

*“Hmm” [was all I could say]*

*I felt disrespected and annoyed, but agreed they were beautiful and asked him what he was doing with them. He said he was getting his students to come up with a culturally appropriate way of dealing with a hypothetical Māori patient ‘Tahu’. He was using the photographs of paintings as some sort of ‘guide’ for his students. He added that Mason Durie suggested to do this. I smiled and said ‘Oh cool, we always have to be careful of how we use Māori things, eh’. I don’t think he liked my comment but he walked off and I was left feeling disrupted and angry, trying to imagine what I would have liked to say to him.*

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It is a concern that the Māori men on the photocopied pages were large bodied, and that, as a nurse, the person who showed me these pictures is likely to teach of the dangers of this ‘type’ of Māori body. I wonder if ‘Tahu’, the hypothetical Māori male patient this colleague was going to use with his nursing students as a ‘guide’ was ‘overweight’? If educators take positions like this, on what it may mean to be Māori, then it is not surprising that situations like that above trickle down and hugely impact the types of entanglements that rangatahi come to be in at school. Mason Durie, whom the colleague above proudly referred to, is also the creator of Te Whare Tapa Whā, a widely used measure for Māori well-being. I now consider Te Whare Tapa Whā in the entanglement of ‘healthy Māori bodies’ (see Chapter Two).

### **Te Whare Tapa Whā**

Te Whare Tapa Whā came to the forefront of this research as I walked towards our interview space to meet with Tana. It was then that I noticed the prominently placed, brightly coloured framework of the Marae and its four

pillars in a classroom window facing outward for all to view. A poster of Te Whare Tapa Whā also featured in the classroom that we met in at Green school. The strong presence of Te Whare Tapa Whā demanded some attention, and my aim to uphold posthuman approaches to research where humans are only one part of the entanglement, supports this focus. Does Te Whare Tapa Whā function as a more subtle form of surveillance to tell those like Tana about their health? In particular, with regard to taha tinana (the physical health pillar), I wonder if it is used to remind those with big brown bodies like Kari and Tana that they are not normal? I do not aim to argue here that the use of the framework has not led to positive *becomings* for Māori; however, it is a concern that the prominent model could also work in less positive ways for rangatahi depending on how it manifests.

As outlined in Chapter Two, Te Whare Tapa Whā is a holistic Māori health model, which has been tirelessly implemented and cited over the past 30 years (Hokowhitu, 2014a). Unfortunately, the model is used more often than not with a total lack of understanding of Māori history, philosophy and tikanga (see my reflection in Chapter Two) and further, Te Whare Tapa Whā has been critiqued in terms of the narrowness of what it can offer as a complete framework that captures the complexity of what it means to be rangatahi (Nikora, et al., 2001). Through my own experiences as a teacher and as a university student, I am familiar with the widely implemented framework, which functions as a common piece of ‘furniture’ in Aotearoa policy documents and classrooms. I am aware too of the simplified depiction offered in the New Zealand curriculum documents and education literature (Heaton, 2015; Hokowhitu, 2014a). Hokowhitu (2014a) has witnessed its “proliferation and consequent disfiguring and misuse in health curricula and medical discourses for nearly two decades” (p.39).

I did not ask rangatahi about Te Whare Tapa Whā. However, I recall Joseph showing me a photo of it when he was flicking through some things in his book that they had done in health. Te Whare Tapa Whā is perhaps an easy tactical, or unknowing move to frame a form of discipline as endorsing a seemingly ‘Māori’

worldview. As Hokowhitu maintains: “today racism tends to be veiled within positively framed cultural clichés that enable a global Western culture, which preaches freedom for all, to maintain its façade” (2003, p.21). Careful consideration is needed to really see how these seemingly positive Māori aspects function in schools and society. Are they merely strategic and political moves to demonstrate efforts to value New Zealand’s bicultural heritage? For example, Hauora, which underpins the health curriculum, although seemingly positive and ‘bicultural’, has been regarded as recolonising and little more than a euro-western model of health (Quinlivan, Rasmussen, Aspin, Allen, & Sanjakdar, 2014).

According to the Ministry of Health (2017), if one of the four dimensions of Te Whare Tapa Whā: taha wairua (the spiritual dimension), taha whānau (family), taha hinengaro (mind) Taha tinana (physical health) should become missing or damaged, a person or a collective may become ‘unbalanced’ and therefore unwell. Mason Durie (1985) explains that taha wairua is the ability to understand and have faith in the links between the humans and the environment. It implies a spiritual relationship with the environment including land, lakes and mountains. Without a spiritual awareness and mauri (life force) an individual cannot be healthy. This pillar is simplistically translated and ‘lost’ in curriculum documents and silenced (Heaton, 2015). It is unlikely that schools can effectively implement a taha wairua teaching, as schools remain secular rather than spiritual, yet taha wairua is an essential, if not the most important, component of the four walls (Heaton, 2015). The normative pressures of schools being bicultural often lead to the misuse of all sorts of ‘things’ Māori.

Alongside its misuse, the model functions in other, more silenced ways for Kari and Tana, and supports the concept of self-surveillance and normalisation where power functions to make Kari and Tana aware of themselves, and their place in the world at any time. In leaving the entanglement of Te Whare Tapa Whā, I wonder if a version, carefully developed by Māori, could inform and enhance sexuality education, thus disrupting its previous misuse? With reference to being

big, fat or overweight, I now focus on a body part in particular that became important in the research entanglement, with Kari in particular.

### **Big Boys' Big Breasts**

The excerpt below is taken from the individual interview I had with Kari. The room we planned to meet in at Green School that day was being used for kapahaka practice (which Kari was not missing out on as it was practice for the girls), so we decided to go and sit in the park next door to the school. We sat on the grass near the school boundary. It was a warm day. I was asking Kari about sexuality education lessons and what took place in them.

Jade: Tell me when you had them and what you do in them.

Kari: Like puberty? Well we just did that in PE, you do it in year 9 and then that's it. Yea they just talk about sex and stuff. And like yea that's pretty much it. What girls have, what boys have. Yea and like when it should happen. When girls start to grow these ((points to his own chest)). They just tell you about natural things that happens to girls and boys ((speaking fast))

When Kari points to his own breasts he is certainly entering 'dangerous ground'. It took me by surprise. Surely normative masculine identities would not usually allow for young men to describe women's breasts using their own. This might encourage sexual shame, as what are accepted as womanly breasts are not expected to be found on a man's body, and having 'man boobs' could signify Kari as failing to achieve the oppositional categorical heterosexual body (Bordo, 1993; Saltman, 1998). Kari, as a young indigenous man with larger breasts, or what have been referred to as 'man boobs' or 'moobs' (Depalma, 2013; Machado-Borges, 2013; Schuler, 2016; Spence, 2007), moves in a complex entanglement.

Perhaps Kari experiences instant unease due to his prominent breasts or 'man boobs' and feels that they are so materially prominent and obvious that he has no option but to draw on them as an example of 'breasts growing' (he was wearing the school uniform white, collared polo shirt which was tight on his

skin). Or maybe, Kari is deliberately disrupting the notion that only girls can have sizable breasts. There are some exceptions to the rule of men with breasts. For example, large, firm 'pecs' or pectoral muscles, like those of a bodybuilder, are desirable (Saltman, 1998). However, often linked with overuse of steroids, as Saltman (1998) notes, those desirable pecs may later become their binary opposite: "bitch tits" (p.48).

Perhaps it could be that Kari's comfort in the space with me, where other young men or women could not police or shame his masculinity or femininity led to acknowledgement of his breasts. Either way, Kari is certainly rupturing the phallic culture of normative 'boy' practices by using his own breasts as an example. Thus, he is unsettling the hegemonic binary of masculine and feminine bodies (Renold & Ringrose, 2017). Kari may have no issue with his breasts and his body. This this would mean he is not necessarily making a big disclosure as they are something he feels comfortable with. However, Kari, as mentioned in the introduction, was on a 'strict diet competition' with a few of his friends during our period of working together. So this would suggest he knows he does not have the body he is 'supposed' to have (Fitzpatrick, 2010), and yet still, he challenges and unsettles the dominant oppressive gender discourse when he brings attention to his breasts. He becomes vulnerable in this moment where gender boundaries are ruptured, we sit on the grass, and he points to his large breasts.

Both Tana and Kari told me that unlike most of the others in their classes, they are not 'sporty'. This of course contrasts with dominant discourses of boys being sporty (Gerdin & Larsson, 2018) and of the Māori male's body, which is deemed to be rippling with muscles (Hokowhitu, 2003b, 2004). Instead it upholds other damaging discourse around health disparities and Māori. Perhaps their body size and their breasts 'get in the way' of sport. Ivinson and Renold (2016) highlight the entanglement of running, self-consciousness, girls, breasts and a sexualising male gaze. Their insight around the fleshiness of breasts and running, particularly if they are sizable breasts, can be used to think about the bodies of Tana and Kari

in the entanglement of physical education and sport, where the naturally athletic warrior is given a place to shine (Hokowhitu, 2004) as the sports field is a place where Māori can achieve prestige (Calabrò, 2016).

Although young men's large breasts and stomachs are not objects fetishized by the Eurowestern male gaze, they come with other, likely more, debilitating gazes. The quote offered below may be just as relevant when considering Tana and Kari.

Breasts will not remain still as women run. The motion of running inevitably heightens the experience of breasts not as objects contained and bound within bras but as weighted, moving masses of flesh that swing in rhythm according to the length of the stride and the upward and downward bounce of the running body. We saw how Molly and Caitlin tried to support their breasts as they ran by holding their arms close to their torso, and this contributed to the jolting discontinuity of their movements (Ivinson & Renold, 2016, p.175)

Feminists have rightly placed body issues of women as the focus of their attention (Taylor, 2013) and according to Rice (2014) media depictions and the ever-increasing obesity epidemic with the risks of being fat has led to intense body scrutiny, in which young women have become increasingly worried about their weight. Men are not excluded from this international epidemic and Tana's worry about 'health' earlier highlights this. Machado-Borges (2013) notes that in Brazil 'manboobs' or gynecomastia has been described as a nightmare, where surgery is encouraged as a remedy, as men should not have noticeable breasts. I present Young's (2005) words, but argue that they apply to Kari equally. She explains that:

...a woman, especially in those adolescent years but also through the rest of her life, often feels herself judged and evaluated according to the size and contours of her breasts, and indeed she often is. For her and for

others, her breasts are the daily visible and tangible signifier of her womanliness, and her experience is as variable as the size and shape of breasts themselves (p.76)

According to Young (2005) a woman's chest, much more than a man's, is always up for judgement and whether her breasts are deemed good or bad the condition remains problematic. Breasts can become a prized organ to the extent that the body becomes reducible to the organ itself as a signifier of feminine sexuality (Renold & Ringrose, 2017). The indigenous 'exotic' woman's breasts are a material-discursive signifier of the relationship between brown bodies and white as the white woman may conceal her breasts behind pen and paper as Behar (1995) explains:

...it is always the other woman, the native woman somewhere else, the woman who doesn't write, the Kung! Woman, the Balinese woman, the National Geographic Woman, who has breasts. Breasts than can be seen, exposed, pictured, brought home, and put into books (p.1)

Wahine who participated in August's (2005) research that explored the way Māori women's bodies are constituted within particular cultural spaces, said they felt 'fat' in what they see as Pākehā environments and, further, that this feeling does not come in 'Māori environments' (August, 2005). Therefore it is likely that Māori men with big breasts are also open to feelings of being 'other' to the Eurowestern norm like this. But perhaps this 'shame' and feelings of 'fatness' would not apply in all places within the school. The analysis soon moves to introduce a new player to the focus, the materially-discursive complex place of resistance and oppression: the school stage, but first some focus on kapa haka.

### **Kapa Haka**

For Māori, past, present and future, kapa haka (war dance) is precious. I do not enter this discussion, and instead have considered other things that may be functioning more quietly, in entanglements of kapa haka, rangatahi (in particular

Tana) and the school. Because at first glance, kapa haka in school is highly positive, it makes “culture count” (Whitinui, 2010, p.14). Further, it has been suggested that kapa haka has direct educational benefits (Whitinui, 2010).

Kapa haka is a modern and broad term which encompasses many traditional art forms of haka, poi, waiata tawhito, waiata-ā-ringa, and Māori weaponry. Regardless of context (formal or informal), competitive or not, kapa haka has many facets and many forms which are grouped under broad titles” (Te Ahu Paenga, 2008, p.32).

When Tana came to meet me for our individual interview, shortly after walking in the door the exchange below took place.

Tana: My voice probably sounds a bit different

Jade: Yea it does.

Tana: I was performing and I lost my voice. I went too loud for the haka ((smiles proudly))

Jade: Was it a school performance?

Tana: Yea on stage cause we’re farewelling the year 13s so yea.

Jade: Cool. Do you lead it?

Tana: Yip. Yea.

Jade: You must feel good though.

Tana: Yea. (2.0)

Tana led the haka that day in a performance that served as a farewell to fellow students. I could certainly sense Tana's elation. He smiled endlessly (kapa haka definition below). On the stage when Kari (who also does kapa haka) and Tana perform kapa haka, it is likely that their big bodies are in a positive entanglement of *becoming*. Being big does not have adverse implications for Tana during kapa haka, a Māori space. Big bodies and bigger breasts do different things in different places. Perhaps his body does not allow him to achieve dominant forms of

masculinity in many other ways, but while performing kapa haka, Tana becomes a warrior, a leader.

It may be that this is Tana's 'place to shine', where Māori culture becomes an 'exotic spectacle' (Ormond, 2006). Kapa haka is a space where Māori have permission to excel and it seems to be well received by most. This may be partly attributable to Hokowhitu's (2014b) argument, which suggests that the haka is the most globally recognised appropriation and integration of Māori culture. The haka has become a real entertainment spectacle, and is performed before international rugby games by the All Blacks (national rugby team). The haka allures crowds and has aided the branding of the All Blacks, but this comes at the expense of misappropriation and commodification of indigenous culture (Hokowhitu, 2014b). Further, beyond the rugby field, the haka is performed as a sign of public respect at weddings and funerals and "the ill-informed normalization of "Ka Mate" within "Kiwi" masculine culture means the complexities of postcolonial history and the problematics surrounding, for example, the commodification of indigenous culture go conveniently uncensored" (Hokowhitu, 2014b, p.209).

According to Hokowhitu (2014b), nothing was more effective in the materialisation of dutiful Māori colonial citizens than schooling, and here the haka played, and still plays, an important role. The dominant discourse of Māori men being physical is anchored by the idea that Māori existence has been underpinned by physical labour, war exploits, physical education, sport and haka (Hokowhitu, 2014b). Perhaps Tana still seemed happy to employ the exotic, traditional masculine Māori warrior discourse when leading and performing kapa haka, as kapa haka may both rejuvenate and restrain being Māori in the school setting. Haka and kapa haka involve rhythm, and the notion of Māori having 'good rhythm' continues to position Māori as a 'doing culture' (Hokowhitu, 2014b) (See Chapter Two). This seemed to be the underlying discourse in a recent conversation with my nana.

