RE-AUTHORISING BICULTURAL EXPERIENCES:

Listening to previously silenced voices

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For Trevor Galvan (RIP) who was brave enough to confront my silenced stories and hold my hand as I learned.

ABSTRACT

"Nothing strengthens authority so much as silence."

Leonardo de Vinci

The principles of the Doctrine of Discovery, conceived 500 years ago, advocated absolute power and authority for European invaders to conquer and claim indigenous land. This shaped the converging of Māori/Settler relationships and validated the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand.

This thesis contends that the historic and taken for granted power and privilege that has benefitted Pākehā, transpired through a reimagined, fabricated version of our separate and combined past. The study unearths ingrained Pākehā perspectives and stereotypes about Māori, and a rejection of their disparate culture and identity. It highlights the role of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand as a tool of colonisation to erase the culture and identity of Māori and to maintain a world view that authorised power and privilege for the Settlers.

The study challenges Pākehā to 'step up' by shattering the sphere of silence around our combined historical narratives. It urges us [Pākehā] to develop critical consciousness so we may reflect on the world, and our position within it.

Inherent in this research is the premise that for Aotearoa, New Zealand to devise a future based on respectful and equitable sharing of social, financial, cultural, spiritual, and physical resources and opportunities, our silenced history, authorised by the State through the procedures of colonisation, must be acknowledged.

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The trust that my participants placed in me was humbling and enabled this research to happen. Your hospitality and generosity with time and spaces created courageous conversations. I hope I can repay you some day.

This research is for my grandchildren and your grandchildren, whoever they may be, in the hope that we learn understanding and acceptance of who we are in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and create conditions where we may thrive together.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In this research I examine the perspectives of a Māori and Pākehā world view by investigating our historical past, our present viewpoints, and our vision for the future. The objective of this study is to understand some of our differences as Māori and Pākehā so that we may create a future that embraces knowledge, understanding and acceptance of both cultures.

The founding document guiding the relationship between the indigenous Māori and settlers under the Crown in Aotearoa New Zealand is *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*/ The Treaty of Waitangi. In the Te Reo Māori version of the Treaty, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori ceded to the Crown and in return were promised protection of the land, water, and forests in their possession, the right to retain governance over their people and the same rights and privileges as British subjects (Orange, 2015). Māori cherished the Treaty like a *taonga* (treasure), as "like a gift exchange, it established a relationship that was intended to be ongoing, reciprocal, based on trust and good faith and mutually advantageous" (Metge & Durie, 2010. pp. 5-6). The British settlers were largely unaware of the obligations of the reciprocity that were outlined in the Treaty (Moon, 2007) and they brought their own beliefs and stereotypes of the indigenous people with them (McCreanor, 1997).

Since the Treaty signing, Māori have consistently challenged the Crown on the breaches of promises (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Orange, 2015). They claim unjust land legislation, estrangement and loss of language and culture as by-products of colonisation. In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was established to give Māori the opportunity to air their grievances (Tauri & Webb, 2010). For Pākehā, this challenged the prevalent perception of New Zealanders as a nation of happy go lucky people with equal opportunities for all (Terruhn, 2015). Pākehā believed that the Treaty of Waitangi was "an act of great benevolence, a unique example of how things should be done" (Meihana, 2017. p. 130). Thus, the divergent perspectives between Māori and non-Māori in the 1970s and 1980s was defined by dissent (Belgrave, 2017).

Education had a significant role to play in the colonising strategies of assimilation, deprivation of land, and culture for Māori (Pihama, 2019). I have reflected on this during my thirty plus years in education, particularly with my participation in the Te Kotahitanga research and development project which used student voice to address the educational inequalities for Māori in education; creating a

professional development programme that focussed on cultural relationships and pedagogy in the classroom (Bishop et al. 2009). My current position at Poutama Pounamu, University of Waikato, casts a wider perspective on the educational disparities for Māori students with a range of professional development opportunities for educators to transform their practice through understanding and learning. The 2020 Education and Training Act calls for schools and Boards of Trustees to enact the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi so there is an understanding of our history and our bicultural world views. This research aims to understand the perspective of our bicultural views. It does not aspire to resolve our differences, but rather, set us on a trajectory that offers a positive outlook of and for the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The research questions are:

- What are some of the diverse realities of Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand?
- How can we use these understandings to live and learn together, so that future generations are better positioned to reach their potential?

The qualitative research is underpinned by culturally responsive methodology, which gives participants the power to engage, relate and interact in their own ways. As a researcher using culturally responsive processes, I create practical contexts to give participants the power to engage, relate and interact in their own ways (Berryman et al., 2017). My previous relationship with my participants determines that this framework respects and values individual beliefs, while also considering and evaluating my voice within the research (Berryman et al., 2013). Using interviews as conversations to create a relaxed and informal ambiance to the research, and taking a position that is unintentional rather than authoritative, assists in creating conditions that create open conversations (Glynn, 2013., Berryman et al., 2013). Through these iterative discussions I explore ideas and themes as they occur, using grounded theory (Charmaz, 2017), to create a collaborative story that uses the voices of the participants, and considers my own voice and perspective (Phillips et al, 2020).

In this thesis chapter one introduces the intent of the research. Chapter two reviews literature around the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā to the present day and examines future predictions for that relationship to prosper. The methodology is introduced and described in chapter three and the research methods are discussed. The findings from the participants and myself are described in chapter four through collaborative storying and these discoveries are explored in chapter

five in relation to the research questions that consider the significance of the findings. Finally, chapter six sums-up the findings of this research and reflects on the implications that arise.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua:
I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past.

When we consider the relationship between Māori and Pākehā today, understanding our history so that we may make sense of our present and plan for our future is imperative. This *whakatauki* (proverb) reflects on the concept of the past, present and future in a spiralling, intertwining and fluid motion. For Māori it is linked to the significance of *whakapapa* (genealogy) identity, and culture. Rameka (2017) explains that for Māori, time "does not leave the past behind; rather one carries one's past into the future" (p. 387). Using the whakataukī as a guide, this literature review looks at the history of Aotearoa, New Zealand, to make sense of our present situation and give us a guide for the future.

This chapter explores a range of literature that considers how the history of Aotearoa, New Zealand has shaped some of the current realities for Aotearoa New Zealand today. Firstly, I examine the pre-colonial culture of the various tribal groups and the early contact between Māori and Pākehā up to and including *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and The Treaty of Waitangi. I include the beginnings of colonisation, and I follow this by investigating the subsequent impacts on education, culture, and identity. The third section reflects on the privilege and power that has shaped our society, and the final section discusses decolonisation as a way forward to sustaining an equitable future.

2.2 Pre European: Indigenous culture

2.2.1 Māori World View

Polynesian voyagers discovered and settled in Aotearoa New Zealand over 800 years ago. They brought with them ontologies and epistemologies that spoke of their voyages (Berryman, 2008). Their pre-European past has been verified through archaeology, genetics, linguistics, and the environmental sciences (Anderson et al., 2015) and it aligns to the oral narratives that iwi have told for generations (McRae, 2017). Māori adapted to the natural environment of Aotearoa New Zealand and developed societies and a culture that ensured survival (Anderson, 2015). They settled in *hapū* (small kinship groups) which operated independently of each other, yet "there was significant

commonality among tribes in dealing with issues of justice, land, health and education" (Consedine & Consedine, 2012. p. 80).

Māori shared their knowledge of the past through oral traditions that spoke of *whakapapa* (genealogy) which Mahuika (2019) maintains is the core of Māori genealogy. Whakapapa held the "concepts and narratives pivotal to their identity, culture, politics, language and religions" (Mahuika, 2019. p. 4) and was a way of making sense of the world. Anderson et al. (2015) explain that Māori connected their heritage to a past where "myth became, by degrees, the mother of history, moving from ethereal darkness to the realm of light, and from gods and heroes in the spirit-land of Hawaiki to chronicles of maritime migration and family history" (p. 9).