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*I phoned nana last week and she played the piano to me over the phone. She plays it so beautifully and with grace. It warms me. Beside the piano sits an old wooden tobacco box which came off the sailing ship that Hans Tapsell arrived on (See Chapter One). When she finished playing the old war song I applauded her. She then said, as she always does that she can't read music she plays by ear and that "it must be the Māori blood". Nana was alluding to it being 'common sense' that Māori are musical, a natural thing, as they can't actually 'read' the music.*

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Perhaps in this conversation my grandmother was upholding the complex dominant discourse of Māori 'doing culture' that Tana is subtly caught in (Hokowhitu, 2014b). When performing kapa haka, the stage and Tana's body together form part of an entanglement that produces Tana as a gendered role model, a leader, a good student, as cultural, as exotic and a good Māori. An 'authentic tradition-abiding Māori' will perform kapa haka for the school. The school may be exercising its colonial power, producing Tana as 'exotic' and 'cultural' and 'savage' (Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2003b, 2014b).

Perhaps Māori remain to be publicly executed, so to speak, in a spectacle (Foucault, 1995) in a way that is not accidental but is normalising and often done in a 'positive' manner, and Māori themselves, knowingly or unknowingly, mostly conform to this relation of power. And like the spectators' role in an execution, everyone watching the show, Māori and Pākehā alike, are encouraged to take part. Like the execution, if it was not made public, it would scarcely have meaning. As Foucault (1995) makes clear:

... not only must people know, they must see with their own eyes. Because they must be made to be afraid; but also because they must be the witnesses, the guarantors, of the punishment, and because they must to a certain extent take part in it (p.58).

This subtle and 'positive' form of punishment nonetheless pathologises Māori, contributing to the constructions of immoral, monstrous and mythical beings (Hokowhitu, 2014a). Perhaps Tana was aware that if he is to be a successful Māori male, he needs to excel on the sports field or at kapa haka, both of which, as Hokowhitu (2014b) maintains, establish masculinity through bodily acts. This is a tightrope to walk, perhaps, as "postcolonial Māori masculinity has struggled to find a voice that is assertive yet not violent, constructive and yet not submissive" (p.218). Harley from Kauri School, in contrast, easily fitted this masculine discourse, he was lean and fit and talked of doing pullups and workouts with his mates at lunch time or playing touch rugby.

I do not ignore the likelihood that Tana is also producing himself in ways that produce empowerment, as there are always multiple ways of *becoming*. His happiness cannot be overshadowed. Here, unlike in the discussion of sexuality, Tana is in the 'expert' position. When up on the stage performing kapa haka, Tana's words showed he was very proud, and perhaps his worries about the content of 'health lessons' are momentarily forgotten, despite his big body being most exposed here (he told me during our interview that he wears nothing on his top half). Kari also may be less concerned about his breast size when performing kapa haka on stage because being on the stage, at one with kapa haka, brings positive feelings for the boys.

### **The School Stage and Other Spaces**

Tana performed kapa haka on the school stage. The stage is a key material element worth considering in this entanglement. The school stage is a complex, yet seemingly under-acknowledged player in the production of everyday secondary school entanglements. If I am to take the position that:

...thing-power gestures toward the strange ability of ordinary, man-made items to exceed their status as objects and to manifest traces of independence or aliveness, constituting the outside of our own experience...[then I can] look at how found objects...can become vibrant things with a certain effectivity of their own, a perhaps small but

irreducible degree of independence from the words, images, and feelings they provoke in us (Bennett, 2010, p. xiv)

We might ask: what is made possible when we think the stage as having thing-power? And, what does the stage do? (Bennett, 2010; Jackson & Mazzei, 2016; Taylor, 2013). Things make us just as we make them (Taylor, 2013). Taking up this position means that spaces and things in schools are transformed, and remade through processes that Taylor (2013) calls 'acts', and this research refers to as entanglements of "objects-bodies-spaces" (Taylor, 2013, p.690).

Entanglements can be moved through, with notice taken of how things beyond humans come to matter and produce meaning in school. I accept that "school building and architecture, which we usually take to be the fixed material backdrop of human agency, are themselves strong co-constitutive agents" (Taguchi & Palmer, 2013. p.672.) Hence more attention needs to be paid to the complex entanglement of the school environment, which goes beyond students and teachers.

The stage may do different things for different people. It may conjure up images of cold hard wooden floors, big cold open spaces and long heavy drooping curtains, school productions, school assemblies and prize giving ceremonies. However, the stage can also work to produce obvious oppressive power, like during the public spectacle of punishment that took place on the stage with 'Bo' during my time as a teacher (see Chapter One). The school stage made itself known at times throughout interviews and hui. Not to be dismissed as unimportant or inert, the school stage seems to function in complex ways with people, power, discourse and other things to produce meaning. It seems a mysterious place where the unexpected can happen, a place that can produce experiences of pleasure and pain.

Depending on who or what is on the stage, very different entanglements of meaning are produced. The stage can be a place where the equivalent to the public spectacle of an execution takes place (Foucault, 1977), like the staged spectacle of 'Bo' who was caught with marijuana at school. This was an example of the school exercising power through public punishment. It could have

appeared to most to be a mild form of punishment. However, it served as a political tactic in scaring and warning others to not break the rules (Foucault, 1977). As McKinley (2003) noted, “the power of normalisation is in getting the colonised to accept the coloniser’s culture as rational or ‘normal’” (p.38). I distinctly remember the chairs in the hall on the day of Bo’s apology: long wooden and metal framed, four students per chair. Then on the stage there were some quite different chairs. Padded, large, more executive-looking chairs. Bo was not on a chair; he was asked to stand in the middle of the bare, large stage. Seemingly mundane, these chairs, and lack of chairs, certainly said something about who mattered. A place for both punishment and reward, it perhaps functions not unlike panopticons (Foucault, 1977) where everyone can be seen at any point. Like the school stage, the building architecture of the school can function to keep the students ‘on edge’. For example, the principal at Kauri School encouraged our hui to take place in the very formal Boardroom. Peta calls attention to this when talking about the school whareniui:

Peta: Yea that’s just our little zone. I was just in there before like I didn’t even go to my class because I needed to catch up on other work and I was like ‘Whaea can I just sit here and do my work’. She’s got a class but she’s like ‘Yea yea sweet’ you know. And um I dunno, it’s just like our zone, feel comfortable in that room, cause it’s our bloody culture you know. And then we sit in rooms like this ((the formal Boardroom)) and it’s just like ‘What the fuck?’ you know. There is definitely racial stuff going on around this school but you get the good ones.

Peta describes the whareniui as a safe zone, a place where she feels comfortable, a place she can go to whenever she feels. Whaea (aunty, mother, and used to describe a woman Māori teacher) looks after her, letting her come in to the whareniui even if she has a class. This, I assume, would not happen in many other parts of the school or with other teachers. Ana too highlighted the importance of being at her Marae at the beginning of Hui One. She talked about how she had been away from school for two weeks and been at her Marae. It was home to her and was a place of “spiritual healing”. Contrary to this, Peta’s incredulity about school spaces (“What the fuck”) shows the contrast between the

welcoming physical space of the wharenuī and the Boardroom where we were sitting. Māori and those of Eurowestern descent have been found to have very contrasting views and relationships with places including, for example, the sea (Ormond, 2006, 2008).

Encouraging us to have our hui in the Boardroom may have been a tactical move on the part of the principal. Either way, the board room is likely to have led groups to produce statements that may have been very different if they had occurred in a different space. Some of the students were self-surveilling; they knew that could be seen, 'caught off guard' through the glass door, and were aware that the principal and other school leaders were merely a few metres away. They knew that this was the building where the power of discipline and punishment functioned most.

I now move to consider rangatahi discussion around the experience of being Māori in the institution of secondary school. This was an opportunity to highlight the complex, enduring and perhaps under-acknowledged experiences of 'racism', as some students called it, which became central to the discussion.

## The Good Māori Student: Experiences of Racism

During our individual interviews, I asked rangatahi how they felt about being Māori at school. I was interested in hearing what rangatahi had to say on this topic. Below is an excerpt taken from an individual interview. Of all the students, Joseph spoke the least, gave the shortest responses and appeared rather shy throughout our meetings.

Joseph: Mmmmm (1.0) just like every other student ((shrugs shoulders))  
Yea. Um. I don't know. Just like, (1.0) some teachers expect less of us like, like some teachers just I don't know they don't really care as much. I don't know

Jade: Thanks for sharing. What makes you think that?

Joseph: I dunno um. (2.0) Yea I don't know. I've experienced it sometimes. Yea like yesterday. Well it wasn't really a put down but like one of the teachers just like (2.0). Like cause I was just in the music room just jamming out and teacher just comes in and says in a weird tone 'oh have you got your 80 credits yet' and I was just like 'yip'. I think she expected that I didn't have any, or all of them.

Jade: I see what you're saying

Joseph: Yea pretty much. So that was in the middle of class

To begin, Joseph may be defensive because he responds with such a short answer ("just like every other student"). However, in the rest of the excerpt Joseph seems to demonstrate quite the opposite. Perhaps with this short answer, Joseph was telling me instead how he feels Māori should be treated. After his initial comment, Joseph wanted to say more. He alludes to the idea that being Māori means that some teachers put in less effort (do not "care as much"). Joseph says that he has experienced such a lack of care. To support this claim, he provides an example that took place the previous day, and in choosing such a recent example, I sensed he was trying to tell me that things like this happen all the time. The teacher had asked Joseph if he had enough credits yet to pass the year and had said this in the middle of the class full of other students. Joseph alluded to the fact that he was singled out, and that the teacher expected that as far as credits went, he was lacking. This comment could pass as nothing more than a quick check. However, Joseph troubles this, and seems to view it as a subtle and gentler form of discipline, which perhaps only 'some can hear'. Peta's more lengthy response to the same question of 'how do you feel being a Māori student at school?' follows:

Peta: Being a Māori student at school, we kind of feel like aliens in our own kinda country, do ya know what I mean? Because like, oh, I feel like we get looked at like, everyone's real stereotypical you know and they think Māori are underachievers, they just drop out of school and all this, but I like to like, prove them wrong you know what I mean I'm just like

'shove it up your arse' 'just cause I'm Māori doesn't mean I'm gunna underachieve'. Yea like we are the same as every other race at this school but, I dunno. It's just cause stats show that most people in new Zealand that underachieve are Māori people, but it's cause we've been taught the white way. I don't want to sound racist or nothing but I'm serious, we get taught the white way so obviously we're gunna underachieve if we don't know what we're doing cause we're Māori you know (2.0). But from like, cause I'm not a trouble person, because I know it will just make school harder when you get in trouble cause, trust me in year 9 I was a little shit and then I always found it so much harder to gain trust back from like the teachers. Cause like one mistake and they look at you like 'oh yea, you're that girl that swore at bla, bla, you're that girl that did this, that' and then I felt like I felt even more pressure, let alone being a Māori, because even though I'm a good student I get all these like good awards and shit, I go to class and still get looked at like 'oh you're trouble' and I'm like ...(4.0).

Jade: Yea?

Like Joseph, but in a more assertive manner and with more frustration ("shove it up your arse"), Peta also highlights the presence of the discourse of underachievement that she feels functions for Māori in Kauri School. Peta makes a link to the use of negative statistics that oppress Māori. Peta herself is a 'high achieving' student. She told me she had passed Year 12 with great results. But Peta seems to allude to the idea that although she gets "all these like good awards and shit" this does not provide her with 'immunity', as she is still Māori. Peta asserts that being Māori means being treated differently with an expectation of "trouble". Her words demonstrate the unjust power relations, which she sees to be functioning in the school. The excerpt below follows on from the last:

Peta: Yip teachers. Racism. Well like yea I notice like me and my friends we're a group of Māori people. Māori people just click you know. So we all sit around the same table in class and then there's like the whites. Lol it's like segregation. I swear. Even though we do mix and mingle with the whites. I have this shit as maths teacher, he goes like, cause you know how the teachers walk around and check your on task and doing your work and stuff? He walks to the whites and never comes over to us. Not that we want him to because we don't like him, but like I mean like "come over here too, we're here too" you know what I mean. We put our hands up when we've got an answer, he doesn't bother. I know it pisses me off so much. They're on their phones and then they don't get told to get off, if we're on our phones "get off the phone" take it off us. I'm like "Who the fuck?" "Look they're on their phones". I answer back, I shouldn't, but I do. I'm like "When she gets off her phone, I'll get off mine". Yea and he's like "Just do it now" and I'm like "Tell her" cause he won't. And I remember one time this really pissed me off, it was in year 9 and what happened was when the bell rings you have like a five minute period to get to your classes and the on the second bell you should be there. And I got like to my class in between the five minute period and then my teacher was like "Get out you're late" and I was like 'What the fuck?', I'm on time because that other bell hasn't gone off' so anyways I sat outside in the fucking rain cause he told me to get out and then these two girls just walk on in they don't even have notes and he's just like "Oh here have a seat girls" and they were white. Then the bell rang. God did I want to punch him over. What the fuck. Well he told me to go to the office but I didn't I just walked off, I went... I was like...I'm not going to the office cause I'm late, because I wasn't and wasn't cheeky, I just walked in like a normal day and was like 'sweet science', it was in science.

Peta shared these experiences of injustice with me where in both situations, Peta described being blatantly oppressed and humiliated as a result of being treated differently to the "whites". I felt a strong sense of resistance in her words as she

recalled the two experiences. In contrast she also appeared calm, aware and knowing. She was able to so explicitly share and describe these situations, and this demonstrated Peta's likely awareness of the complexity of the entanglement. Peta alludes to the idea that there is no use being only angry or getting into "trouble" all the time.

Peta said that she likes maths and science. Peta was keen to enter her science lesson on the particular day mentioned, as she said she walked in and thought "sweet, science". Further, despite having issues with her maths teacher, she still put her hand up to contribute to the maths lesson, although she reported seldom being offered a chance to do so. So although Peta told me that her Maths teacher continuously attempted to position her as less knowledgeable than her Pākehā counterparts, Peta was neither silenced nor accepting of an expectation to take this position. Later in the conversation, she made a comment that showed her nous in the situation.

Peta: But I suppose you've got to play their game to win it [referring to those with power in the school] Know what I mean? That's why I just think "Fuck I'll just put up with it". Because at the end of the day it's what they say that goes. So yea.

"You've got to play their game and win it" seemed to be what Peta is doing in her experiences of schooling. Despite drawbacks and ingrained institutional racism which she speaks of, Peta takes the position of resistance ("Fuck I'll just put up with it"), and it is likely that this is connected with her desire to 'pass school'. Peta said she did all the "normal subjects so I can do cool stuff after school". Peta was alluding to the 'core' subjects like maths, science and English, which are considered to be most important and are often requirements for entry into tertiary education.

I think again of the mokoroa. In general, rangatahi, like the mokoroa, know they need the school or the kahikatea to 'do well'. The grubs' home is the forest, and whether they are fond of the kahikatea or not, it forms an important part of the grubs' existence. Schools, like the kahikatea forest, stand tall, are admired; their

value is respected and protected. Below the ground, a complex root system functions to sustain the life of the tree and each of its limbs. A root system like the web of discursive practices at work in the web of the school, continues to shape students. These webs, like the kahikatea roots, are often so entrenched they cannot be easily seen. Perhaps the complex root system below the surface can be likened to Like Foucault's subheading 'The gentle way in punishment' (Foucault, 1995). Like the prisoners in Foucault's work, perhaps rangatahi are 'gently' punished today in political operations manifested by power. It seems rangatahi are aware of this. For example, the experience Joseph shared about his music teacher earlier in the chapter demonstrated that his teacher may have calmly punished Joseph by questioning his academic ability because Joseph was Māori.

A link to the historical development of the punitive system is necessary, and similarities in this work and the historical conditions that led to the positions of Māori in Aotearoa today can be drawn from Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. Here, Foucault describes how over time, institutions such as schools took the place of the executioner. Punishment was no longer achieved through the torture of the physical body but is perhaps more subdued and directed to life, not the body (Foucault, 1995). Two centuries ago the disturbing public spectacles of the condemned being drawn and quartered were everyday occurrences. All could witness the accused criminal's cries for mercy and shrieks of pain as his/her life was gruesomely taken for the crime they had committed. Over the past 200 years the penal system has become less cruel and less painful, with a focus more on rehabilitation and respect. The reduction in brutal severity, however, does not automatically lead to more 'kindness', as Foucault explored in his analysis of the change of objectives in punishment (Foucault, 1995). Punishment is now much deeper, less visible, and operates through constant surveillance. We are under surveillance by others, and we perform self-surveillance. Punitive practices of punishing the body ceased, but a new group of technicians took over from the executioner: doctors, warders, psychologists, psychiatrists and educationalists (Foucault, 1995).

The experiences of Peta and Joseph (and other students shared similar experiences) are supported by a newly released report (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2018), which highlights the issues that young Māori students are experiencing with regard to racism at school. This report has received media and government attention. In the report, students spoke of experiences of racism, and an example even included a principal presenting a graph with statistics showing how Māori are failing (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2018). In an evaluation of te kotahitanga it was noted that "In a few schools, there were still perceptions among Māori students that a 'double standard' existed whereby Māori students were singled out and disciplined for behaviour that was typically ignored for students from other cultural groups" (Meyer & Ministry of Education, 2010, p.3). The interviews reported above, along with this report, provide further evidence that the racism these students have reported experiencing is really happening.

There were occasions where rangatahi made me aware of their awareness of the dualism of Māori /non-Māori, and at times they chose to highlight issues of oppression and normalisation in a more positive and productive light; for example in Ana's words in the previous chapter. Perhaps, despite oppressive experiences, rangatahi aspire to move away from the colonised position, to a more positive and empowered way of being, which supports the notion proposed by Hokowhitu (2014b):

rather than focusing on the detrimental effects of diluting essentialised Indigenous culture versus the violence that occurs as Indigenous cultures are produced to be "authentic," the key is to concentrate on the choice and responsibility of Indigenous communities to represent themselves as they see fit, flanked by processes of critical self-reflexivity (p.221).

The last part of Hokowhitu's statement is particularly important. Rangatahi are choosing how they represent their worlds and are actively moving in entanglements of both opportunity and oppression. They are aware of discourses that circulate to oppress them yet often are taking a positive approach to moving forward as opposed to ways that lead to nothing productive.

Hence, this research is "inevitably a process of mutual entanglement in which the forces of colonisation are acknowledged in order to move forward" (Somerville, 2014, p. 405).

## Chapter Summary

This chapter explored entanglements suggested by important experiences shared by participants. Various 'hot spots' (Taylor, 2013) came to the forefront of the analysis, which moved in an organic way, focusing on the wider, complex material-discursive web of 'the healthy Māori body' and the 'good Māori student'. The chapter honed in on smaller, perhaps often overlooked parts of the web. Considering Tana's and Kari's experiences, their bodies, and other social entities including, Te Whare Tapa Whā, kapa haka and the school stage, highlighted the complexity of the position of 'big Māori males', where normal bodies are unlike those of Kari and Tana, and instead are thin, active bodies (Fitzpatrick, 2010). Discourses functioning in the health and physical education classroom normalise boys' bodies in particular as sporty and fit (Gerdin & Larsson, 2018), and being big has been linked with oppressive discourses related to laziness and lack of self-control (Colls, 2006).

Disparities between Māori and Pākehā operate across all facets of living and Māori are made responsible for these (Barnes, 2010; Green, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2014a; McBreen, 2012; Waetford, 2008; Young, 2002). However, rangatahi in this study troubled the deeply rooted entanglements of racism, and hope can perhaps be found in the way that rangatahi thought about and responded within these oppressive entanglements. While there are temporary periods where one group dominates another, power is not a possession and is much more than repressive (Foucault, 1977, 1983). Although there were moments revealed in rangatahi's experiences where power had repressed them for a time, the students should not be thought of as only oppressed in the hierarchal institution of the school. Māori students in a high school may have power inflicted upon them at times. However, the positive ways that students responded to particular moments when power could be seen to be working to oppress them are most

important in this analysis, suggesting refreshing and exciting possibilities for producing change.

In concluding this chapter, I come back to the analogy of rangatahi as mokoroa. The mokoroa lives in a complex entanglement where sometimes the grub tunnels down the same path or enters a tunnel close by. This is because the mokoroa is encouraged by the powers of the kahikatea and the forest beyond to become highly efficient at performing this narrow task of re-tunnelling old paths. This does not easily threaten the kahikatea's position. However the mokoroa is not always oppressed; the mokoroa challenges this dominant position and often seeks to go well off track, recognising that new paths need to continue to be chewed, thus defying normalisation. The next chapter deepens the focus on matters that may appear mundane, as well paying attention to parts of the body that unexpectedly became central to the research entanglements.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Moving Through Entanglements (iii)

# Matter that came to Matter in Rangatahi Entanglements

This chapter presents a material-discursive exploration, which moves in unprescribed directions to describe issues that came to matter in rangatahi entanglements. In particular, the analysis is taken up through the materialities of things that have rarely been recognised in sexuality education research and sexuality research in schools: hickies, hair and skin, and clothing. These specific matter emerged, becoming important in different ways during the research. Rangatahi experiences with these are discussed; however, in this chapter, the things themselves are privileged and explored, with a less direct focus on rangatahi in places. This decentres the human and privileges all that is not human as active in entanglements of *becoming* (Barad, 2007; Bennett, 2010). To begin, I present an excerpt taken from Hui One at Kauri School with Kari, Ana and Holly.

Holly is Hapu

During the photo activity, I drew the students' attention to a photograph of a young Pākehā girl who was pregnant (See Appendices). Her body was positioned in what could be described as a proud, confident, and/or seductive pose, with

one hand behind her head and a crop-top that showed her pregnant stomach. This photo had been chosen to facilitate discussion with rangatahi about dominant constructions of sexuality involving gender, young people and relationships. My opening questions were quite general in order to encourage students to respond as freely as possible.

Jade: Can we talk more about this picture?

Kari: The pregnant?

Holly: Yea go Kari!

Kari: You're the one that's pregnant ((all students laugh))

Jade: Are you? Are you? (2.0) Talk about that if you would like! ((more laughing from rangatahi))

Holly: Yea. I don't wanna talk about it's weird talking about it ((giggles))

Ana: We don't know much about it. Go on talk about it!

Holly: I don't know either its first time stuff

The excerpt presents the moment when something beautiful came to the forefront of our hui at Green School; Holly was hapu (pregnant). When Holly quickly said "yea go Kari!" it seemed she wanted Kari to tell me something. Ana also encouraged Holly to "talk about it". They all smiled and laughed while talking about Holly and her pēpi (baby). My words "Are you? Are you?" express the awe and warming sensation I had instantly felt. In response to Kari's words acknowledging the pregnancy, Holly quickly commented that talking about being pregnant was not something she wanted to do and it was "weird", although she smiled in a joyful way while saying this. She could have said it was weird for a number of reasons: this was our first hui, and we sat half a metre apart in an unheated, cold classroom, around a pale hexagonal table. A surveilling smartphone was positioned in the middle to record our proceedings, along with a selection of bakery food, as the sharing of kai is important in tikanga Māori (see Chapter Three for my ethics experience and kai). Seven photographs of people printed on A4 paper were scattered around the table, and students were given

the task of discussing the content of the pictures. The task of participating in the activity I had planned was quickly overshadowed and seemed unimportant, as attention was drawn to the body of Holly.

Perhaps Holly used the word "weird" not because she felt uncomfortable, but because the whole experience was weird, strange, perhaps mysterious. Weirdness may have included the change in the body, the stomach stretching, breasts swelling, the hoodie getting tighter, the sickness each morning, coming to school, and the new and different interactions with people due to being hapu. Pregnancy was a weird becoming, maybe, not something that was merely washing over her. Holly was in this process of creative movement, growth and change (Young, 1990). The conversation continued:

Kari: I do definitely not know ((all laugh)) ((Kari pulls his polo-shirt down over his large stomach to cover the small strip of skin that was exposed below the shirt and above his shorts. He then looks down at his stomach for a moment))

Holly: Yea it's just like different. Everyone looks at you differently and like (2.0)

Kari: Thanks you a hoe. Sorry ((looks at me, smiling, giggling))

Holly: No!

Kari: That's how some people might get it

Ana: Oh yea probably

Holly: And when it like comes to sport and stuff everyone is like always on your case like don't run too much and don't do this or that. People show they care a lot more. But yea it's just weird when people look at you differently. I'm only sixteen weeks.

Kari: Here eat this one, it's got no egg ((puts a sandwich in front of Holly. She smiles and picks it up))

Jade: Do you want to talk more about that? ((all rangatahi laugh))

Holly: I like don't even know

Jade: Yea I don't know either ((we all laugh))

Holly and the others, at several points in the conversation, made reference to the idea that this was all a new experience, and in Holly's words "it's first time stuff". They did not know about pregnancy. None of us did. We all laughed. I recall feeling a nervousness, since I am a woman at the expected age of motherhood, but I have no children. Are they pleased that they did not know, as they appreciated the mystery, because being Māori means appreciating the unknown of the world and beyond?

Once again, as in Chapter Seven, when Kari draws attention to his own large puku (stomach) in the context of pregnancy, he ruptures the culture of normative 'boy' practices, troubling the dualism of masculine and feminine bodies (Renold & Ringrose, 2017). Perhaps, Kari is aware that his puku looked more hapu than Holly's, so experiencing some social embarrassment, he had no option but to draw attention to it; he then also pulled his shirt down to hide it. Maybe at that moment he felt that his 'strict diet' was not working. Perhaps it was a way of showing support for Holly. Or it could have been something more complex; maybe he wished that he could experience what Holly was experiencing, and his puku therefore came to the forefront of the entanglement. Perhaps a strange sensation came from his stomach in that moment. It is certainly interesting that Kari drew attention to his bodily parts, which are usually only associated with normative notions of being a 'woman'.

As a young pregnant Māori woman, Holly is caught up in competing discourses. Negative discourses of teen pregnancy and the junctures between girl/woman, teenage/maternal and innocent/sexual come to bear (Clarke, 2014). With these come notions of being a slut, a dropout, a typical Māori girl, futureless, a bad student, which all contribute to the pathologising discourse of the 'tail of underachievement'. This description arose in the 1990s, and highlighted that up

to twenty percent of students were failing in Aotearoa education institutions, hence the 'tail' (ERO, 2003; Simpson & Grudnoff, 2013). This 'tail' was based on a regime of testing and involved the results of mostly Māori and Pasifika students, who largely represented the 'tail of underachievement' (Cooper, 2012). Holly's hapu puku is not easily missed. When Kari made the comment "thinks you a hoe", I sensed that Kari was deliberately demonstrating to me that the group were aware of these types of negative discourses. So he troubled them using humour. He may also have wanted to show me that they were not oblivious to negative things that may be thought about Holly being hapu by others.

Māori teen pregnancy has long been negatively framed and described in research (Rawiri, 2007). The importance of women in sustaining whakapapa, and the symbolic power of women as the bearers of future generations, were quickly trampled by colonisers (Pere, 1982). As stated in Chapter One, the prudish, colonising eye led to the mutilation of Māori carvings which depicted positively diverse sexuality (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007). I never asked Holly how teachers at school treated her pregnancy. Maybe Holly was sometimes in a similar predicament with the colonising eye, where disapproving teachers and adults might 'ignore' Holly's pregnant young body, caught in a place that indicates it is sexually active and is also nurturing new life. This may present difficulties for the prudish eye, as being a young, hapu wahine student, who must also be/have been sexually active, likely contradicts notions of what makes a good mother.

A researcher from a more 'neutral' scientific position might focus on a detailed enquiry into Holly's experience with being pregnant as the most 'worthy' and poignant aspect of this interview, given the prevalence and over-representation of research on the topic of teenage mothers (Pillow, 2004), and perhaps also because indigenous people are subject to control and marginalisation in the area of reproduction (Green; 2011; Le Grice & Braun, 2016; Pillow, 2004). Pillow's words (2004) demonstrate these entrenched racial differences:

...several works point to the construction of white unwed motherhood in the early 1900s as a psychological problem and thus treatable, while

black women's illegitimate pregnancies were viewed as a morality problem innate to their race, and thus untreatable. (p. 20).

Although sexuality education, which is part of what we were meeting to discuss, represents teen pregnancy as a pressing problem to be prevented (Clarke, 2014), Holly wanted to talk about her pregnancy; she seemed proud at our hui. She did not seem to regard her pregnancy as wrong or shameful. As soon as the photograph of the girl who was pregnant was presented, she said "yea go Kari!" encouraging Kari to reveal that she was pregnant. She wanted it to be shared with me; she laughed with the others, and later when the topic changed, she made reference to being hapu. There was this life, this thing with mauri inside the body of Holly, under her hoodie, which they all felt connected to. So despite the huge weight that Holly would be expected to carry, in the little time that I shared with Holly she seemed to resist these damaging discourses and instead described herself in ways that demonstrated a proud, fit and strong young mother, with some uncertainty and nervousness.

As a Māori researcher committed to empowering research in the indigenous setting, I did not want to analyse Holly's experience as symptomatic of deficit social statistics around Māori teen pregnancy. My analysis does not position Holly's pregnancy as the most important aspect to discuss in this chapter; most of this chapter explores other entanglements. There was something else about Holly's body that stood out more than her puku: a small bruise or 'lovebite' on her neck.

## Hickies

I am drawn to the moment in the excerpt above when I noticed the bright, fresh-looking hickey on Holly's neck. I recall clawing my throat, which sent a shiver

down my spine, imagining the discomfort. Pain, pleasure, a sign of love and being loved? Throughout the rest of the hui, the large purple, burst blood vessels under Holly's skin were ever-present. Several weeks later, Holly and I had our individual interview. At that time another fresh bold hickey sat on her neck. Towards the end of the interview I decided to ask Holly about it, as I sensed Holly was quite comfortable with me by this stage:

Jade: What about that? ((I tap my throat and laugh casually, trying to ensure I do not come across as interrogating))

Holly: Lol yes I know it's ugly eh. Far out. Yes, I woke up and cried when I saw it. I didn't even know ((smiles while talking, her cheeks blush, and she seems happy))

When Holly says she cried when she saw it, I do not sense that she would have been sad and upset, but more surprised as she "didn't even know" it was there. Perhaps she did know it was there but a bit of shyness leads her to say this to me? Or maybe Holly forgot it was made during some sort of intimate sexual encounter. It could be that, for Holly, the hickey serves as a marker of Holly and her partner's attempt to demonstrate being in a stable relationship that is full of love, and can be seen on the body. Thus, they are ready to bring a baby into the world. Or perhaps, Holly chose to wear her hickey as a badge, a trophy, a type of bodily accessory. Maybe it was a gift of love, a way of her body showing it is loved.