Dr Wayne Ngata (2019), shared Sir Apirana Ngata's writings about whakapapa from an unfinished doctoral thesis, that explains that the *mana* (prestige) of Māori allowed for a concept of whakapapa that was able to trace the genealogy of their ancestors; which augmented the social standing of its members. Sir Apirana Ngata maintains that the social mores of whakapapa increased language and knowledge as it evolved into a "rich terminology relating to the preservation and transmission of pedigrees and the processes connected therewith" (p. 21). Ballar (1991) observes that the memory power necessary to retain knowledge and understandings of whakapapa was remarkable as "genealogies were learned in metric patterns involving changes of pitch for each generation, similar to the intonation of waiata, in formalised patterns designed to aid the memory" (p. 550).

Durie (2001) and Walker (2004) classify whakapapa as the acknowledgment of consecutive generations and the relationships that exist between them. Berryman (2008) concurs by affirming that "traditional knowledge and cultural mores had been and are still being handed down and continuously evolving from generation to generation" (p. 29). Roberts (2013) reasons that whakapapa, from a theoretical viewpoint, encompasses all things, explaining that Māori have one set of ancestors, Ranginui and Papatuanuku and everything descends from them. Mikaere (2010) claims that whakapapa "establishes that everything in the natural world shares a common ancestry. With this knowledge of interconnection comes an acute awareness of interdependence which, in turn, fosters the realisation that our survival is contingent upon the nurturing of relationships" (p. 225).

When Mead (1993) explored the value and significance of Māori ancestors, she determined that "as individuals we have no identity except by reference to them" (p. 206). Berryman (2008) puts a

present-day perspective on this when she maintains that Māori who acknowledge their lineage from waka and ancestors, and who can claim iwi and hapū, are able to manage successful whānau (family) relationships through their shared history. Berryman (2008) states:

> Attachments to waka, iwi, and hapū are deeply important to defining one's identity as Māori and subsequently to one's spiritual, intellectual, social, and emotional well-being. Those who have lost these whānau connections, like many Māori who moved away from their cultural homelands to urban areas in the sixties, have lost their very identity as Māori, thus forcing many to look for new identities through attachment to other types of groups such as gangs. (p. 53)

Roberts (2013) describes whakapapa as "the existence and validity of alternative world views which each seek to make sense of and understand the world" (p. 93).

2.2.2. Western World view

When Abel Tasman and Captain Cook searched for new land, it was under the edicts of the Doctrine of Discovery which gave European monarchies the right to seize and obtain lands, and to kill the native inhabitants of those lands in the name of the Crown and the Church (Miller, 2012). Ngata (2019) asserts:

> Cook certainly did not discover us, while innocently sailing the Pacific. His was a military mission to facilitate the expansion of the British Empire. That mission was unjust and founded upon principles of white supremacy, but most importantly – it was just one part of a global story that continues to this day. (para. 13)

The Doctrine of Terra Nullius sanctioned the claiming of the land in Australia for the Crown by deeming it unoccupied (Nyangaga, 2022). The "British treated the land as unowned and ungoverned on the justificatory premise that Aboriginal people were racially inferior and thus incapable of ownership and self-government" (Ritter, 1996). Under this edict, "indigenous people were viewed as sub-humans, barbarians or savages who lived in uncivilised society and were thus incapable of having legal rights of land ownership (Bess, 2011. p. 86). In Aotearoa, New Zealand, the Doctrine of Discovery was used by the British as the justification for colonisation. This doctrine deemed that

European explorers were entitled to claim any new land, and that the use of arms and force against indigenous people validated the protection of European interests (Blumm, 2004).

In 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, a long-awaited document that had taken twenty years to come to fruition (Miller et al., 2010). New Zealand was one of the four countries (the other three were Australia, Canada, and the United States) that voted against the bill which aimed to support and protect the rights of indigenous people. Miller et al., (2010) resolve that:

> The common legal and cultural heritage of these four former English colonies heavily influenced and still influences their treatment of Indigenous peoples and the rights and powers of Indigenous peoples and continues to control and mandate the modern-day treatment of native peoples and nations. (p. 4)

In 2012, the Doctrine of Discovery was discredited in a meeting of the Permanent Forum of the United Nations, which proclaimed the Doctrines were the "shameful root of all the discrimination and marginalization Indigenous peoples face today" (United Nations, 2012. p. 3). Berryman and Eley (2020) declare that the Doctrine of Discovery needs "to be fully acknowledged, addressed and redressed; the underpinning implications understood in the context of today" (p. 100). Hence, the relevance of the opening whakataukī which urges us to understand our past and the consequences it has for our present, that can influence our decisions for the future.

2.2.3 Europeans and Māori: First Encounters

The first known encounter between Māori and Pākehā occurred in 1642 when Abel Tasman sailed and anchored two Dutch ships in the now named Abel Tasman Park. The conflict that occurred, resulted in the reported deaths of four Dutch sailors, and disregards the impact of the firing of cannon on the indigenous inhabitants of the land (O'Malley, 2013; Salmond, 1997). A possible misunderstanding between the Dutch sailors and Ngāti Tumatakōkiri, the resident tribe, has been touted as an explanation for this encounter, however, the dominance of the Dutch with their muskets, cannon, and tall ships would have been unsettling and unknown for the Māori (O'Malley & Kidman, 2018). Likewise, Abel Tasman's men had no connection to the haka and chanting, or apparently to the white flag that the Māori sailed towards them before they were fired on again (O'Malley & Kidman, 2018).

Approximately 130 years later, Captain James Cook landed on the Turanganui river near Gisborne, ensuing another clash between Māori and Pākehā when Ngāti Oneone leader, Te Maro, was shot and killed by one of Cook's men (Moon, 2013). The confrontations between Cook and the indigenous people of New Zealand continued. Orange (2015) asserts that Cook often sought to show his dominance by murdering the native people of Aotearoa with his superior access to muskets and cannon. Cook made three journeys to Aotearoa New Zealand and during that time, and with the arrival of other European explorers (Consedine & Consedine, 2012), Māori quickly established business dealings, trading food and water for household items to help them with their day-to-day life (Orange, 2003). Claudia Orange comments on the relationship between Māori and the early settlers claiming that "each side had to come to terms with the other to get what it wanted. Both tried force, but both found that more could be gained by negotiation. It was the start of a promising relationship. (p. 4). At this point, Māori and Pākehā relationships were friendly as their contact was mutually beneficial and because “Māori were still in control and could enforce their own custom” (Consedine & Consedine, 2012. p. 81).

2.2.4 Whalers and Sealers

In the late 18th Century, sealers and whalers arrived in New Zealand to take advantage of the resources of the ocean, firstly seals and when they became decimated, they turned to whales, for whale oil and whalebone (Creason, 2004). The whalers set up depots along the coastlines of Aotearoa, New Zealand to create convenient stations of work. In the area that I lived in, a whaling pot in the centre of the town had a placard that proclaimed; “In 1837 the first whalers arrived in the area. Waikokopu became the first whaling station in the area and Mahia served as a principal whaling base for the North Island”. In a Department of Conversation report, Cawthorn (2000) points out that relationships between Māori and the whalers were largely friendly. He speculates that Māori agricultural skills allowed them to develop a thriving trade as providers to the whalers with commodities such as "freshwater, firewood (for galley stoves and trypots), and fresh vegetables and root crops” (p. 5). Schafer (1998) reasons that as the relationship between Māori and the sealers and whalers was not based on trying to claim land, explore the interior, or on developing lasting communities, the relationship was congenial. Eventually, the whalers and sealers began to interact and integrate with Māori through marriage, clearing land for farming, and training for their business enterprises. The coastal settlements were “oriented towards the ocean for resources (seals, whales, fish) and to the lifeline of the outside world of money, markets, supplies, commodities” (Schafer, 1998, p. 38). Thus, initial contact between the whalers and Māori was based on mutually beneficial

practices that supplied both parties with the resources that they needed to survive and thrive (Adams, 2013).