Could the hickey be an attempt to resist dominant discourse by showing that 'Yes, I was sexually active and I still am. So what!' Holly may be challenging the notion that pregnant bodies shall pretend they have not had sex, as sexual desire is something that Holly is comfortable with (Allen, 2003). However they emerge, hickies are materially and discursively complex. They take effort to make, and they can produce and do different things depending on how they come to be. Some specific focus on hickies follows, as new materialist analysis encourages me

to consider the material-discursive entanglements of the hickey beyond normative discussions.

'Hickey' is a term used for a bruising, stain-like mark which is usually the result of some form of skin-to-skin sexual encounter: "A hickey, or love bite in British English, is a bruise or bruise-like mark caused by the kissing or sucking of the skin, usually on the neck or arm. While biting might be part of giving a hickey, sucking is sufficient to burst small superficial blood vessels under the skin" (Hickey, 2017). Other terms that describe the marked flesh that can occur on the neck or other usually sensitive regions of the body include monkey bite, kiss mark and love mark (Kantha, 2016). When considering the context of Aotearoa secondary schools and young people, 'hickey' seems to be the most commonly used term; it is one that resonates with me also.

Brief attention to the word over time could be useful here, as it seems that the hickey has not long been an easily specified entity. According to the Online Etymology Dictionary (2017), in 1909 the definition of the word hickey was "any small gadget". Later, in 1915, hickey may have meant: "pimple, skin lesion" and then the definition of "love bite; mark on skin made by biting or sucking during foreplay or sex," is dated 1934. It is noted that hickey is an extension of the earlier meaning: "small gadget, device; any unspecified object". The evolution of the word/s hickey/hickie, and the notion that it may mean something about an unspecified object, highlights perhaps the lack of importance that hickies as material discursive matterings continue to receive. My own reflections on hickies follow.

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*It has been many years since I have had a hickey, perhaps fifteen years. As I think back, I remember the complexities that came with having a hickey. I remember wearing them as sure signs of positive commitment and belonging in a relationship. But they could also somehow signal uncertainty, and disrespect, or a lack of self-care. The wearer could use a hickey to demonstrate that he/she was cared about, by someone else, to everyone else.*

*I remember my friends and other acquaintances, usually young women, attempting to hide them with makeup or a scarf, but at the same time, encouraging the hickey to reveal itself from time to time. It was as though these girls were caught somewhere between being proud and being ashamed. At school, we learnt that material markers of intimate relationships were things that should not be visible in a physical form, especially in the physical space of the school.*

*However, the more I strain to think back to my own intra-actions with hickies, the more I recall that they did not act in predominantly negative ways, and it is most likely the complex discourses around what it means to be a good versus bad teacher and a good versus bad student that have led to my taken-for-granted mostly negative association with the purple mark. As a former teacher myself, we learned (without being taught) that a hickey served as some sort of warning sign of a young person who might be 'at risk'. Seeing one meant that warning bells should ring for teachers. The wearer of the hickey became a young person likely to be involved in unsafe sexual behaviours.*

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My reflection shows that a hickey on a young person carries complex and contradictory meanings. For example, when it becomes visible on a young person, the hickey might indicate that the wearer is having sexual experiences well beyond their 'normative developmental stage'. The advice that Mahia's health and physical education gave the class (see Chapter Six) certainly attests to this 'non-sexual' student discourse, where Mahia was advised to 'stay young for as long as possible'. Schools seem to rely heavily on expected stages of development and the correct and normal steps of becoming a good citizen. These complex stages are ingrained in our social fabric; they are common sense. As Claiborne (2010) states "the notion that we all 'develop' is such a ubiquitous assumption in the lives of euro-western peoples that it is difficult to de-naturalize it" (p. 286).

In a search of the literature, there appears to be little work on hickies. However, one article struck me as I searched. The article on love bites is dominated by an unacknowledged discourse of danger. In the article, Kantha (2016) aims to inform the reader of the medical trauma caused by what he has classified as four types of 'love bites' or 'monkey bites'. In his article, in a few words, love bites are conservatively described as 'acceptable' bites, but love bites sit close on the A4 pages of the journal article to explicit cases of sex offending and psychiatric self-biting which thus require serious attention. Love bites range in the levels of trauma created and include suction, suction and biting, abusive biting and love bites that are self-inflicted in solo pathological acts. According to Kantha (2016), if unattended, serious cases can lead to permanent damage of skin and soft tissue, abscesses and disease transmission. A dualism is posted between what may be an acceptable love bite and what is pathological.

The article creates a rather disturbing feeling connected with 'love bites', and although the four types are clearly categorised and discussed, the overall impression is that all love bites are unhealthy. Not surprisingly, Kantha (2016) comments that love bites are of interest to disciplines such as forensic science, criminology, sexuality, dentistry, infectious diseases, pathology, plastic surgery and emergency medicine. In a similar vein, hickies could be considered a complex case of sex and violence according to Jones and Hearn (2008), who argue that hickies complicate the body/mind binary as they shift back and forth "from force upon the skin to force within the body, from sexual to violent, from internal memory to external sign" (Jones & Hearn, 2008, p.65). Further Jones and Hearn (2008) argue that consent is usually assumed and pleasure implied. There can be pride, embarrassment, or both, in the mark depending on the audience.

Far removed from a pathological view of self-inflicted pain, we could move to consider blood and self-inflicted pain as a sign and act of mourning, from a Māori perspective (Pere, 1982). In earlier years, grief could be expressed at a tangi through the release of tears, mucus, or from blood through self-inflicted lacerations. This was a time where emotions were said to be free and open

(Pere, 1982). Pere (1982) makes it clear that this applied to both men and women. Colonisation has no doubt led to more 'sanitised' ways of behaving at tangi, where the body is restricted from mourning in an 'uncontrolled' manner. Irwin gives an explanation of rituals surrounding death.

In earlier years those arriving at a tangihanga would perform haehae (lacerate) on the face and chest with a pipi (mollusc) shell until the blood ran. This was utu for the death ... Today these dramatic gestures have been abandoned and mourners pay utu in three main ways: (a) by weeping and wailing, (b) by oratory and (c) by the exudings of the nose and mouth. These are considered appropriate forms of utu for the loss by death of a member of the tribe (Irwin, cited in August, 2004, p.56).

As stated earlier, taking things other than humans seriously is taken for granted in Māori ethico-onto-epistemology and is a spiritual matter. This is different from the new materialist viewpoint of things mattering, as Māori believe that, because they have mauri, things act and have effects independent of humans (Jones & Hoskins, 2016; Kotze, Crocket & Waititi, 2016). Putting these differences aside, and instead appreciating that things matter, means seeing non-human matter within the school not as commodities or artefacts, but, as Taylor (2013) suggests, as things that act in each entanglement they come to be in. This means that things, including the hickey, are active in the process of sexual identities.

The physical presence of the hickey is perhaps refreshing if we consider technology, social media, young people and their intra-actions (see Chapter Six). The hickey persists, unlike a fantasy image or a text that can be altered or deleted at the touch of a mouse (Alapack, 2007). If we take the position that: "nowadays, erotic behaviour in cyberspace is customary" and that "technosexuality blurs the border between live 'wired' and 'live' eroticism" (Alapack, Blichfeldt, & Elden, 2005), then one way to consider hickies is that they are part of a deliberate attempt at 'live' love as opposed to

'wired'. Should we be worried more about what is represented by the mark of the hickey or the types of sexual encounters experienced through glass screens? It may be that in a time where rangatahi in this study have indicated that discourses of danger are still the main characteristics of the sexuality education programmes they receive, perhaps the hickey is a mark of not going 'all the way', a frustrating attempt to avoid coitus and resist temptation?

Hickies are key in vampire discourse, especially given the ever-increasing number of vampire stories in circulation today; the most recent example being the hype surrounding the Twilight trilogy (Godfrey & Hardwicke et al., 2008). Humans have a fascination with the mythical, supernatural vampire. Imaginary they may be, in that we may never come face to face with a vampire. However, they may be part of our *becoming* all the same, and some young people are fascinated by all that is entailed with vampires. According to Day (2002) many have experienced that, "if you put on evening clothes, a cape, and rubber fangs everyone will recognize you; they'll compliment you on how elegant, sexy, mysterious, and scary you are" (Day, 2002, p.1). Vampires raise cautionary stories of sexuality:

The vampire story was a minor version of the myth of the "dark side," a cautionary tale about the dangers of sex... they were also about sex as Original Sin, and the surrender to desire as the loss of one's soul. (Day, 2002, p.3)

Day (2002) makes the further point that:

Vampire stories are also tales of sexual sensationalism, the bite that is the kiss, pain that is pleasure, death that is love (p.5).

Perhaps, like the vampire, the hickey evokes a sense of mystery and tales of sexual sensationalism. It raises questions: how did it get there and from whom? The hickey is mysterious. It appears in its truest form and then slowly leaves the skin. Interestingly, 'Love Bite' is a lipstick shade newly released by American reality TV star, Kylie Jenner (Bustle, 2017). A photograph of Jenner featured on the cover of Ana's school book, and Jenner is no doubt followed by

many other young people in Aotearoa. It is interesting that in this advertisement, although I understand it has seductive aims, a sense of uncertainty and mystery surrounding hickies is at the forefront. With its media release, deliberate links to notions of vampires and hickies are made. Jenner, whose late father was Armenian, features herself and three other women, two darker skinned and one lighter skinned, all wearing the Love Bite lipstick in a provocative photograph. The photograph is used to demonstrate that Love Bite suits a variety of skin tones. The Love Bite lipstick description reads:

[L]ove Bite stands out, since it's such a hard-to-describe shade. It's purple and it's dark, but it's not gothy, like the 'deep purple Kourt K Lip Kit'... It's semi-vampy, but not full on. If you want to ease into rocking vampy lips this fall, well, Love Bite is the shade with which you can test the waters. Plus, the name is super cool, too (Sciarretto, 2017, pp. 2-3).

The caption describes the colour as looking 'vampirish' on light skin tones, and not surprisingly, lush and 'exotic' on darker skin. But perhaps the photograph does other things too; it certainly depicts Jenner herself as dark, but not too dark, as the other two girls selected are much darker than she is. Like the lipstick, hickies present themselves differently on dark and fair skin. We can think of the contrast of dark skin versus light skin and the differences with regard to potential skin damage. People of darker skin have been shown to be more naturally protected from sun damage due to pigmentation and reaction of the skin to sun (Elwood, Gallagher, Hill, Spinelli, Pearson & Threlfall, 1984). A stereotypical view of this finding could be linked to racist discourses that suggest that indigenous people are tougher, more animal-like and unrefined. Grosz (1994) describes scarring from damaged tissue as a modification of the body which, among other things, constitutes the body as erotic. Further, scarring is often more prominent on darker skinned bodies, as darker skin is more prone to severe skin scarring (Bayat, McGrouther, & Ferguson, 2003). A hickey is likely to be much more visible when left on fair skin; because of the reduced colour contrast, presumably one would have to suck/bite harder to produce a hickey on darker skin. This could link readily with colonising discourses around Māori as more feral or animal-like

versions of human beings. As L. Smith suggested, it is as though Māori are a “species of sub-human animal life” (L. Smith, 1999, p.9).

In the ancient Indian text Kama Sutra, among other things, practical suggestions for pleasurable heterosexual experiences are given. Body markings are positively described in the text. For example, ‘the half-moon’ is the curve of a fingernail impressed on the neck or breast (Lamairese, 2014). According to the manual, mutual love can be shown to each other in four forms: touch, penetration, friction and pressing.

If she is very excited, and if, in the excitement of passionate delight, she starts a kind of fight, where she seizes her lover by the hair, draws his head to her, kisses his lower lip; then, in her frenzy, she bites him all over his body, her eyes closed (Lamairese, 2014, p.68).

Hickies carry meanings for the person wearing them and it seems that these meanings shift depending on the contexts they come to be in. Grosz (1994) makes it clear that bodily markings bind people in different ways according to sex, class, race, culture, age and social positions and relations. For example, the meaning created by the hickey on Holly’s neck no doubt changes when, for example, she leaves her group of friends on the sports field and stops to talk to the deputy principal outside the library on her way back to the classroom. And what would it mean, for example, if it were the deputy principal who had the hickey on her neck? I have attempted to traverse questions such as these with the hickey, and have discovered that hickies should not be considered in solely positive or negative ways, but that they deserve attention, as they often become active participants in the sexuality of rangatahi and young people in general. The analysis moves now to focus on other matter that came to the forefront of entanglements: skin and hair.

### Skin and Hair and *Becoming* Māori

The statement below was made when I asked Mata, during our individual interview, how she felt about being Māori at school:

Mata: Um I'm really proud to be a Māori. Like I show it. Like cause I know that to some people I don't look Māori just cause of the colour. And some of my pronunciation with some of the Māori words I struggle with but, I always try and um yea, so like I just make sure I try everything. That's kinda one of the reasons why I left my old school.

At another point in the interview she returned to this topic.

Mata: I find it hard because I feel like I have to prove a point that I am Māori so I did pretty much everything that I could like, I joined kapa haka groups, I took Māori classes, um but it still didn't really seem like it was enough just cause of my appearance and everything ((points to her face for a second))

It seemed that Mata, in her first sentence, tells me what she thinks I would hope she would say: she is 'proud to be Māori'. I surmise that this is the language schools encourage. I sensed Mata was proud to be Māori, but her response soon became more complex as she shared that "just cause of the colour" people did not view her as Māori. Mata stated that her appearance meant that she has had to try and "prove" that she was Māori. Mata had very light brown hair, which she lightened further, olive skin and hazel-coloured eyes. In the excerpt above Mata pointed to her head, alluding to the idea that it is not 'Māori' in appearance. It seems that, for Mata, being or claiming to be Māori is not easy. So, as much as having a whakapapa and Māori blood makes her Māori, the realities of being Māori are much more complex.

I feel sadness when I re-read and reflect on the words Mata shared with me above. Perhaps this sadness is heightened as some of my own experiences are very similar to Mata's. With rather light-coloured hair and eyes, claiming to be Māori is never easy for me, and perhaps that is one reason why the entanglement of being and looking Māori though hair and skin became

important in this research. What I chose to focus on specifically in this section, which could have taken many paths, are the complex racial markers of skin and hair.

Mata took part in kapa haka to 'prove' she was Māori. However in Mata's words, "it still really didn't seem like it was enough". This is a complex matter that may have a way of feeding negatively into the entanglement for young people who find themselves in positions like Mata (see Chapter Seven). As discussed in Chapter Two, Mata may be part of the web of colonial power where Māori too have bought into the argument around the 'authentic Māori' and what counts as 'real Māori knowledge and culture' (Hokowhitu, 2009). In this context, skin and hair support the view that race is not merely a biological fiction. 'Race' matters and makes a real difference in how people live their lives, including the experiences they are likely to have and how they are treated by others. It means different things in different places (Hames-Garcia, 2008).

According to Bordo, "white people, even those who theorise with sophistication about 'cultural difference' and the perils of ethnocentrism, are often clueless when it comes to the concrete, practical ways in which 'race matters'" (Bordo, 2008, p.410). Bordo, who works in the areas of intersection of race, beauty, power and the body, offers the notion that it is one thing to be aware about these things, but another to experience them. In the context of Aotearoa, many Māori fit the bodily markers of being Māori. Other Māori do not. What happens if one fits somewhere in between, with a body not clearly brown or white?

One central belief around Māori notions of identity and subjectivity is that there is an essence that everyone and everything maintains, which has a simple, unproblematic existence. This is an important spiritual belief that I hold. But at the same time, I do not view things as stable and permanent, and my position of things as constantly in-process remains. Poststructuralist and new materialist positions propose that subjectivity is not stable, and is always *becoming*

in response to changing material and discursive situations and conditions. That is the view in this thesis, based on the theoretical framing (Chapter Three) which outlined that “identities here are inherently ‘unstable, differentiated, dispersed, and yet strangely coherent,’” (Kirby, 2002, Personal communication, cited in Barad, 2007, p. 184). This means that I take Hames-Garcia's (2008) position that racial identities can be productive and transformative and that we can benefit from exploring the material-discursive realities of race.

According to Moeke-Maxwell (2005) many bi/multi-racial Māori women today are estranged from whanau and landscapes of origin, have little contact with Māori culture, yet still claim a Māori identity as their primary identity. I draw on Moeke-Maxwell's words, with relation to Te Wheke (octopus), Rangimarie Pere's (1991) concept of Māori holistic wellbeing, which “proposes that sustenance is required for each tentacle/dimension if the organism is to attain waiora or total well-being” (Love, 2004, p.4). Although I have made it clear that I steer away from simple frameworks that represent some clear ‘wholesome’ form of what it means to be well for Māori, I appreciate in particular Moeke-Maxwell's (2005) attempt to make difference matter, to acknowledge that not all can be known and measured by humans, her move away from the 'authentic Māori ', and her example of a woman who, just like me, is Jewish and Māori. She proposes:

Now, imagine a Jewish cultural coloured Te Wheke overlays the red Māori Te Wheke which is lain over the blue bi/multi-racial Te Wheke. If the Jewish Te Wheke's culturally symbolic ways of knowing and being well/whole in the world are metaphysically represented as golden, what a beautiful and confusing merging of inside and outside will occur in the subject. How do flashes of fiery red tentacle tinged with a golden hue speak to a brilliant purple tentacle whose edge is dipped in an amber light fading into a colour unrecognisable to the human eye? Imagine a colour-culture that is an excess of all three, that defies description, is beyond

naming, and exists beyond an identifiable border (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 505)

She continues to explain:

This woman resists the pedagogical call to either a Māori, Pākehā or Other ethnicity, preferring to live with the complexities that her cultural and other differences (age, class, sexual orientation, occupation, family role) bring to bear. Her meaning is constructed through her difference... the bi/multi-racial subject's cultural boundaries merge and blur and come into focus time and time again, which enable the subject to maintain her unique cultural difference (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 505)

I resonate with the powerfully descriptive ideas of Moeke-Maxwell. I agree that *becoming* hybrid is complex. I have struggled. Perhaps my Māori, Eurowestern and Jewish ways of becoming are as Moeke-Maxwell (2005) states; both “beautiful and confusing” (p.505). Moeke-Maxwell (2005) highlights the dilemma of skin colour. One may be brown or white or somewhere in between. If the bi/multi-racial woman has brown skin, her racial corporeality signifies her as Māori and if she has white skin her de/raced skin tells that she is Pākehā. Skin and its colour of course, are entangled with discursive constructions regarding race that come to us through language (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). These positions, which are arguably the two options for a woman who is part Māori like Mata, me or Moeke-Maxwell, ignore the overlaps and the contradictions, and difference between being white or brown (Moeke-Maxwell, 2003). Here, the argument of authenticity comes to bear, and Moeke Maxwell (2003a) argues that in some instances there is no place for her in either world. Or as Simmonds (2011) puts it, she is “trapped in a space between worlds” (p. 11). For me, my olive skin, blue eyes and light brown hair colour maintain the hegemonic assumption that I am white, yet I also have the

ability to choose whether I bring my 'Māori-ness' into conversations. My looks allow me to perform a disassociation from Māori-ness (Butler, 1993).

Culture often lets difference in by exoticising it (Bordo, 2008). Featuring 'Māori maidens' on postcards in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century projected, among other things, images of fantasy, desire, eroticism, exoticism and allure. The Māori women chosen for the postcards were not chosen for their 'Māori-ness' but their conformity to European tastes in female representation. Women with lighter skin and finer features who still had the 'otherness' of dark long hair and native clothing were chosen for these scenes (McKinley, 2005). For the colonisers, the postcards were a suggestion of pleasurable ownership of Māori women and their land (Beets, 2000).

Mata clearly wanted to live and be recognised as a young Māori wahine. But she alluded to the problem that it is hard because of her 'colour'. In contrast to being the 'wrong' colour, Mata coloured her light brown hair lighter: it was quite blonde. This highlights the complex contradictions that Mata was caught up in. Darker hair is a normative marker for being 'Māori', but Mata seemed to be still competing with Eurowestern discourses of beauty that value being blonde as an ideal. Perhaps there is also a sense of social advantage with being a blonde student that Mata is aware of and this links to Aryan/Nazi standards of race, which among other measures, favoured light pigmentation of hair, eyes and skin (Boaz, 2012). My great grandmother Maria, who loved 'English fashion' was perhaps also looking for social advantage (See Chapter One).

Thinking about Mata's hair took me down a path of considering the huge role hair has played and continues to play in my own life. As Linda Smith states: "for some indigenous students one of the first issues to be confronted is their own identities as indigenous and their connected identities to other indigenous peers" (1999 p.136). I cannot think of Mata's hair in isolation from my own complex experiences, which had a real impact on my life during my secondary schooling years.

*As mentioned earlier, my Mum is Israeli and my siblings and I inherited her very curly hair. During my years at primary school I had long blonde curly hair, like Goldilocks, I suppose. However, once we began high school, my sister and I hated our very curly hair and, like unlucky others trying to fit the Eurowestern ideal of beauty, we would lather our hair in copious amounts of hair gel and usually tie it in a tight bun so that the curls were best disguised. We would dye it, too, much against our parents' wishes, but this seemed to deflect attention from our curls.*

*We longed to be like our friends who never used a drop of product and had straight, dry, silky hair. I always remember that there were good days, where the gel would dry and I would crack open the stiff clumps of hair that now looked quite straight. Then there were bad days where it would rain, or we would have swimming, or where my hair just didn't work, and I would feel pretty horrible and ugly, and the best thing to do was to keep it wet all day. I would go to the toilets and splash water on my head and try to flatten the curls.*

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To highlight the dilemma I faced, I can relate to Bordo's (2008) insight involving teaching white students, who take their advantageous position of having straight manageable hair for granted:

When my white students read... *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?* about the black woman student in the 60s –the first black woman accepted at her college-who was unable to fulfil the swimming requirement because to be in the swim class would mean to have to restraighten her hair several times a week, they are dumbstruck. The idea that concern about their hair would keep them out of the swimming pool is utterly foreign to them (p. 410).

I remember when a friend first showed us how to iron our hair with a clothing iron. Soon after, ceramic hair iron technology came about and that was a long awaited material solution for my sister and me, not merely a fun creative tool as

it was to girls who had what I thought was already beautiful hair. I now have hair that 'naturally' does what the dominant culture wants of it: the ceramic iron really impacted my *becoming*, however, hair straightening is also a practice that has worrying implications for racial identity (Bordo, 2008). Having 'good' hair and 'doing' hair has long been a prerequisite of being a normal girl. Eurowestern ideals of hair encourage us to have the best possible hair, a goal not developed by Māori. From a Māori perspective, the head is the most tapu part of a person (Pere, 1982). There are important tikanga practices around cutting hair that have been passed down through generations. Perhaps not all Māori today live by these important rituals, yet many are aware of them and hold respect for them all the same. For example, reasons for burying hair include returning body parts to Papatuanuku and personal safety, while cutting hair can show respect or mourning (see August, 2004)

Gender does not seem to discriminate when 'perfect grooming' is the topic. The boys too, expressed the importance of looking 'good' both in what was said and what could be seen. Harley and Kari, in particular, had perfectly groomed hair with waxy product visible, and would often touch their heads, pushing hairs that had escaped control back into place during our meetings. Kari wore large aviator-type sunglasses with pink mirrored lenses and would let the girls try them on. I noticed that Harley removed the hair from his legs and arms; small stubble was growing back on one occasion. These grooming habits and body styling techniques do not fit with dominant masculine discourses and, as discussed earlier, Kari does not fit the usual description of a heteronormative young man. But these personal grooming and body styling techniques do not compromise Harley's heterosexual status. I surmise that this is because the 'homo' idea in heteronormative discourse is undone or overwritten by masculine sporting material and discursive notions. Harley spends each break time doing exercise with his mates. So Harley's masculinity is not threatened, as his sportiness allows for personal grooming techniques on the body. Further, the space creates masculinity through exercise bars, hard iron and other gym equipment. Although schooling spaces and student bodies are associated with distinct heteronormative purposes, young people do unsettle these meanings through

their corporeal engagements in and with them (Allen, 2013a; 2013b; 2015a; 2015b).

## Clothing Matters

Clothing certainly became a 'hotspot' (Taylor, 2013) for the analysis due to its importance in my time spent with rangatahi. On some occasions clothes were directly spoken about as the topic of discussion, and, on other occasions, attention was demanded in different ways. Clothing was explicitly brought to the forefront during our 'stick figure activity'. In the activity, students were given two pieces of paper with large stick figures drawn on each and were asked to make one a 'girl student' and one a 'boy student'. Students decorated the bodies adding body parts, specific features, accessories and words to the pages, as well as narrating as they drew/wrote. I was interested in the conversation around dominant gender discourse and other insights into the complexities of being Māori in secondary school. Comments about clothing from the discussion during the activity with girls from Kauri School follow.

Mahia: Like a lot of people like to wear branded clothes. Damn, I wear like my hunting clothes and shit everywhere!

Peta: Ha ha same. I wear my pajamas like everywhere. Don't give in to the shit. I don't wear crop tops

Mata: But I wouldn't say people don't wear denim booty shorts anymore, the ones where you see your bum. They feel disgusting!

Peta: My parents raised me right. Like if I walked out of the house looking like that I'd get in mean trouble, like I'd probably have to stay home

Mata: I'd get a hiding

Peta: Yea I'd probably get a hiding ((all girls laugh))

A strong sense of confidence in 'being who we are' and 'being Māori' with regard to clothing' is expressed by the three students. This very obvious confidence that

the girls expressed is interesting, as if an un-troubling or normative approach to thinking about the student's words is taken, it may be assumed that the wahine are comfortable in their 'own skin' and do not care to 'dress up', hence a 'healthy' sense of self-worth is demonstrated. Another general feeling of the excerpt could also be interpreted as the girls actively resisting the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1990, 1993) of the normative woman who fits descriptions of being 'sexy'. The girls may be actively attempting to challenge the sexualising production of clothes through wearing "anything anywhere" including: track pants, jandals, pyjamas and other very casual clothing. But there are other issues that function in the excerpt, which will now be considered. I do not dispute any of these possibilities, but instead consider some 'other' things that this entanglement could present, other things that are perhaps just as important.

### **Hori Humble Māori Clothes**

The following interaction occurred later in the hui while still on the topic of clothing:

Mahia: Māori girls don't care what they look like and people will say 'oh look she's a hori' or 'he's a hori, he's wearing this', 'she's wearing that' But it's life. Like if we're wearing a hunting top or like hunting shorts or something like that, it's our way of life. You know we'll wear our hunting stuff to go hunting for food and everything like that. It's just how Māori are. You wear anything, anywhere.

Mata: You wear your jandals in the winter and summer

Peta: Yea we do dress up. Don't get us wrong but like, we don't go full out I guess

Mata: You feel over-dressed

Peta: Or when we would go to marae and stuff for certain occasions, if you're wearing something revealing you know you always get told off by your elders to put some clothes on an all that. So I think it kinda stuck with us. So whenever we go out, we don't go out to like show ourselves

off, cause we have a lot of respect for ourselves I guess. Māori girls are less fake, but we can dress up when we want to dress up.

The term 'hori' was directly drawn on by Mahia. "Oh look she's a hori" was one statement made by Mahia when giving an example of how non-Māori may react to the more casual type clothing that Māori wear. I posit that complex notions of being hori loom in the background of this entanglement. The 'hori Māori' may linger from colonial times and is linked to original notions of Māori being rugged, rough, savage and animal-like (Hokowhitu, 2003a, 2003b, 2009), thus requiring taming and training by colonisers. Colonisers of the Eurowest, unlike Māori, viewed humans as superior to animals, so I surmise that likening Māori to animals says something about being hori. In my own experiences I often hear hori being used to refer to something that has been executed in a rough manner or something that looks bad; for example, one may comment that a bumpy, pot holed road is 'hori'.

The wearer of clothing is produced in a mutual becoming with the clothes: the clothes make the Māori hori, and the Māori makes the clothes hori. For example, Just as formal suits say something about status, conformity, confidence, privilege and masculine elegance, among other things (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; Taylor, 2013), hunting clothes and pyjamas say and do things too. Clothing 'says' something, and those who encounter the clothed body 'say' something about that body and clothing (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Discourses can only manifest through context specific material agents; in this case, clothing (Ringrose & Rawlings, 2015). As well as the 'hori' Māori, other complex implications that different types of cloth or clothing may have in the entanglement of sexuality, education and rangatahi are raised in the excerpt below.

Mata: Well if a Māori girl was to come to school with her face caked, and like a crop top and a mini skirt, everyone will be like 'Woah what is she dressing up for?'. But if it was a Pākehā, they'd be like ' She looks nice' or 'That's cool, where did you get your skirt from?'

Peta: Well mufti days are always like a real pressuring type of day cause you know, everyone has to have the cool gears, you know. And it's cool, I love people who wear whatever they feel comfortable in cause it's like 'yea you own it' you know. But some like, a few girls I notice when it's mufti days they get the opportunity to show themselves off it you know what I mean like short skirts and crop tops and I'm just like 'Oh gross you're at school' you know what the hell. Do you want to get all of the teachers to look at you or something? It's so disrespectful. But you can sorta tell the type of people that are like that. You know some people come in their bloody trackpants and stuff and you're like 'Oh yip they're kick back' you know you just can sort of judge by their clothing

The students' discussions of clothing appear to draw on notions of the 'humble Māori'. Māori have long agreed that: "humbleness is a very highly valued trait in the Māori world. Many of our great leaders are very humble people, hence part of their greatness" (Māori.org.nz, 2018). This I do not call into question and there are many powerful legends where Māori have possessed this called 'attribute'.