2.2.5 Missionaries

The missionaries arrived into a world that was controlled by Māori (Middleton, 2008). They built churches and schools and introduced trading goods such as horses, cattle, and sheep (Consedine & Consedine 2012; Moon, 2013). The missionaries aspired to introduce Māori to civilisation and Christianity (Elder, 1932) and they urged Māori to accept the one Christian God. Māori countered the "one God" theory when they "pointed out that if this was so he would have acted impartially by making everybody the same colour, and by giving kumara to Europeans, and cattle and horses to Māori" (Anderson et al., 2015. p. 140). From this, Marsden surmised, their "reasoning faculties are strong and clear and their comprehension quick" (as cited in Elder, 1932. p. 231).

Although Māori had constructed a functioning society that met their needs within the environment, missionaries rejected their way of being as primitive and savage (O'Malley, 2013), and coerced them into Christianity with promises of future wealth and gifts of clothing and material goods (Binney, 2005). Ranginui Walker (2015) calls the work of the missionaries the "advance party of cultural invasion" (p. 2) decreeing their firm belief in their own cultural and intellectual superiority. Consedine and Consedine (2012) agree when they describe the missionaries as being at the "cutting edge of British imperialist policy" (p. 83).

2.3 He Whakaputanga

He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni known in English as the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1835 and confirmed *mana* (power, authority, dignity) and *tino rangitira* (sovereignty, control, and ownership) of Aotearoa, New Zealand for Māori (Fenton, 2003; Mutu, 2011). James Busby (representative of the Crown) received an ultimatum from Baron Charles de Thierry (a French adventurer) declaring himself to be the sovereign chief of New Zealand and stating an intention to create an independent state on land that he owned (Ross, 1980). Busby believed this to be a movement towards French control and he urged Māori chiefs to unite against the threat to their liberty. By signing He Whakaputanga, thirty-four Northern chiefs created Te Whakaminenga, a "confederation under the style of the United Tribes of New Zealand" (Ross, 1980. p. 83).

The Declaration asserted that sovereign power and authority in the land lay with the Confederation of Tribes and that law making would be decided by the Chiefs (Mikaere, 2013). It was recognised by the Colonial Office with the promise that the King would protect Māori on condition that there was a consideration for those of His Majesty's subjects. Busby saw the Declaration of Independence as a first step towards New Zealand becoming a British colony, however, Māori Chiefs saw it as a way of safeguarding their people in the face of the changing times (O'Malley & Harris, 2017).

Ani Mikaere (2013) asserts that He Whakaputanga gave Māori the opportunity to proclaim their authority in the face of the changing political, social, and cultural landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand. She states:

> The Declaration of Independence was a timely reminder to the world at large that Aotearoa remained under the sovereign authority of iwi and hapū. The establishment of Te Whakaminenga revealed an awareness of iwi and hapū acting collectively for the purpose of managing relationships with Pākehā. (p. 85)

2.4 Te Tiriti o Waitangi

According to Miller (2013), "Britain strategically acknowledged the independent sovereignty of some of the Māori tribes in 1835, then set about annexation" (pp. 209-210). Hobson, the New Zealand consul, recommended that the whole country became a sovereign state of Britain to protect the British labour and fisheries in New Zealand and to safeguard the British interest from other powers (Adams, 2013). Hobson asked the Māori chiefs to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi, declaring that the Queen would have the power to protect them from other European countries and in return they would have full rights as British citizens (Orange, 2015). After a lengthy debate, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed six years after the Declaration of Independence, initially at Waitangi and then in other areas of Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Tiriti o Waitangi promised Māori, participation, in the sovereignty and the power of governing the nation; partnership, where equal rights and opportunities were granted to both Māori and non-Māori; and protection of *taonga*, including cultural treasures, such as language, customs, epistemologies etc (Walker, 1996). Māori chiefs believed that they had found enduring protection of their environment in the second article of the Treaty that promised kāwangatanga through which they would retain ownership of all their land (Adams, 2013). Māori chiefs "expected to build a mutually beneficial relationship with the settler" (Huygens, 2015. p. 147) yet, while the second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi purported to protect Māori ownership of the land,

the Treaty of Waitangi version gave the New Zealand government the sole right to buy land (Adams, 2013; Orange 2011).

Ranginui Walker (1996) claims that the words *Kingitanga (*Kingship) and *mana* (sovereignty over land) that were present in the Declaration of Independence were left out of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the world *kāwangatanga* (governance) put in its place. He asserts that "if sovereignty had been translated as ‘mana whenua’ (sovereignty over land) then the chiefs would have no doubt as to its meaning. This being the case it is highly probable that they would not have signed the Treaty" (p. 53).

Consedine and Consedine (2012) discuss the idea of sovereignty as being “located in a European legal and political framework, which was based on entirely different premises from a Māori world view” (p. 90). During the chiefs’ debate, Hobson orally agreed to give back Māori land that had already been taken illegally (Orange, 2015). Consedine and Consedine (2012) reflect that for Māori, “the Treaty was not only a written document” (p. 90) but that everything that was discussed was an important part of the new relationships being formed.

Settlers assumed that they would be living in a British colony, where European ways of being and doing would be valued more highly than indigenous Māori ways, and this disregarded the intent of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (McCreanor, 1997). Ballantyne (2012) acknowledges that “the difficult nature of these translations and the cultural disjunctions which framed the Treaty continue to exercise political activists, lawyers and historians” (p. 151). Huygens (2007) discusses the disparity of perspectives between Māori and Pākehā regarding the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi when she declares that:

> The English and Māori texts of the Treaty of Waitangi could be said to express, respectively, a colonial view and an indigenous view of the intended relationship between the parties. In the difference between the two versions lies a key source of tension between Māori and Pakeha in New Zealand today. (p. 25)

2.5 Colonisation

Although colonial rule was officially recognised after the signing of the Treaty, the earlier contact between Māori and the Crown set precedents that were to impact on the colonisation process

(Orange, 2015). A mere twenty years after the Treaty of Waitangi signing, Pākehā outnumbered Māori due to the “inflows of colonists, mainly British in origin, and even more significantly their high levels of reproduction once they arrived” (Pool, 2015. p. 45). The increasing Crown demand for Māori owned resources came about as part of this rapid growth.

From the beginning, the ramifications of the Treaty were disputed by Māori as the settler demand for land increased (Orange 2015). Previously Māori had entered private land deals with settlers, yet now they were being forced to accept unsatisfactory offers from the Crown (Bess, 2011). By the 1860s the hostility between Māori and the British intensified to the point of open conflict (Hooper & Kearins, 2004). Māori collective ownership of land caused problems for the Crown, who needed to acquire land for settlers. The Native Lands Act 1862 conceded that Māori had an entitlement to the land, however, to obtain title, they had to have the land surveyed at their own cost, paying court fees, interpreters fees, travel costs to court and the cost of re-hearings (Ward, 2015). Thus, the Native Land Court Act “created immense power over Māori and exposed individual Māori titleholders to great pressure and temptation to sell” (Ward, 2015. p. 129).

On the eve of the British invasion of Waikato in July 1863, the New Zealand settlements Act, was passed. It was “designed to ensure a constant flow of land revenues to the state and provided the means for registering individually named Native titles” (Hooper & Kearins, 2004. p. 3). Waikato Māori were ordered to take an oath of allegiance to the Queen and relinquish their weapons or face confiscation of land. Walker (1996) purports that this changed the relationship between Māori and Pākehā as they became opposing forces within their social, cultural, and ethnic differences. Walker (1996) reflects that "the process of colonial despoliation set in train by Governor Gore Browne at Waitara had rendered the guarantees entered by the Crown in 1840 at Waitangi as insubstantial as mist in the noonday sun" (p. 65).

By 1853, 32 million acres of land had been requisitioned by the Crown (Orange, 2015 b). Grants were given to settlers to develop the land but no funding was available to Māori so they were forced to sell parts of their land in order to live on what remained (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2013). Subsequent land Acts ensured Māori subjugation and up until 1928 the government could take up to five percent of land granted by the Crown without compensation (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2013).