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*At a hui I recently attended I recall a well-respected kaumatua of Ngati Whakaue sharing the whakatuaki: e kore te kumara e korero mo tona ake reka (the kumara does not say how sweet it is).*

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I argue, however, that perhaps depending on the particular entanglement, this 'fixed identity trait', that 'all' Māori should aim to 'have', may also function to work in ways that oppress Māori. Colonisers ironically encouraged Māori to be 'proud' of being 'humble'. It is likely that Māori are encouraged to maintain their humbleness and modesty in all facets of society today (with the exceptions of areas like the sporting arena and the kapa haka stage), and this is perhaps reflected in the clothing worn by many Māori. Tracing back 170 years ago Māori wore grass skirts – their Eurowestern counterparts did not. A lower class of person wears a lower class of clothing: the inexpensive, less flashy clothes, as

fabric and the different qualities of fabric have been used through history to measure grace and nobility. Women and others of minority status (including Māori) have been imprisoned by this history (I. Young, 2005). L. Smith (2014) acknowledges that the Māori communities she worked with noticed the clothing and other markers of material wellbeing that presented themselves with researchers who came to visit or work with them. She explains:

they comment on the cars in the carpark – even though they might be hired – on jewellery – even though it might be cheap bling – on shoes – even though they might be from Payless Shoes. Basically they notice difference and make their own assessment (p. 19).

The material forces of wearing particular types of clothing and other body styling could be easily overlooked as seemingly mundane, yet they act on and with the people as L. Smith (2014) highlights above, revealing the power of nonhuman agency (Taylor, 2013). Research continues to reveal that Māori often live in poverty. The issue of poverty is complex and remains a pressing concern with intergenerational effects of colonisation aiding in sustaining the status quo (Kawharu, 2015). Poverty and clothing are linked and can be clearly linked to previous discussions of ‘goals’ in Chapter Seven. Rangatahi seem very aware of the power of clothes and the material wellbeing that clothing speaks to. It seems that if you are able to wear labelled clothing you are assumedly able to afford it and are perhaps ‘safe’ from some forms of scrutiny. Clothing determines how one is perceived and accepted (Kellner, 1994)

In earlier conversations, two of the girls said that they ‘just’ wear t-shirts and shorts in swimming classes. Mata, who came to the school part-way through the year, shared a story about being put to shame when she participated in her first swimming class in physical education wearing a bikini. Mata did not own a one-piece swim suit. It seems that these wahine are very aware of what is expected of them, and they are in complex positions of being proud of being Māori, which may then uphold humble and hori notions of being Māori that are materialised in

the stylisation of the body. But as Mata demonstrates, Māori can also be whatever they want. Students can deploy clothes as a symbolic marker of identity, to show the rest of the world who they are (Allen, 2013a) and Mata seems to unsettle the notion that it should be a surprise when a Māori girl wears a bikini to swim. Perhaps Mata is challenging the power of normalisation (Foucault, 1977) where Māori do what is expected of them, i.e., where they do what is supposed to be 'their culture'. The quote that follows becomes more complicated when one is Māori and is a woman.

Young women navigate a fine line of subject positions between 'good girl' where appropriate levels of sexual 'experience or knowingness' is demonstrated and, 'Slut' which functions as a marker of sexual excess, where young women are disgraced through implication of sexual activity which violates innocence and respectability. Sluts are 'too' sexual. And the good girls maintain a position that is desirable to boys (Ringrose & Rawlings, 2015, p. 85).

Māori girls are not expected to dress up, according to Mata, who said that if a Māori girl came to school with a lot of makeup and a miniskirt or crop top she would be criticised by her peers ("everyone would be like 'Woah what is she dressing up for?"). Mata uses the word 'everyone' in the earlier excerpt with regard to what would be thought of a Māori girl coming to school 'dressed up'. It is worth considering who she might have been referring to, whether other Māori, non-Māori, tane and/or wahine or the whole school. In some moments, it seems that the girls *do* want to dress up but risk being seen as crossing the line by their peer group and family.

Do whanau want to keep a distance of difference, and stay 'true' to their 'culture', which determines what clothing the body can achieve? Or perhaps it is a more careful and strategic 'safety in numbers' strategy, which the concept of panopticism and the power of the mob at an execution can illustrate (Foucault, 1977). The historical surveillance that came about through panoptic power meant that people in higher positions of power became more individuated, while peasants tended to be categorised as an undifferentiated mob. The problem with

people in lower positions being undifferentiated, which was later changed, was the power they possessed as a group (Foucault, 1977). For example, the mob gathered at an execution was part of an unruly, unpredictable, undifferentiated mass that, together, could turn on the executioner at any moment. Like the mob gathered at the execution, Māori united are perhaps more of a threat, less easily controlled, and are therefore depicted as a problem for which heavy surveillance is needed. Perhaps this is why Māori whanau and particular those with more 'life experience' use anything possible, including clothing, to maintain a state of unity. With reference to unity and the power of the mob (Foucault 1977), the mokoroa in large numbers can become dangerous to the kahikatea and have been known to fell large trees (Haami, 2007).

Although not directly mentioned by the rangitahi, hunting clothes and pyjamas are much more comfortable than tight short tops and skirts. Hunting clothes and pyjamas may produce a position for girls as being not worried about fashion, and comfortable with choosing clothes based on comfort and practicality. Hunting clothes are commonly worn in Aotearoa (see brands such as Stoney Creek, Hunting and Fishing, and Swazi) and are designed for activity in the outdoors. They are often patterned and coloured in a way that camouflages hunters to blend into the environment as they hunt their prey. They provide comfort for the body as they are not tight and restricting on breasts, stomachs and other parts of the body. A body can move more easily in more loose clothing. Further, a body and its shape is more discrete in loose clothing, where the size of breasts and buttocks cannot be easily determined. Ivinson and Renold (2016) refer to the ongoing notion that girls have to deal with the objectifying gaze that positions parts of their anatomy as sexualised. Perhaps this is why the girls mostly choose to wear less attention-grabbing, loose clothing. Tight clothing makes the girls more exposed to the gaze and as I. Young (2005) explains, one young woman may enjoy the attention and learn to draw the gaze to her bosom with a sense of sexual power, while another:

may loathe and fear the gaze that fixes her in shock or mockery, and she may take pains to hide her chest behind baggy clothes and bowed shoulders. She may for the most part ignore the objectifying gaze, retaining nevertheless edges of ambiguity and uncertainty about her body. The way women respond to the evaluating gaze on their chests is surely as variable as the size and character of the breasts themselves, but few women in our society escape having to take some attitude toward the potentially objectifying regard of the Other on her breasts (pp. 77-78)

Mahia spoke of hunting clothes being a 'way of life', making a link to a history of place in Aotearoa, where Māori were known to be very talented hunter-gatherers. As well as upholding the discourse that Māori are naturally athletic and are able hunters, we can draw on an oppressing example provided by Hokowhitu from the Aotearoa film *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted* (Gavin & Mune, 1999). Here some remedy is afforded to the main character, Jake's, violence through:

returning him to the traditionally physical masculine task of pig hunting, through which he is able to "return to nature" and employ his violence in a socially acceptable setting. Thus, the supposedly intrinsic violence of Māori males is naturalized and sanctioned within acceptable, colonized roles (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 264).

Hunting clothes are part of the 'culture' of hunting, and hunting is a socially acceptable 'outlet' for the highly physical and otherwise easily 'violent' Māori. This upholds Cooper's (2012) problem with the word 'culture' as it is applied and understood by most today. He argues that culture is something that is used to label particular groups of people and that: "in its predominant contemporary usage, it is reserved for people who are not white/Pākehā, that is, white/Pākehā people are social, and everybody else (i.e., non-white) are cultural" (p.69). This problem escalates when Māori themselves take on this discourse and see themselves as 'cultural' and exotic (Cooper, 2012).

During the stick figure activity, the students from Green School shared with me their opinions of one of their friends, 'Jenna'. Jenna was Māori, in year 12, excelled at sports and was pretty. These seemed to have given her a ticket to 'hang out' with the popular Pākehā girls too, so Jenna would spend half of lunch time with the Māori girls and half the time with the 'cool girls' on the cricket pitch. The students expressed to me that they were very annoyed that Jenna had started wearing copious amounts of makeup; in particular, foundation that was too light for her, and further that she had been wearing her skirt extra short. It seemed like the skirt and the makeup told her friends that she was rebelling about being 'at one' with them or 'wearing whatever' and it was impacting their friendship.

A new materialist view might be that Jenna wore a manipulated skirt, which said something because "skirts exist as the ultimate material objects that can be stylised, read and embedded with meanings for girls in school" (Ringrose & Rawlings, 2015, p.93). Further, wearing makeup may not fit with normative notions of what Māori women may be. The boys from Green School pointed this out below during our Stick Figure Activity. Part way through the activity, I told the students that the two stick figures were Māori students. This brought some change and students adjusted the people they had drawn.

Harley: Ah yea yea um. Do you want me to draw a Māori girl?

Joseph: Yea and talk to it

Tana: A tamoko

Harley: So they're usually like, like, I don't know why, but they always tie up their hair

Tana: Buns

Harley: Like this

Tana: Yea that little bun thing

Harley: Yea and this is all gone. ((points to the red lips on the stick figure girl alluding to makeup))

Tana: Yea yea

It is interesting to note that change was made in the first place, as this itself indicates that the 'normal school students' they imagined at the beginning of the activity were, by default, Eurowestern. One of the changes that stood out was that the blonde hair the boys portrayed in Kauri School was changed to a black bun on top of the head. The colour was not surprising, but the conversation that went with the change seemed to imply that Māori girls did not care about what they looked like because they did not wear makeup.

In all three hui, hair was the first thing added to the girl stick figures; either brown or blonde, long, straight hair. In all three hui, it was the girl stick figure that was focused on first, and with the most attention. This fits with the notion that girls are assumed to spend more time defining themselves for others. Some of the features drawn on and discussed with reference to the 'girl' student included: hourglass figures, big bums, makeup, good eyebrows, miniskirts and crop tops and shoes. These features are part of the neoliberal system as posed by Davies (2014a):

the generic subjects of neoliberalism have tended to become hyper-masculinised and hyper-feminised. This exaggeration of sex difference is experienced as a result of freedom to choose, while it works to emphasise and hold in place the conservative gender binaries that post-structuralist feminism sought to move us beyond. Exaggerated sexual difference is, of course, a difference that serves the economy well, given its dependence on beauty products, personal trainers, beauticians and plastic surgeons, for example, and it marks a competitive individualism that is one of the hallmarks of neoliberal systems (Davies, 2014a, p. 13)

Popular culture and the institution of the school incite young women to compete in violent heterosexualised politics (Ringrose, 2008). It seems that wahine in this research both conformed to and resisted dominant heteronormative ideals in their complex entanglements with clothing.

### **Holly's Hoodie**

I now return to the particular entanglement that ignited this chapter and think of Holly's clothes. In the hui, Holly wore a plain grey hoodie that snugly covered her pregnant puku. Perhaps she wore the hoodie in an attempt to be modest, upholding a discourse around Māori humility. Comfort over the puku may also be why the hoodie is worn (Longhurst, 2005). It could be that the extra cost of buying bigger or maternity type clothing may have been a challenge for Holly. Whatever it is that brings the hoodie over the body of Holly troubles the maternal feminine 'good' mother discourse as Longhurst (2015) highlights perfectly.

[F]or example, given the hegemonic construction of Western motherhood as kind, gentle and warm, a pregnant woman wearing 'dirty' jeans, a ripped T-shirt and a stud in her tongue would more than likely be interpolated by other pregnant women at a birth class as a 'bad' subject, even though she may have a deep investment in being a 'good mother' (p. 435)

The complex meanings of hoodies change depending on what body wears the hoodie and where it comes to be. Hoodies contribute to racial knowledge depending on the wearer (Nguyen, 2015). On a brown-skinned, young, pregnant body like Holly's it would say something much different to a hoodie on a Eurowestern woman running her dog down an affluent street. A hoodie may be "... soft, hard, pleasing, frightening, comforting, street, cool, criminal..." (Nguyen, p. 796). A hoodie on a Māori body may be read as hori and humble and may also

be seen to produce 'bad students'. It can also signify 'criminal' on brown skinned Māori bodies, and perhaps these signals are strengthened even more on a black-skinned body, as stated by Nguyen (2015).

[T]hat the figuration of the hoodie as an animate thing demonstrates some of the operations of power that deem some bodies criminally other— because they are black, and therefore threatening—and available to state violence (p.793)

As well as wearing a grey-coloured hoodie, Holly wore the school uniform skirt on the bottom half of her body; a contradiction of conflicting subjectivities of being a 'good school student' and a pregnant Māori girl wearing a 'hoodie', which is commonly worn by Māori, and often classed as masculine clothing (Clarke, 2014). When it comes to processes of gender, providing strict uniforms is one way that the school functions to produce girls or boys (Foucault, 1977). Gender is produced through a sustained set of acts of gendered stylization of the body (Butler, 1990, 1993) and the school skirt is a material actor with force producing class, race and culturally specific notions of feminine sexual respectability (Ringrose & Rawlings, 2015). Longhurst (2005) describes the pressures of 'looking good pregnant' that women face.

Increasingly pregnant women are being expected to look attractive, well-groomed, fashionable and 'sexy' and for some women this has added to what are already heavy expectations on pregnant women. (p. 443).

The implications that clothing may have on the lives of rangatahi should not be dismissed as unimportant, as dressing the body is one of the most complex daily activities of existence (Niessen & Brydon, 1998), and "clothes are often understood through an indexical relationship to the person who wears them, functioning as clues to a person's existence in the world" (Nguyen, 2015, p. 792). Clothing matters (Longhurst, 2005) and clothing with regard to markers of status, class and identity is not a new topic or a revelation in various areas of social research. However, material-discursive analyses of clothes remain minimal (Taylor, 2013). Rangatahi and clothes intra-act in a mutual production of agency where clothes have thing power (Bennett, 2010) and "materialities become with

us as we become with them in an open, contingent unfolding of mattering” (Taylor, 2013 p. 699).

## Chapter Summary

This chapter began by paying attention to the new life Holly had growing within her. It considered some of the complexities of Holly and her experiences of being hapu. Despite the negative notions of Māori and teen pregnancy that were likely to have been circulating, Holly did not appear to be oppressed and instead appeared proud, nervous and excited about what was to come. This chapter, more than the previous two analysis chapters, has aimed to demonstrate the position that humans and non-human things are material-discursive agents (Allen, 2015a; Barad, 2007; Taguchi & Palmer, 2013), which continually construct and reconstruct each other, meaning that the material force of objects can be recognised and taken seriously in the process of *becoming* (Allen, 2015a; Bennett, 2010). In taking this position the focus moved from Holly and her hapu puku to a hickey on her neck that became a hotspot (Taylor, 2013). Hickies then formed the next part of the discussion; how they might *become* and what they might mean and do, in entanglements, was considered. Hickies are likely to often become active participants in the sexuality of rangatahi. Skin and hair with regard to ‘race’ and ‘identity’ issues, first became important during my interview with Mata, and the some of the complexities of these were explored, including my own reflections from high school, which, like Mata, affected my daily existence. Clothing issues specific to being Māori were then considered. In particular clothing issues around the positions of the ‘humble’ Māori and the ‘hori’ Māori were traversed. In particular I considered wahine and the entanglements of clothing and it seems that they both conformed to and resisted dominant heteronormative ideals relating to clothing.