The act of colonisation involves two significant processes, the suppression of people from another land and the procreation of one's own people in those lands. The colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand underwent both these processes (Belich, 2002). The trauma associated with deprivation of land, laws leading to poverty, huge settler immigration, warfare, cultural elimination, forced social change, and racism resulted in "indigenous cultures, economies, populations, and rights being diminished and degraded" (Moewaka Barnes & Creanor, 2019. p. 19). Orange discusses the Māori attitude to these laws:

> For Māori at the turn of the century, the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi remained central to their struggle to gain rights from the government. They kept hoping that official attitudes might change. After all, elections sometimes brought changes of government, and in time new politicians might listen to Māori voices. (Orange, 2003. p. 103)

However, the Treaty commitments were consistently broken and disregarded by the Crown. Māori were forced to adhere to illegal land confiscation and cultural deprivation of language, protocols and identity that impacted on their entire way of being (Moewaka Barnes & Creanor, 2019; Orange, 2003). Laws that favoured the settlers were inherent in the policies of the Crown and while Māori made numerous resistances and protests, including travelling at least twice to England to petition the Queen with their grievances, their objections were dismissed (Ward, 2015). Walker (1996) avows that "this rejection made it clear that Parliament was not interested in sharing power with authentic Māori authorities such as Kotahitanga and the Kauhanganui" (p. 67).

Implicit in the colonising of Aotearoa, New Zealand was the dominant world view of the Crown. Pākehā "inherited the political, material and symbolic privileges" (Bell, 2006. p. 6) of the procedures of colonisation that rationalised the "exploitation, exclusion, marginalisation, and dispossession justified through racial doctrines of white supremacy" (MacDonald, 2018. p. 19). Although the signing of The Treaty and Te Tiriti o Waitangi is lauded as the beginning of 'one people' carving a future together, the realities of assimilation and social and racial injustice were managed by undergoing historical amnesia about the history and nature of settlement (Bell, 2006; MacDonald, 2018).

2.6 Education

Pre-colonisation, Māori had a highly developed education system that supported values and culture, with teaching practices that acknowledged the strengths and talents of the individual in a way that was integral to their societal structures (Hetaraka, 2022; Salmond, 1983; Smith, 1995). This section discusses education in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and the part it played in the colonisation process (Pihama, 2019; Simon et al, 2001).

2.6.1 Mission Schools

Formalised/colonised education for Māori began in 1816, when the first Mission schools were introduced (Moon, 2019). They focussed on converting Māori to Christianity, not colonising, so Māori continued to live as Māori (Hetaraka, 2022). By 1830 the gospels had been translated into Māori and the missionaries had their own printing press which meant they could widely distribute printed materials (Simon et al., 2001). Māori were active in teaching the missionaries te reo Māori, who then taught both children and adults to read and write in te reo, and by the mid 1840s, half the population of Māori had literacy skills (Binney et al., 2015). The enthusiasm that Māori had for this new knowledge, validated their quick intelligence, challenging the colonial perception that Māori were uncivilised and savage (Walker, 2016; Brown, 1851; Jackson, 1975).

Māori recognised the need to develop literacy skills that would create enduring political interaction with the colonists and so they assisted in forming the Mission schools (Moon, 2019; Simon et al., 2001), yet while Māori thirsted for Western knowledge, religion dominated the curriculum. Although the schools were set up on Māori land and used Māori resources (Jones & Jenkins, 2013; Simon et al., 2001), Māori had no say in the curriculum (Elsmore, 2011). The missionaries feared that teaching English would result in "Māori independence, contamination by non-Christian Europeans, and the loss of the Māori language" (Jones & Jenkins, 2016. p. 16). Reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction, with sewing and housekeeping was included in the girls' school curriculum (Simon et al., 1995), whilst education for boys included an expectation that manual labour would be carried out to support the day to day running of the school. The following excerpts from an inspector's report on the Natives Schools indicate the heavy labour required from boys attending the Otaki Industrial School, 1855. It may be timely to remind ourselves that the Mission schools were for Primary aged children.

> Instruction was given in various branches of agriculture such as the use of the plough, thrashing machine &c., in draining land, in the management of horses, bullock, cows, sheep &c. (Report on the Otaki Industrial School, 1855)
>
> The heavy work devolving on the boys in the early stages of an Institution of this kind when it is necessary, not only to raise sufficient crops for its support, but to be continually extending operations, clearing new land, and contending with the difficulties arising from insufficient fences -drains and bridges has a rather disheartening effect on them. (Report on the Otaki Industrial School, 1855)

In 1844 the Native Exemption Ordinance proposed that English become the primary language of instruction in the country's schools and three years later Governor Grey's Education Ordinance promoted a state school system that provided funding to non-state schools (Mission schools) on the proviso that they offered instruction only in English (Moon, 2019).

The differences in educational intent between Māori and Pākehā is summed up by Simon (1992).

> Māori embraced schooling as a means to maintain their sovereignty and enhance their life-chances. The government, on the other hand, sought control over Māori and their resources through schooling. Māori wanted to extend their existing body of knowledge. The government, with its assimilation policy, intended to replace Māori culture with that of the European. (p. 5)

2.6.2 Native Schools

The 1867 Native Schools Act initiated a separate system of education that created Native/Māori primary schools for Māori children that were controlled by the state (Goldsmith et al., 2018). Boarding structures within the system demanded that children were educated apart from their communities (Hetaraka, 2022) and besides reading and writing, there was an emphasis on teaching manual and domestic skills (Walker, 2016). The Native School Code (1880) decreed that te reo Māori be confined to junior classes, and then replaced by instruction in English. Children were instructed to speak only English in all parts of their schooling and failure to do so was enforced by corporal punishment (Walker, 2016).

Māori were active in their criticism of the education system and the treatment of their children (Simon et al., 1995) who spent long hours working on the land and little time on schoolwork (Simon, 1988). This resulted in a mass exodus of Māori children from the Mission schools and the boarding schools and led to the consequent demise of these systems (Hetaraka, 2022). Taylor (1863) outlines the low expectations for Māori in a School Inspectors report when he declares that he does not "advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent, if we take into account the position, they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale" (p. 38). A further example of reduced prospects for Māori is indicated in the School Attendance Act that was introduced in 1894 where Pākehā children are required to attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen, yet Māori children need only attend to Standard four (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011).

In 1877 the Education Act centralised education in New Zealand. Although the Act was "promoted as an example of egalitarian legislation, promoting fairness and inclusivity in education" (Hetaraka, 2022. p. 30), it was in fact, for settler children only. Māori children were educated under the Native Schools Act and these two systems of education remained in place for one hundred years. (Barrington, 2008). As Hetaraka comments:

> The separate education systems illustrate the government's dual, and conflicting purposes for education – a free, secular education for all settler children to progress an egalitarian society, and ironically, a restrictive education to 'civilise' Māori children into becoming the underclass of that egalitarian society. (p. 330)

The domination of a colonialist perspective was pervasive. Ranginui Walker (2016) contends that "school demanded cultural surrender, the denial of Māori language and culture. For the majority of children, school became a site of resistance, an arena of cultural conflict exacerbated by teachers steering pupils towards manual labour and domestic service" (p. 25).

Te Aute College was established in 1854 and it successfully educated young Māori men in academic subjects including Latin, chemistry, Greek, French, arithmetic, geography, and New Zealand law (Walker, 2004). George Hogben, (Director of Education) and William Bird, (Director of Native schools) argued that academic subjects denied the focus of the Native schools' curriculum of manual labour and instruction and Te Aute were instructed to stop academic schooling for Māori students

(Walker, 1990). Walker (1990) claims that "Hogben and Bird's control of the curriculum in Māori schools created a two-tier system of education that affirmed Pākehā dominance and Māori subordination" (p. 26).

By 1958 the settler population had overtaken Māori, and this was considered by the Crown "as a result of a failure by Māori to assimilate sufficiently into European culture" (Moon, 2019. p. 294). The focus of education continued to assimilate and civilise Māori, so they conformed to a western way of being (Consedine & Consedine, 2012). When the Native/Māori Schools system was disestablished in 1969, responsibility for the remaining 105 Māori schools again shifted, this time to Education Board control (Simon et al., 2001) signalling an egalitarian approach to schooling. However, any extended education was limited to those who showed academic ability, received a government grant, or could afford the financial cost. As Seve-Williams (2013) ascertained, "wealth was a clear factor in the opportunity/success factor" (p. 248). Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) contends that this system created "indigenous elites" (p. 67) for Māori who "converted to the colonial ideology" (p. 67).