In this chapter I have attempted, with more passion than in the previous two chapters, to bring the non-human and other things that may often be dismissed

as unimportant to the forefront of entanglements. The analysis tunnelled through webs of bodies, things and spaces considering various complexities of the webs (Allen, 2013a, 2013b, 2015a, 2015b, 2016). Lastly, in returning to the mokoroa to close this chapter, I have argued that the more subtle and mundane things that shape the daily existence of the mokoroa in the kahikatea tree and the forest beyond (or rangatahi in the school), often go unnoticed: a small piece of debris blocking a tunnel; an odd mark on the side of a grub's body; the colour of the best sap. So we must really try to notice the mokoroa and the entanglements in which it functions when we enter the forest, as some of these things are often only just out of sight. The material forces of the often overlooked and under-considered things became important in this chapter and were taken seriously in the process of rangatahi and their *becoming* (Allen, 2015a; Bennett, 2010). Their influence in shaping daily experiences should not be underestimated.



# CHAPTER NINE

## In Closing

I chose the title ‘in closing’, in contrast to the more normative chapter title of ‘conclusion’, as there are no ‘magical’ findings, evidence or clear-cut knowledge to be presented here. To do so would conflict with the theoretical underpinning of this research, which is guided by a posthuman design and informed by Māori indigenous theories, feminist poststructuralisms, and new feminist materialisms. Instead, ‘in closing’ signals that while there are only a few pages left, and that the thesis will soon close, what has *become* in this research does not have a tidy end or conclusion. This chapter foregrounds the key issues and ideas, limitations and implications of the research.

### Key Matters, Limitations and Implications

In tracing over past research in which rangatahi featured in the complex areas of sexuality, sexuality education and secondary schooling, colonisation remains an undeniable presence (Le Grice, 2018). Throughout the literature review (Chapter Two) its oppressive force, shown in practices in the web of Māori existence in Aotearoa, functions to support damaging discourses about Māori in areas including Māori masculinity and Māori teen pregnancy (Green, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2004; Pio & Graham, 2016). There were some more promising examples of past research with rangatahi on topics of sexuality education, sexuality and secondary school (Barnes, 2010; Green, 2011); however, in general, the research I located did little more than report on statistics or ‘facts’ about Māori, which portray Māori as being in need (Green, 2011; Le Grice, 2014).

The review suggested that the curriculum area of sexuality education remained a vexed issue (Fitzpatrick, 2018; Jackson & Weatherall, 2010; Young, 2002) with little value in schools, despite a clearer stance having been developed in the

Aotearoa school curriculum documents (MOE, 2007, 2015). Allen's work, in particular, suggested that sexuality education in secondary school continued to be based on topics with little relevance to the lives and experiences of young people in Aotearoa. These topics included puberty, biological facts and safe sex (Allen, 2001; 2005b; 2011a). Further, the recommendations in the more recently released curriculum Guide (MOE, 2015) on enhancing Māori sexuality are questionable, and may do little more than reduce Māori to 'culture' and 'cultural' (Cooper, 2012).

Despite there being well-researched subjects in some areas of sexuality and education, a gap remains with regard to rangatahi experiences being privileged, or perhaps listened to more carefully or in different ways (Barnes, 2010; Keelan, 2014; Le Grice & Braun, 2018). Past research has applied well-worn methodological approaches, which limit what research may *do* or *re-do*. So in seeking to consider rangatahi in webs of sexuality, sexuality education and secondary school education, I turned to the theory-rich fields of feminist poststructuralism, indigenous Māori theories and new feminist materialisms to work carefully, together and separately, to build the theoretical framework for this thesis. Some of the key concepts that informed this research included discourse, matter, mauri, thing power, entanglements, *becoming*, surveillance and normalisation. My positions on these concepts, and others, were argued in depth in Chapter Three.

This research lies in the realm of posthuman research (Chapter Four). Posthumanism is an active theoretical entanglement, which provides hope for what may be possible in education research (Taylor, 2016). Here, fundamental ideas around ethico-onto-epistemology (Barad, 2007) can be rethought, and dominant forms of research are replaced with more "radical, creative and innovative research engagements" (Taylor & Hughes, 2016, p.1). Thus, *Moving Through Entanglements* was the approach used in the analysis process (Chapter Five). This analysis method was informed by the concepts of diffraction and the responsive thinking method of whakaaro (Barad, 2007; Mika & Southey, 2018). *Moving Through Entanglements* meant engaging with, and returning to, concepts, matter, research questions, transcripts, memories and beyond (Davies,

2014c). Further, I am part of the entanglements I *move through*, so in this thesis, I positioned myself in a manner that showed researchers do not research from a distance (Barad, 2007; Davies, et al., 2004 Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

The position suggested by Alaimo and Hekman (2008) was taken up in this research, and aligns with the Māori position that non-human things have effects independently of humans (Jones & Hoskins, 2016): “Material feminists explore the interaction [intra-actions or entanglements] of culture, history, discourse, technology, biology, and the ‘environment’, without privileging any one of these elements” (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008, p.7). Yet, in nearing the end of writing this thesis, I take up another of their statements, which is perhaps a limitation of this research: “it is easier to posit an ontology than to practice it” (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008, p.209). This is because moving on from normative ways or research is a difficult task, even more difficult as a PhD student who is not yet an experienced researcher.

Researchers easily fall back into old categories and humanist ways of doing research (St. Pierre, 2016a). As St. Pierre (2016a) argues, “we will have to invent a people, always a minor people, who can think the unthought” (p.33). This suggests that humanism is ingrained in our *becoming*. The analysis chapters progressed in the level of their attention to both matter and discourse. As in my research experience, it was easier to propose the theoretical framing than to practice it. Thus, Chapter Six is more focused on the discursiveness of entanglements, while Chapter Eight aims to bring the materiality of entanglements to the forefront of the analysis. The group hui and individual interviews were structured to specifically explore rangatahi entanglements of sexuality education and sexuality, as well as other every-day experiences that rangatahi had in their secondary schooling.

Further, my use of mauri in the thesis can be used as an example which attests to the difficulty in the way that a complex idea might function in a thesis beyond its proposal in a theoretical framing. Although mauri was carefully discussed in Chapter Three, it was not brought to the forefront of other parts of my writing. Mauri was difficult for me to write about and too, is hard to talk about because it

is beyond the grasp of humans. However, one cannot count up the number of times it appears in the thesis to 'measure' its effectiveness. Including spiritual discussion in a thesis is decolonising. So my conception of mauri in my research worked as a decolonising political move that challenges Eurowestern views of how a thing can manifest. The use of mauri in academic writing needs careful development in the future, but if I have troubled what can become in a thesis and can perhaps provoke other writers to consider how mauri may be positioned in academic work, then I have achieved the purpose of acknowledging the life force of mauri.

This research adds to already established findings on the 'gaps' and issues in the quality of sexuality education research in Aotearoa, rangatahi experience of sexuality education and sexuality, and young people in general. In Kari's words (Chapter Six), sexuality education is teaching the "same old shit". As well as reporting on the types of topics covered, in this research other unplanned, more-important (to rangatahi) sexuality issues came to the forefront of discussions about sexuality education. These complex areas that became important included '*tap and gap*' and '*relationship goals*'. These two complex, materially-discursive entanglements demonstrated the extensive 'gap' between what rangatahi learn in the sexuality education classroom and what they experience in daily existence.

The analysis has drawn attention to the small, overlooked, and seemingly mundane things that actively participate in the entanglements rangatahi come to experience, including hickeys, hair and skin, the school stage, boys' breasts, and clothing (Chapters Seven and Eight). Thus, it moves beyond androcentric notions, and pays attention to the co-constitutive entanglement of the school environment, which includes the inter-wovenness of the materialities of architecture and buildings, and bodies, along with discourses and discursive practices and beyond (Allen, 2105a; Taguchi & Palmer, 2013). In 'beyond', I acknowledge that there are things in existence that are beyond our human grasp and mauri in my research upholds this (Chapter Three). Health lessons, surveillance, the size and shape of Kari's body and what might happen in

different places and social settings such as kapa haka and the school stage, acknowledged the complexity of daily experiences. As it did in the literature review, colonisation formed a vein in the analysis; in particular in the discussion of racism raised by rangatahi in Chapter Seven.

I have not claimed any truths in this research; however, I acknowledge the issue of social desirability and how that may have impacted on the *data* gathered, and then what came to be the 'key entanglements'. Perhaps, at times, rangatahi did answer questions in a way that they thought I may have wanted them to, or how others in the hui may have expected them to. This is usually considered as bias, a limitation and a threat to 'validity' (Wolter & Herold, 2018; Zapien, 2017). However in wanting to say something that may be more desirable to the research, rangatahi may be demonstrating the complexity of research, discourse, power and the research topics in question. For example, dominant discourse constitutes what is viewed as natural and normal (Tolman, 2005) and thus works to maintain inequality. So on occasion, rangatahi may have said things to me to position themselves in certain ways, and this adds to the richness and complexities of existence and research. What I have attempted in the analysis of this research is an interpretation of interpretation, as we can never know the inherent meaning of people's practices and intentions (Jackson & Mazzei, 2011). Further:

... the qualitative research arena would benefit from more "messy" examples, examples that may not always be successful, examples that do not seek a comfortable, transcendent end-point but leave us in the uncomfortable realities of doing engaged qualitative research (Pillow, 2003, p.193).

A poststructural position, offered by Reingarde (2010), conceptualises 'individual' sexual identity as "...multiple, fragmented and fluid, constructed and reconstructed through different discursive processes in organisations" (p.85). In taking this further, this research has suggested that no sexuality should be described as 'individual', as we are continuously *becoming* in complex entanglements, where nothing exists on its own, as Barad (2007) would

maintain. Non-human matter, such as the space of a school, is not an inert backdrop to the action of human subjects; and all is mutable and therefore always *becoming* (Allen, 2015a, 2015b). This concern for materialism, which among other things aims to investigate sexuality, sexuality education and schooling experiences by considering intersections of bodies, things and spaces in school (Allen, 2013, 2015a, 2015b), and also moves beyond stable and fixed identities, could be taken up more widely in research with rangatahi and other young people in areas of sexuality research.

'Gaps' in what rangatahi learn in sexuality education and what they experience beyond the classroom could be addressed by taking seriously young people's sexual knowledge and experience, as they are better at deciding their interests and needs with regard to sexuality education than adults (Allen, 2011, 2007b; Le Grice & Braun, 2018). Further, a discourse of erotics is needed (Allen, 2011b; Fine, 1988), and so too is critical coverage of relationships beyond the tiresome clichés of lessons on 'respect', for example. It is promising, however, that even in the face of a seemingly diluted sexuality education experience, rangatahi were empowered and keen to talk about sexuality issues. We can imagine the further transformation for young people and sexualities if school programmes moved to at least match the kind of discussion and questioning that the *Guide* promotes (MOE, 2015).

Research approaches that use more creative theoretical frameworks might let us think in different ways, and produce research that extends what has come before. In future research with young people, sexuality and education, the power of non-human matter and its influence in shaping daily experiences should not be underestimated (Bennett, 2010). Perhaps somehow, in attending to non-human or more-than-human participants in our daily *becomings*, an ethical imperative may be achieved, as we may learn a deeper notion of care for everything in our existence. Barad's (2007) words uphold the possibilities for each entanglement this research considers:

Particular possibilities for (intra-)acting exist at every moment, and these changing possibilities entail an ethical obligation to intra-act

responsibly in the world's *becoming*, to contest and rework what matters and what is excluded from mattering (p.178)

It seems that Māori initiatives and frameworks (even some that are Māori-led) may, if we trouble them and chew below the surface, show oppressive structures, depending on how they are used (Heaton, 2015; Hokowhitu, 2014a), including universally acknowledged examples like te kotahitanga, Te Whare Tapa Whā and kapa haka performances (Bishop, 2012; Durie, 1985) (Chapter Seven). In going forward, Māori could be more careful in considering what the initiatives, frameworks, policies and activities that have been widely accepted as only producing 'positive' outcomes in the realm of education actually *do*, or *could do* for rangatahi and the future of Māori. These types of issues, which may both enhance and suppress rangatahi, arose in the literature review and also in Chapter Seven.

A significant notion I sensed throughout meetings with rangatahi, and later when *moving through entanglements*, was rangatahi acknowledgment of the complex entanglements they *become* in. It is fitting to return to Ana's productive, insightful, positively hopeful, humorous, yet serious message, to bring this thesis to a close for now:

I think our past makes us who we are, but I think she is stuck there, like the way she thinks is stuck there. So like (she says) oh 'youse did this to us, youse took our land, youse did all that, so let's just separate and let the Māoris own the school'. Stuff like that which is just dumb. Cause we, wanna be, we're loving people, we want to be everywhere, not just 'you stay here, you do this, you're Māori, you're part of this'. No. no. I want to make it in the modern Māori world. Best of both worlds; Hanna Montana. It's a song. ((Starts singing and laughing))

Rangatahi themselves identified normalising and oppressive colonising practices and structures, and often analysed their effects. Like the mokoroa, rangatahi continue to chew new paths; paths that seek to develop non-normalising modes of existence, defying the powers of normalisation and colonisation.





# Glossary

Ako	Teach, learn
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Hapū	Kin group/family, pregnant
Hauora	Health, vigour
Hoe	Slut
Hongi Hika	Māori war leader
Hui	Meeting
Jandal	Flip-flops, sandals
Kai	Food
Kapa haka	Māori performing group
Karakia	Prayer, incantation
Kaumatua	Elder with prestige
Kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy and practice
Kauri	Large forest tree
Korero	Conversation
Korero	Speak, talk
Lol	Slang acronym for 'lots of laughter'
Marae	Meeting house
Matauranga Māori	Traditional Māori knowledge
Mauri	Life force
Mihi	Greeting
Mokoroa	Grub found in kahikatea and other trees
Ngatiwhakaue	The name of my subtribe (hapu)
Pākehā	Non-Māori
Papatuanuku/papa	Mother Earth
Powhiri	Ceremony of welcome
Puku	Stomach
Raho	Testicle, labia majora

Rangatahi	Young Māori
Rangi/Ranginui	Sky Father
Tā Moko	Traditional tattoo
Tāne	Man
Tangi	Mourning, funeral
Taonga	Treasure
Te Arawa	The name of my tribe (iwi)
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Whare Tapa Wha	The Four Corners
Te Wheke	The Octopus
Tikanga	Māori protocol and customary practice
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Utu	Repay, Respond, Answer,
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Wahine	Woman
Wairua	Spirituality
Waka	Canoe
Whakatauki	Māori proverbs
Whaea	Mother, Aunt
Whanau	Extended family
Whenua	Land

Ko Ngongotaha te Maunga

Ko Kaituna te Awa

Ko Te Arawa Te Waka

Ko Ngati Whakaue te Hapu

Ko Whakaue te Marae

Ko Tapsell toku Tupuna

Ko Jade Chalmers ahau

Ngongotaha is the mountain

Kaituna is the river

Te Arawa is the canoe (Iwi, tribe)

Ngati Whakaue is the sub-tribe

Whakaue is the Marae (meeting house of my people)

Tapsells are my ancestors

I am Jade Chalmers

Please note, these are simple translations.