Walker (2016) alleges that two ideologies that effectively underpin colonisation were visible in the education system. "Māori language and culture is inferior to that of the Pakeha and that it is of little practical use within the modern technocratic society as defined by Pakeha" (p. 4).

2.6.3 Educational initiatives

The growing dissatisfaction from Māori for State Education schooling came from resistance to an ideology that protected and favoured a belief in the superiority of Pākehā culture, knowledge and learning, and the inferiority of Māori culture, language, and knowledge forms (Smith, 1997).

2.6.3.1 The Hunn Report

The Hunn report identified an educational imbalance between Māori and Pākehā (Hunn, 1961). It proposed policies to integrate Māori and non-Māori that would "bring Māori into a modern society" (McFarlane, 2015. p. 178). The pervading belief from the Pākehā settler community was that the playing field was level (Jackson, 2019; Simon, 1998) and indeed, the Hunn report appeared to attribute culpability to Māori and not to an "education system that had consistently failed to meet the needs of Māori" (Metge & Durie, 2010).

It was not until 1971 that the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education recommended that understanding cultural differences was significant for Māori (Codd, Harker & Nash, 1990). Following this report, the Minister of Education reversed the policy of excluding the teaching of Māori language in primary schools and introduced the concept of *taha Māori* (Māori dimension) into the curriculum. These initiatives were driven by Pākehā teachers with westernised perspectives and were largely unsuccessful (Walker, 1990).

2.6.3.2 Te Kōhanga Reo

By 1979, the loss of the Māori language was so great that it was believed that it would become extinct if nothing was done to save it (Walker, 1990). The Te Kōhanga Reo movement was formed in the 1980s by Māori communities working alongside the Ministry of Māori Affairs. The aim was to revitalise the Māori language and tackle cultural and socio-cultural concerns and loss of identity (Skerrett-White, 2003). The reform rejected the formalised early education centres and introduced the concept of Māori-speaking kuia who did the teaching, and transferred their knowledge to help young mothers learn the language and the culture (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011). The scheme was not proposed or funded by the Ministry of Education, rather, the Ministry of Māori Affairs granted some Te Kōhanga Reo a start-up grant of $5,000 and "whānau were required to cover the ongoing operational costs" (Walker, 1990. p. 238).

The Te Kōhanga Reo movement expanded rapidly and by 1988, there were 520 facilities throughout Aotearoa, New Zealand (Smith, 1998). In 1990, the number peaked to over 800, not including those that were not officially recognised by the Ministry of Education (Walker, 1990). However, in 1990 the Ministry of Education decided to integrate the early childhood system and took control of Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development). It deemed that all Kōhanga were to be staffed by teachers, trained, and qualified by early childhood education, which caused a decline in the playgroups, with over 400 Kōhanga having to close their doors (Walker, 1990).

In 2006, the Te Kōhanga Reo Trust lodged a complaint against the Ministry of Education, with the Waitangi Tribunal, in an attempt to preserve the once more declining speakers of Te Reo. *Matua Rautia:* the report on the Kōhanga Reo claim, from the Waitangi Tribunal, declared that Kōhanga Reo should have the freedom to make decisions about how their services best meet the needs of their children. It emphasised a need for the Crown and Māori to work together to ensure te Reo Māori survives, and it asserted that te reo Māori must be funded adequately (Ahu, Māori Law

Review, 2012). The Waitangi Tribunal stressed that "the Crown must design early childhood education policy in terms of te reo Māori for Māori children and their whānau in a manner that does not undermine the rangatiratanga rights of Māori and their institutions" (as cited by Ahu, T. in Māori law Review, 2012).

In a critical review of the education system, Ka'ai Mahuta (2011) construed that Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, that promised to preserve taonga, including language, whakapapa, and culture, was not adhered to by the Ministry of Education. She asserts instead that these were relegated to second racism and bias were inherent in the decision to insist that Kōhanga Reo conform to a colonialist education structure. She declares, "from its inception, the New Zealand Government has continually passed legislation that has been detrimental to the Māori language and furthered the Government's agenda of cultural assimilation and language domination" (p. 196).

2.6.3.3 Tomorrow's Schools

In the 1980s the Picot report recommended widespread re-structuring of the education system. Tomorrow's Schools, a Treasury proposed initiative, had the aim of making education more efficient and more responsive to its clients (Codd, 2005). The reform focussed on parental choice, decentralisation, management, governance, and greater accountability (Court & O'Neill, 2011).

Within six months, a review of the process, resulted into the revised policy of Todays Schools. This version created stricter National guidelines around teaching and learning. According to Court and O'Neill (2011), the Ministry of Education's National Educational Guidelines had the effect of giving more importance to national regulations rather than to school ideology and there was an emphasis on "tangible improvements in student learning outcomes and standards of achievement" (p. 137). The Education Review Office (ERO) was structured to conduct audits of schools' performance against its charter and its effectiveness in pre-designated areas (Codd, 2005).

For the education of Māori, it was an opportunity to introduce bi-lingual schools, because of a clause that stated that if schools could not meet the educational needs of the students, the parents could create their own within the state system. However, the Minister of Education had the total authority to decide whether the special schools could go ahead (Benton, 1991). The State's view of te reo Māori, as determined through the process of colonisation was that it had little value to the Māori people (O'Regan, 2006), and although there was a great demand for bi-lingual school within Māori

whānau, there was little opportunity, and no extra funding was made available (Benton, 1991). These largely administrative reforms in the 1990s continued to influence education for the next two decades (Openshaw, 2009).

2.6.3.4 Kura Kaupapa

When the children who attended Kōhanga Reo became school age they were required to attend mainstream schools that were unable to cater to the needs of students who spoke te reo Māori (Tocker, 2015; Smith, 2017). Concerned whānau strategised the development of *Kura Kaupapa* (Māori schooling) as a form of resistance that "is clearly Māori in design, content and practice" (Smith, 2017, p. 99), and which rejected the superiority of Pākehā social and cultural norms (Smith, 1986). In 1990, the changes in education under Tomorrows Schools allowed the champions of Kura Kaupapa to convince the government to fund a pilot scheme for six Kura Kaupapa Māori and this number increased to 71 over the next 17 years (Walker, 2016). In July 2022 , there were 24,366 students in Māori medium schools, a number which has steadily inclined each year (Ministry of Education, Education Counts, 2021). Research demonstrates a growing popularity for kura kaupapa so that Māori students may truly live and achieve as Māori (Tocker, 2007; Smith, 2017).

The Independent Task Force for Tomorrows schools (Ministry of Education, 2018) acknowledged the "bureaucratic hurdles, a lack of Government investment, and limited capacity among existing kura to be able to support other Māori communities to enter this process" (p. 58). One of the recommendations from this report was that "consideration be given to the formation of a dedicated national Education Hub for Kaupapa Māori settings that provides a strong and coherent parallel pathway within the overall network" (p. 66).

According to Pihema (2019), Kura Kaupapa education for Māori students works because it allows them "to be educated in an environment that affirms, validates, and nurtures them as Māori while providing them with more than enough tools to survive in a Pakeha- dominated society" (p. 41). Graham Smith (2017) concurs by stating, "whereas State schooling has been sustained by covert ideological assumptions such as the superiority of Pakeha cultural norms; Kaupapa Māori schooling takes the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge for granted (p. 103).

2.6.3.5 Ka Hikitia

The Ministry of Education strategy Ka Hikitia: Managing for Success was launched in 2008 – 2012, relaunched as Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013–2017, and a recent iteration Ka Hikitia – Ka Hāpaitia was introduced in 2021 (Ministry of Education website, n.d). The strategy was designed to realise the potential of all Māori learners and to "step up" our systems of education to improve Māori student achievement (Goren, 2009). The first strategy included initiatives designed to meet the goals of Ka Hikitia, however, the Auditor General's report (2013) resolved that the process had not been rolled out effectively, reporting on inadequate accountability controls, lack of focus, and lack of buy in from the Ministry of Education. Egan (2022) contends that "the release of Ka Hikitia did little to prepare schools' BOTs, leaders or teachers to either identify what was required or to implement the policy" (p. 79). She argues that Ka Hikitia requires structural and cultural shifts in our schooling system, however, this will not happen without "educator and leaders' agency based on moral courage and critical agency" (p. 67).

2.6.3.6 Te Kotahitanga

The Poutama Pounamu educational and research development centre was created in 1995 under the umbrella of the Special Educational Services. It was guided by Kaupapa Māori principles and sought to support educators to work effectively with Māori students and their whānau (Berryman, 2008). In the late 1990s the team became part of the Ministry of Education and in 2001 it combined with the University of Waikato to participate in Te Kotahitanga.

Te Kotahitanga offered professional development with the goal of raising Māori student achievement in mainstream secondary schools. The project aimed to "address the major challenge facing education in New Zealand: the continuing social, economic, and political disparities within our nation, primarily between the descendants of the European colonisers (Pākehā) and the indigenous Māori people" (Bishop et al., 2012. p. 50). The programme developed from research that gathered the educational experiences of student, whānau and teachers in New Zealand, from which an effective teaching profile was developed to assist teachers with best practice in their classrooms.

Bishop et al. (2009) clarify the intent of the Te Kotahitanga project:

> Changing teachers' explanations and practices (theoretical repositioning within discourse) about what impacts on Māori students' learning involves providing teachers with the

> opportunity to challenge their own deficit theorising about Māori students (and their communities) through real and vicarious means in non-confrontational ways. (p. 9)

An evaluation report of Te Kotahitanga for the Ministry of Education (Meyer, 2010) demonstrated increased Māori student retention, and "statistically significant differences favouring Te Kotahitanga schools in NCEA mathematics, physics and science" (p. 109). Teachers, principals, and school leaders confirmed that raised expectations and improved relationships were a by-product of the Te Kotahitanga programme, and whānau and students reported an enhanced sense of belonging and valuing of identity in the Te Kotahitanga schools (Alton-Lee, 2015). In her phase 5 report, Alton-Lee (2015) analysed the results of Te Kotahitanga and showed evidence of the positive impact of the programme for Māori students.

> What Te Kotahitanga Phase 5 achieved was an accelerated improvement trajectory for Māori students when the OECD was reporting the New Zealand secondary education system to be in a period of accelerating decline. This accomplishment is particularly remarkable in the context of the wider evidence base that indicates that many well-intended interventions have little (or even negative) impact on Māori achievement. (p. 73)

Analysis of the Te Kotahitanga programme proved that the academic achievement gap between Māori and Pākehā was beginning to close in these schools (Alton-Lee, 2015). However, in 2013 the programme was replaced with a broader initiative, Kia Eke Panuku, which aimed to build on the success of Te Kotahitanga. Funding was slashed and with it the investment in the intensive professional development for teachers that had proven to be successful (Alton-Lee, 2015; Eley & Berryman, 2018). According to Hogg (2015), removal of funding for educational reforms such as Te Kotahitanga that achieved considerable success in a challenging national environment, is "risky for Māori, and ultimately for New Zealand society" (p. 3).

2.6.3.7 Kia Eke Panuku

Kia Eke Panuku supported the vision of Ka Hikitia in about one third of secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. It operated between 2014 and 2016 and followed on from the success of Te Kotahitanga. The Kia Eke Panuku website (2016) professes to give life to Ka Hikitia and address the aspirations of Māori communities by supporting Māori students to pursue their potential. The programme reported improved outcomes for Māori students (Berryman & Eley, 2017 b), however,

despite this success, after three years the programme was axed as the Ministry of Education changed its policy regarding professional development for schools (Eley & Berryman, 2019). Berryman and Eley (2017) maintain that there is no "quick fix' to addressing the disparity of educational outcomes" (p. 3). They offer a theory of change for school reform that was implemented during the two years of Kia Eke Panuku, which responded to individual school's needs based on their qualitative and quantitative evidence. Ako: critical contexts for change, focuses on "culturally responsive and relational practices; deliberate professional acts applied with adaptive expertise, and home, school and community collaboration" (Berryman & Eley, 2017. p. 102) underpinned by critical and Kaupapa Māori theories.

Berryman et al. (2015) maintain that to bring about changes in education for Māori students requires leaders in schools who are not propelled by political directives, but rather " by both the moral imperative to change and a keen sense of urgency to see this happen in our schools for Māori students and their home communities" (p. 56).

2.6.4 Educational summary

Although the disparities between Māori and Pākehā in education were visible, the belief from Pākehā that education provided equal opportunities through an egalitarian system remained (Smith, 1992). McNamee and Miller (2013) contend that schools embrace an ideology that considers future achievement or employment is based on learning at school, which brings about rewards in the form of better resourcing and longer educational possibilities. Inherent in this ideology, is the conviction that every individual has an equal opportunity to attain educational benefits if they work hard and apply themselves. McIntosh (2020) calls this the "myth of meritocracy" (p. 33), the idea that individual effort is the cornerstone for success and achievement.

Hetaraka (2022) asserts that "western education for Māori has been marred by low teacher expectations, deficit theorising, stereotyping and continued failure by the system to improve education enjoyment and success for many Māori" (p. 322). According to Terruhn (2015), our present educational structures rely on Pākehā value systems as normal, and therefore disadvantage Māori by placing them as the 'other'. She asserts that the Ministry of Education:

> ... continues to "thread" Māori concerns through a separate branch of schooling in the same manner as the colonial administration of Native schooling (Ministry of Education, 2011, 2013). These posilies acknowledge "culture" and "ethnicity" to ensure that Māori interests

> are somewhat included, thereby maintaining the settler-colonial facade of equitable race relations *(p. 53).*

The most recent Education and Training Act (2020) requires Boards of Trustees to provide more explicit information to be compliant with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The refresh of the New Zealand Curriculum includes a "refreshed Te Tiriti Honouring and Inclusive Curriculum framework" (Ministry of Education, 2021). The teaching professional guidelines (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand) ask teachers to "demonstrate commitment to tangata whenua and Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnerships in Aotearoa New Zealand" (MOE website) and Ka Hikitia Ka Hāpaitia urges schools to provide a curriculum where Māori succeed and achieve as Māori. However, while this could be seen as a giant step forward, Berryman and Eley (2019) contend that extensive restructuring is needed if we are to reduce the disparities that exist between Māori and Pākehā in education today. They declare that the systemic issues in education need to be tackled alongside cultural change.

> Decades of altering specific aspects of curriculum, of pedagogy, of school leadership or administrative systems have not brought about large-scale change for students who are being educated within a culture that is not their culture. We need to look at widespread reform *(p. 135).*

2.7 Culture and identity

Culture can be described as our way of being, who we identify with, our thoughts, beliefs, ways of eating, customs, history, and language, in fact everything that we are (Tylor, 2016). Anthropologist Margaret Mead (1955) describes cultures as covering:

> not only the arts and sciences, religions, and philosophies, to which the word "culture" has historically applied, but also the system of technology, the political practices, the small intimate habits of daily life, such as the way of preparing or eating food, or of hushing a child to sleep, as well as the method of electing a prime minister or changing the constitution. *(pp. 12-13)*

The process of colonisation required Māori to assimilate into Pākehā systems, structures, ways of being and knowing and living; that normalised being Pākehā - the laws, language, social structures, education, justice, and health as the only system that was of consequence. (Bell, 2009; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1992). Consedine and Consedine (2012) discuss the negative impacts of colonisation for

Māori when they state that “the legacy is the exclusion of an enormously rich indigenous culture -the marginalisation of an entire way of life” (p. 219).

According to Bell (2014), the culture and identity of Māori was not considered “authentic” by the settlers who credited themselves as a modern and advanced people, while Māori were labelled primitive and simple. Bell (2004) explains that originally Māori did not identify as one people, but through *whānau*, (family groups), *hapū* (sub-tribes} and *iwi* (tribes), so even the way we consider Māori is because of colonialism.