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# Appendices

## Hui One: Miley Cyrus, Sonny Bill Williams... and Our Thoughts.

*This hui will be focused around seven large colour photographs. There will be photographs of Miley Cyrus, Sonny Bill Williams, A young couple being affectionate in a photo, a girl who is young and pregnant, three Maori boys posing in front of mirror and James Rolleston (the actor off boy) and a young girl.*

*In particular, I want to know what the participants think about dominant constructions of sexuality: gender, young people and relationships. I am equally interested in participants talk around being Maori.*

*The photographs will be presented together. Participants will have a couple of minutes to brainstorm initial reactions and thoughts on the photographs should they wish. Initial thoughts and reactions will be shared and the discussion will take place as 'freely' as possible.*

### Possible questions/comments

The only initial ask is that I am interested to hear them discuss the photographs.

- Could you give me some thoughts on the people in these pictures?
- There are so many ways of being a girl or a boy, woman or man these days. Can you talk about this?
- I would really like to know what you think about gender on being a man or a woman.

If discussion does not flow easy I may ask a more particular question:

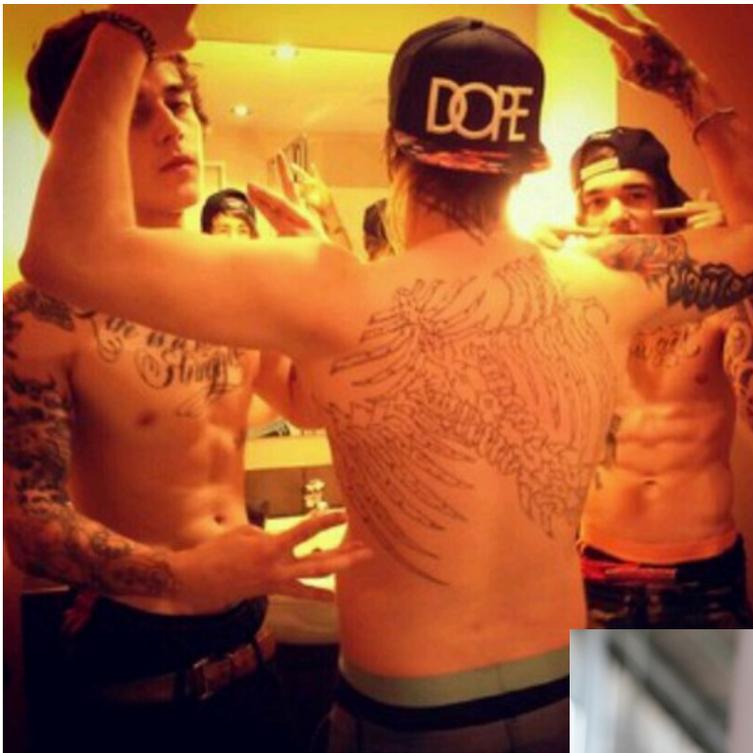
- What are your thoughts on these two?
- Can you share any particular positive or negative ideas about any of these pictures?
- Do these pictures make you think of anything in your own life? Or friends, school etc?
- Could you think of a caption/title for the photograph?

- In the last 5 minutes we will hand out the Personal Journals and go over what some ideas for what to include in this space.  
Feel free to do what you want in this journal. Draw, write, stick, store, colour, decorate, share feelings, ideas, dreams, stories etc. Anything at all whether you think it is related to our discussions or not. You might use the whole journal, you may only use four pages. It doesn't matter. I will borrow them off you at the end of our hui and will make sure they are returned to you safely. Please look after them 😊









## Hui Two

There were two 'sayings' that came up in the hui from last week that I would like to hear a bit more about.

Can we talk about 'Tap and Gap'

Can we talk about 'Relationship Goals'

If discussion does not flow, I can ask: what do they mean? What do you think about them?

Let's talk about relationships a bit more.

- What do you reckon is a good relationship? (I mean a relationship where two people are attracted to each other sexually I suppose)
- Are there many students at school who are in relationships?
- Are there certain expectations that people have of relationships?
- What is important in a relationship?
- Are there any important roles to play in 'good' relationships?

To explore what it means to be Maori at school I will introduce the stick figure activity

I will have two almost life size pieces of paper with very basic identical stick figure on each (lots of room for drawing and writing).

I will ask students to together, make one a boy and one a girl of around their age group. They can write or draw. And I will listen to them discuss what they are doing.

After this I will then say, ok now let's say they are both Maori, the boy and the girl?

I will not ask students to 'make them Maori' but am interested to see if students change and add or how they respond to this.

This may provide opportunities for dominant discourses to be challenged too.

## Individual Interview-Semi Structured

*This is an outline of the interview that I will be having with each participant. The interview follows on from hui and covers similar topics in a one-on-one setting.*

*The interview will be approximately 45 minutes and will be guided by the questions below. The order may change, questions may be added or omitted, and interviews may change*

*direction as discussion unfolds. For example, if a participant begins telling a story around one of the questions, I am happy for this to take 20 minutes if it is important to them and will also be useful to the research.*

### Reflecting on Hui

- Was there a particular topic in our hui that stood out to you?
- Was there anything you forgot to mention on any of the topics we discussed?

Relationships, your past relationships, relationship goals, tap and gap, school ball, friends at school, being a girl, being a boy, PDA (ideas to remind students)

- How do students at your school show their sexuality. I was told in an earlier interview that some spaces around the school are popular places for people to 'hook up'. Are there other ways of knowing about someone's sexuality? Can you see certain things that tell you about a person's sexuality? Being a girl or boy, relationships etc. The way someone looks, acts, talks.

### Being Māori

- Tell me about how you feel about being Māori at school?
- Do you feel valued by others as a Māori student within your school? Why? Why not?
- What are some things teachers and other students say or think about Māori students? Why?

- Is there anything that people in your school don't say that you feel like they think about Māori students?

#### Being a Student

- What do you think your school principal would say are the attributes that make a 'good' student at your school? Do you agree?
- Do you feel there is pressure for girls/boys to fit a certain mould?
- Is there is a way to act as a girl/boy at your school?
- Do you usually have, would you want girlfriends/boyfriends that are Māori or non-Māori why?

#### Sexuality Education

- How do you feel about Sexuality Education lessons at your school?  
Tell me about what you do?
- What are the most important messages that you think teachers want you need to remember?
- Is it relevant to both boys and girls or more to one group than the other?
- Do you think there is a difference between the way boys are in class and the way the girls are?
- Can you think of and describe anything you don't enjoy about Sexuality Education?
- How do you feel during lessons? Do you enjoy participating?
- Do you disagree with anything you are taught in sexuality education or think something important should be added?



## Exploring what it Means to be a Maori Girl/Boy in Secondary School

This pamphlet provides information about the study

### What is the research?

This research aims to explore young Maoris' secondary schooling experiences. It will focus on social constructions, gender constructions and sexuality. I want to learn more about what it means for you to be a Maori boy/girl in your school and hear about your daily experiences and how you feel about being a student of your school. We will meet for three group hui, where you, two other Maori girls/boys and myself will be present. The hui will usually be based on a certain idea or scenario, which I will introduce to you. We will then take time to share our thoughts and ideas and listen to each other. There will also be an individual talk with me. In addition, you will keep a reflective journal.

### Why is it being carried out?

There is not enough research in Aotearoa that comes from the voices of young Maori. Too much research has been done 'on' Maori, and this sort of research is often highlighted negatively in statistics, and showcased in the media. In particular, sexuality is an area that has not been explored well-enough, and statistics about teen pregnancy for example, are not of much use to us. There are some studies that have been done that value young people's ideas, but very little has been done from a Maori perspective. I therefore will have Maori voice at the forefront of this study which may reveal and illuminate important ideas and issues, and in-turn improve our education systems. Making our schools better places for Maori.

### Who is doing the research?

I (Jade Chalmers) am from Te Puke and am of Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa decent. After completing a Master of Education, I was a teacher for three years. I really enjoyed working with young people, and it was here that my interest in doing research with young Maori around topics like gender and sexuality education grew. So here I am, embarking on this PhD journey.

### What do I actually have to do to participate in this research?

*Group Hui:* You and two other girls/boys will participate in four group hui that will be approximately one hour long. We will have discussion and sharing around a central theme.

*Individual Interview:* You and I will participate in an individual interview that will be approximately 45 minutes. This interview will be semi-structured and I will have questions to guide the talk.

*Reflective Journal:* You will be given a journal to record your thoughts and ideas along the research journey. In the first group hui we will go over the sorts of things you might write about. This journal will stay with you for approximately four months and then will be given to me to look through and returned to you later if you wish.

### What about my own confidentiality and privacy?

For this study I will be pseudonyms (made up names). This will mean that you cannot be identified. In our first hui, when groups meet for the first time, we will set some ground rules and all participants will be asked to sign the guidelines we come up with. The interviews will be audiotaped. A professional transcriber will type a draft of the discussion without being given any details about participants. I will then edit these and replace all names with pseudonyms. All data collected from you will be locked in a filing cabinet for my use only.

### May I choose to withdraw from the study once I start?

You may withdraw from the study at any time, but not after transcripts have been approved and data analysis begins. You may request that all the information that you have shared will not be used in any report of the research and your comments and contributions will be destroyed straightaway.

### How will I be kept up to date with the findings of the study?

I will keep you informed throughout the study and my progress, either by email or another suitable way. I would also like to come and meet with you at the completion of the study to discuss findings with you.

***A small koha will be presented to you in completion of our meetings in appreciation of your valuable contribution to the study***

Please do not hesitate to contact me for further information:

[Jadechalmer@hotmail.com](mailto:Jadechalmer@hotmail.com) Mobile: 021 1107906 Office: (07) 578 1209





Email ..... Address if wanting communication through post  
.....

Parent or

Caregiver

24 September, 2015

Kia ora,

My name's Jade Chalmers and I am a student at the University of Waikato. I was born and raised in Te Puke and my hapu is Ngati whakauae. I have worked as a teacher, but my passion for research, in particular research for Maori and in the area of Education and Sexuality has driven my decision to pursue this study. Your young person has shown interest in the study and I am writing this to you with the hope that you would support their decision in working with me in this study. Here is some information

My research will be based around exploring ideas and talking with six young Maori about what it means to be Maori at their school. Each participant will be involved in three group hui, one individual interview, and will keep a reflective journal for a little while too. I do not wish to observe a curriculum area or teaching and learning in the classroom nor will I need to work with any teachers. I am aware that I need to make sure valuable teaching and learning sessions are not disrupted, so we will work with the principal and teachers to find the best times to meet. Meetings will take place in a private comfortable space in the school that the principal designates. Sessions will be fun but will also be challenging and will require students to think really hard about things. We will have some really good discussions-I'll bring something to eat too!

I would really appreciate your support, and will get in touch again shortly,

Nga mihi,

Jade Chalmers  
*PhD Student*

Please do not hesitate to contact me for further information:

[Jadechalmer@hotmail.com](mailto:Jadechalmer@hotmail.com) Mobile: 021 1107906 Office: (07) 578 1209

Or alternatively, my supervisors can be reached:

*Associate Professor Lise Bird Claiborne* Email: [claiboli@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:claiboli@waikato.ac.nz) Phone: 08009245286 Extension 4901

*Dr Carl Mika* Email: [mika@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:mika@waikato.ac.nz) Phone: 08009245286 Extension 6151



15

June, 2016

Kia ora,

My name's Jade Chalmers and I am a student at the University of Waikato. I was born and raised in Te Puke. I have worked as a teacher, but my passion for research, in particular research for Maori and in the area of Sexuality has driven my decision to pursue this study. I am writing this letter with the hope that you would be interested in supporting my research and working with me in this study. Here is some information

My research will be based around exploring your ideas around some things like gender and talking with you and two other girls/boys about what it means to be a Maori at you school. We will have three group hui, one individual interview, and I would like you to keep a reflective journal for a little while too. I do not wish to observe a curriculum area or teaching and learning in the classroom nor will I need to work with any teachers. I am aware that I need to make sure valuable teaching and learning sessions are not disrupted, so we will work with your principal and teachers to find the best times to meet. Meetings will take place in a private comfortable space in your school that the principal designates. Sessions will be fun but will also be challenging and will require you to think really hard about things. We will have some really good discussions-I'll bring something to eat too!

I would really appreciate your support, and will get in touch again shortly, for the meantime, have a think about participating in this exciting study.

Nga mihi,

Jade Chalmers  
*PhD Student*

Please do not hesitate to contact me for further information:

[Jadechalmer@hotmail.com](mailto:Jadechalmer@hotmail.com) Mobile: 021 1107906 Office: (07) 578 1209

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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

24 September, 2015

Kia ora,

My name's Jade Chalmers and I am a student at the University of Waikato. I was born and raised in Te Puke and my hapu is Ngati whakaue. I have worked as a teacher, but my passion for research, in particular research that will benefit and make change for rangatahi Maori in the area of Education and Sexuality, has driven my decision to pursue this study. I am writing this to you with the hope that you would support my study and I would appreciate any ideas or feedback from you or others that may be interested. I can be contacted and can make times to meet with you throughout the journey of the project. Here is some information on what the project will involve.

The focus of this study are young Māori and their understandings of themselves as 'young Māori' through a discursive exploration of social constructions, gender constructions and sexuality education within Aotearoa secondary schools. The study intends to challenge Western dominance and deeply embedded deficit ideas about Māori; to disturb, confront and disrupt these discourses. I intend to delve deep, and not focus on what is already known. I want the critical voices of young Māori to be heard, and want these voices to be used to benefit Māori.

My research will be based around exploring ideas and talking with six young Maori about what it means to be Maori at their school. We will have five group hui, one individual interview, and will keep a reflective journal. I do not wish to observe a curriculum area or teaching and learning in the classroom (this has been done many times), nor will I need to work with any teachers. I am aware that I need to make sure valuable teaching and learning sessions are not disrupted, so we will work with the principal and teachers to find the best times to meet. Meetings will take place in a private comfortable space in the school that the principal designates. Sessions will be fun but will also be challenging and will require students to think really hard about things. We will have some really good discussions-I'll bring something to eat too!

I would really appreciate your support,

Nga mihi,

Jade Chalmers  
*PhD Student*

Please do not hesitate to contact me for further information:



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Or alternatively, my supervisors can be reached:

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January, 2016

Dear Principal

Kia ora, my name's Jade and I am a PhD student at the University of Waikato. I was born and raised in Te Puke. After gaining a Master of Education, I worked as a teacher for three years, but my passion for research, in particular research for Maori and in the area of Sexuality has driven my decision to pursue this study. I am writing this letter with the hope that you would be interested in supporting my research and allowing me to work with students from you school.

My research will be based around exploring social constructions, gender constructions and sexuality through the voices of young Maori. I aim to recruit around six students (year 11 and 12/boys and girls) who identify as Maori from each school. Data collection would mean participants would be involved in: three group meetings, one individual interview, and would keep a reflective journal for the data collection period of 4-5 months. I do not wish to observe a curriculum area or teaching and learning in the classroom nor will I need to work with any teachers. I am aware that I need to make sure valuable teaching and learning sessions are not disrupted and I am hoping this will be achieved by working with you and teachers to arrange suitable times for me to be in your school.

I would really appreciate your support, and I look forward to hearing from you

Nga mihi,

Jade Chalmers  
*PhD Student*

Please do not hesitate to contact me for further information:

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