Pākehā are less aware of themselves as having a culture and are less likely to regard themselves as Pākehā (Spoonley, 1995). Black (2010) discusses Treaty people as Pākehā who come to recognise themselves as having a culture and describes the initial steps to define Pākehā in her research:

> We lacked understanding of our own cultural positions and a language to describe who we were. Our sense of not having a culture often resulted in intense arguments about, for example, Māori having a culture and us not having one. We did not know how to relate the concepts of culture to our own experiences of being part of the dominant group in Aotearoa. *(p. 10)*

Amundsen (2018) contends that identifying as Pākehā is a political act. She claims that it recognises the relationships that we (Pākehā) have to tangata whenua and our history of colonisation:

> Pākehā is a positive term that has been “gifted to Pākehā by the Indigenous people of Aotearoa and defines the terms of how Pākehā are in their land, and in their space. Claiming to be a Pākehā is to accept this gift, and to be respectful through honouring the priority of Māori in this land and the place of Pākehā in relation to Māori. (p. 146)

There has been contention for generations around New Zealand as a bicultural country (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Cram, 1997; McCreanor, 1995). The conflict has its roots in the premise that Māori and Pākehā united to govern this country, with Te Tiriti o Waitangi being the founding document of that assumption. Our history, however, is characterised by political, economic, and social control by the dominant group, consisting of Pākehā and excluding Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1997). According to Huygens (2011), the “economic and social order in Aotearoa New Zealand is held in place by a

“hegemony based on the notion that indigenous sovereignty was ceded and images of a benign colonisation” (p. 5).

Bidois (2013) recounts his experience of growing up in a small community that generated positive bi-cultural relationships. He describes a space that “disrupted and blurred the boundaries of identities between Māori and Pākehā where the bringing together of two cultures has shifted traditional thinking and attitudes” (p. 4). Conversely, Bell (2006) suggests that Māori resistance to biculturalism was in response to the racism of the Pākehā culture, and the need to advocate for the protection and sustainability of Māori culture and identity from the assimilation practices of colonialism.

In a thesis that examines Pākehā culture in Aotearoa, New Zealand, Black (2010) discusses the invisibility of race and culture by the dominant Western Cultures. She says that "they tend not to personally relate to race or culture because they are so surrounded by their own people and social structures which are so normal for and beneficial to them" (p. 72). Terruhn (2015) asserts that this is a deliberate assimilation process that “undermined indigenous difference by setting European standards as the yardstick of civilisation and requiring indigenous people to mimic the settlers” (p. 53).

Hook (2007) contends that Māori are more likely to be focussed on relationships, the power of the group and their connectedness to previous generations, whereas Pākehā concepts of identity are based on competition and self-interest. Māori identity is ordained by the experienced social context through being, doing and seeing as Māori (Karetu, 1990). Stewart (2020) explains that ethnicity is relational, and not a biological concept. She asserts that, “Māori identity cannot be determined or limited by blood” (p. 310) rather, this is the position of non-Māori labelling Māori within their own social constructs and imageries.

For Pākehā, “historical amnesia” has in many cases meant a denial of the culture of their own past to maintain hegemony through the structures of colonisation (Consedine & Consedine 2012; MacDonald, 2018; Terruhn, 2015). While Māori mourn their culture, Pākehā reject the existence of theirs.

2.8 Privilege

Freire (2018) purports that communication in the form of dialogue cannot exist without a real and true love for humanity, and that domination of people is not an act of love. The colonisation of

Aotearoa, New Zealand was a process of hegemony from one race over another (Bell, 2014; Binney, 2005; Moon, 2013). Non-Māori, in the form of settlers from Europe assented to this domination and the privileges that it afforded them, whilst perpetuating the myth that we all have equal opportunities in 'Gods own' country (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). Kendall (2012) describes the superiority of whiteness as a "social construct" and explains that this "construct informs both the past and the present and affects each of our lives daily" (p. 61).

According to Consedine and Consedine (2012), "immigration, assimilation, and integration policies directly benefited Pakeha and marginalised Māori, yet these systemic structural benefits remain invisible to most Pakeha" (p. 200). The unjust legal ramifications for Māori were largely ignored by Pākehā as an acceptable part of colonialism (Hodgetts et al., 2010; MacDonald, 2018; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). European settlers who emigrated to improve their original circumstances came with an inbuilt sense of privilege, that focussed on achieving individual goals, with little concern for how that impacted on the indigenous Māori (Belich, 2002; Borell et al, 2009; Orange, 2015 b). DiAngelo (2018) sums up colonial settlers' perspectives when she contends that:

> .. at the same time that whites are taught to see their interests and perspectives as universal, they are also taught to value the individual and to see themselves as individuals rather than as part of a racially socialized group. Individualism erases history and hides the ways in which wealth has been distributed and accumulated over generations to benefit whites today. (p. 59)

The embracing of individualism provided Pākehā with the means to pursue their own desires and to block any negativity that arose from their actions, by disregarding the structures of society which favoured them (McIntosh, 2020; Borell et al., 2009). Sullivan (2006) challenges this perspective as a comfortable excuse for white people to continue to reap privileges and remain ignorant of the realities of the 'other' in their world:

> Blithely wrapped up in a white world, white people often do not see their ignorance and cannot be faulted for not addressing it, so it seems. Point it out to them, give them accurate information about science and non-white people, and white people will gladly fill in the gaps in their knowledge and eliminate their racism. (p. 31)

In my experience, 'pointing out information' is not enough to change intergenerational ingrained perspectives. We (Pākehā) have to own our privilege, and this is a lengthy process of what Friere (2018) calls conscientisation; where we become critically aware of our place in the world and the conscious and unconscious thought patterns that contribute to maintaining our privilege. From this awareness and understanding, Friere (2018) suggests that we can reflect and consider our options (resistance) so that we are able act for humanity and with renewed hope (transformative praxis). SooHoo (2004) discusses "bystander apathy" as a human condition where we choose not to act, even when we are aware of the unfairness of the world. She argues that action is a moral and ethical issue, that "if we theorize on the side-lines and forsake critical collaboration and action, we will surely realize that we have compromised our ethical vision and changed the world by doing nothing (p. 209).

According to Borrell et al. (2009), "the normalisation of the dominant culture through political and social systems presents a fundamental privilege that is invisible and unquestioned" (p. 2). Inequitable laws provided settlers with the opportunity to increase their power over resources, land, and social and economic conditions (Binney, 2005; Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Jackson, 2019). The theory of meritocracy sustained settler superiority (McNamee et al., 2013. p. 9) with little understanding of how the colonisation process divested Māori of social, cultural, spiritual, and financial prosperity (Di Angelo, 2018; Bell, 2014). Freire (2018) discusses the hegemony that the oppressor clings to in the pursuit of having more, and how these people do not see that the right for more is a right for everyone. Friere (2018) explains that for the oppressor:

> …having more is an inalienable right, a right they acquired through their own "effort" with their "courage" to take risks". If others do not have more it is because they are incompetent and lazy, and worst of all is their unjustifiable ingratitude generous gestures of the dominant class. (p. 59)

2.8.1 Colour Blindness

Those who "assert that the end of racism/colonialism has created a level playing field which affords everyone equal opportunities and the same life chances regardless of social location" (Terruhn, 2015. p. 66) lay claim to be blind to colour. Gilborn (2019) takes it further, rebranding colour blindness as colour evasiveness, which he considers is "neither innocent nor passive; it is an active refusal to engage with race inequality" (p. 114). The notion of being blind to colour or ethnicity can be

expressed by members of the dominant group in societies as a positive statement (McKinney, 2005). Phrases such as “I treat everyone the same, and I don’t see colour or race” are voiced by some teachers in the education sector in Aotearoa New Zealand as a tolerant and un-prejudiced perspective (Stubbings, 2020). However, in a discussion about the place of the Aboriginal people in Australia, Cowlishaw (2004) proposes that by denying and not speaking about race, white people deliberately avoid their privilege and that “this is a much more active proposition of avoidance rather than the simple or passive absence of cultural or race recognition and signals that there is possibly more at stake” (p. 61).

According to Liane McDonald (2018), colour blindness comes about because we see racism as an individual or personal act within structures and systems that are fair for all. Terruhn (2015) considers colour blindness as a “vital discursive strategy that seeks to justify and protect white settler privilege without being outwardly racist” (p. 67). The links to the ideology of meritocracy that maintains and protects privilege for the dominant white race are clearly visible. Zeus (2006) disputes the “innocence of whiteness” (p. 140) and takes the debate from privilege to white supremacy when he asserts that:

> Conditions of white supremacy make white privilege possible. In order for white racial hegemony to saturate everyday life it has to be secured by a process of domination, or those acts, decisions, and policies that white subjects perpetrate on people of colour”. (p. 137)

2.8.2 Stereotypes

Stereotyping is a crucial component in preserving and sustaining beliefs about Māori and exercising domination over them (Wall, 1997). Wall (1997) contends that since colonisation, Māori have been portrayed as the “Black Other” (p. 40) and she asserts that stereotypes are used for political, financial, and social gain for the dominant race. Hokowhitu (2004) examines the link made between Māori and sport that links to physical aggression and savagery. Gilroy (2013) describes how Māori political activists are labelled as “lesser breeds without the law” (p. 125); and Petrie’s (1998) research focuses on the stereotypical Māori as “lazy, improvident, and 'wanting-something-for-nothing” (p. 6) and alleges that this stance reflects the “economic and ideological needs of Pakeha” (p. 6).

In 2001, the Te Kotahitanga research, previously discussed, reported student narratives of racism and stereotyping that impacted negatively on schooling experiences (Bishop & Berryman, 2007). A similar study in 2015 from schools participating in 'Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success' informed researchers that although some Māori students were achieving more success in school, one of the key factors included being able "to resist the negative stereotypes about Māori" (Berryman & Eley, 2017 b. p. 100). According to Durie (2006), one of the preconditions for making education more effective for Māori, is to change entrenched attitudes focussed on low expectations of Māori students.

2.8.3 Maintaining Silence

Social imaginaries can be defined as the way we perceive ourselves and the expectations and norms that fit with others in our society (Taylor, 2002). These stories can shape our understanding of "nationhood, identity and indigenous settler relations" (Terruhn, 2015. p. 9). The indicators and displays of racism may change, but the "underlying ideologies continue to shape imaginaries and social relations" (Bell, 2014. p. 11). Imaginaries serve to endorse and guide, what Charles Mills (2022) describes as a racial contract, that distributes political, economic, and social privileges based on race, with the premise that white people are dominant over non-white people in society. Mills argues that "the silence of mainstream moral and political philosophy on issues of race is a sign of the continuing power of the contract over its signatories, an illusory colour blindness that actually entrenches white privilege (p. 77).

Mills (2022) advises that the systems and structures of the state are intentional to "maintain and reproduce the social order, securing the privileges and advantages of the full white citizens and maintaining the subordination of non-whites" (p. 14). He contends that white citizens consent to these ideals of white supremacy by their failure to expose them either morally or politically. Liana McDonald (2018) concurs when she discusses silencing as a racial discourse that is used to:

> ... support New Zealand society to remain culturally and historically ignorant of our colonial past; particularly the violence inflicted on Māori communities through the dispossession of land, language, and culture and the ongoing consequences of those actions in the present day (p. 3).

Liana McDonald (2018) explores the methods and structures of silencing within the Aotearoa, New Zealand education curriculum. She purports that teachers and students are part of a contract that silences the actualities of our racialised past and present in Aotearoa, New Zealand. She contends

that “silencing and historical amnesia is prevalent across New Zealand society; a phenomenon that supports the dominant culture to remain blind to historical and ongoing manifestations of colonial violence” (p. 214). David MacDonald’s (2021) investigation of the trial of a white Canadian farmer’s murder of an indigenous First Nation man, portrays how settler silencing works in practice to mute the indigenous voice so that the dominant white culture can prevail. The article demonstrates how the state can “silence Indigenous peoples in court but is also manifest in the exclusion of any critique of the settler state, settler legal systems” (p. 15). Liana McDonald (2019) alleges that there is a hidden curriculum of settler silencing in the New Zealand education system that directs students to maintain affable and non-confrontational discourses to “protect Pākehā sensibilities” (p. 56).

2.9 Decolonisation

Decolonisation reflects on our structures and systems and makes changes towards a society that values an indigenous world view (Thomas, 2020). Amundsen (2018) identifies the necessity for a sharing of power and communication between Māori and non-Māori to decolonise our spaces, if we are “to reflectively work together to shape current and future cultural identities, politics and economics” (p. 148). Mercier (2020) describes decolonisation as “liberation, transformation, power, Indigenous agency and efforts to create space for Indigenous people and knowledge” (p. 31). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2021) defines the process of decolonisation as a “struggle” which is an “important tool in the overthrow of oppression and colonialism” (p. 199). She outlines five layers to be considered. The first is critical consciousness, the second is reimagining the world, the third is the coming together of all the ideas gathered through this imagining. The fourth is the disruptive actions that take place, and the fifth concerns itself with power and the recreation of the status quo. By imagining these layers as melding into each other, the framework becomes iterative and flowing. There is a clear link to the previously discussed notion of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis (Freire, 2018) and to SooHoo’s (2004) theory of ‘bystander apathy’.

According to Jackson (2019), we need to recognise the structures of colonialism in New Zealand Aotearoa before we can move forward.

> Many people still struggle with the truth of that history and cling to the belief that colonisation was somehow “better” here than anywhere else. They might acknowledge certain discrete injustices done to Māori but not the overarching injustice of colonisation itself. (para. 26)

Many researchers agree that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a good place to start when we are talking about relationships between Māori and Pākehā. In an interview, Moana Jackson (2017) states:

> I think the Treaty gives us a framework in which to do that thinking; I think it gives Pākehā the framework as well. Because it's about finding a good base for relationships among people who've chosen to live in this land. (p. 46)

Joan Metge (2001) concurs when she states that the way forward is to create "Māori and Pākehā relationships within a structure of "interdependent relationships (that) bring responsibilities to both groups to maintain the mana of the other and understand the mana of both as ōrite" (p. 4).

Berryman et al. (2018) discuss the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi as a way of building a future together:

> Under the Treaty it is right and proper that Māori be supported in pursuing and developing their ancestral tikanga in their own ways and spaces but it is also essential that Māori and Pākehā work together as partners to create a national life, a national culture to which all contribute in which all feel they have a share. (p. 5)

The concept of *mana ōrite*, where Māori and Pākehā values and perspectives are equally treasured (Berryman et al., 2015) will require "courageous and visionary" leadership (Margaret, 2018) that builds positive relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous people (Hoskins, 2022) and creates a 'new space' for the future (Amundsen, 2018). A key tactic to creating these conditions is to listen to, and value the Māori voices in our communities (Berryman et al., 2018; Bourke, 2018; McFarlane, 2000).

2.10 Summary

The purpose of this research is to look at some of the differing perspectives of Māori and Pākehā, to make some conclusions about those similarities and differences so that we may understand each other better. This literature review has provided evidence of the ongoing relationship between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand. It explores the historical events that have shaped our present and it moves towards exploring decolonisation as a way forward to disrupt the status quo and make changes for our future with understanding and respect for each other.

CHAPTER THREE -METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research explores some of our diverse perceptions and realities as Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa, New Zealand. These understandings will help us to gain an appreciation of how we might overcome talking past each other (Metge et al., 1984). The varying perceptions of Māori and Pākehā growing up in post-colonial New Zealand, the experiences of culture and privilege that occurred and the consequences of the differing cultural and social values that have ensued are explored in the research. The participants and the researcher grew up in a small town in Aotearoa New Zealand and attended the same secondary school. There are two Māori and two Pākehā participants and the researcher, who is Pākehā, acknowledges her place in the research process through a process of reflexivity.

The conceptual underpinnings that frame a research project are described as methodology. The way the research proceeds, "needs to be understood in the context of a bigger picture informed by theoretical and philosophical positions" (MacCallum et al., 2019. p. 19). Culturally responsive methodologies require us to discuss and justify the processes and methods that ensure that the narratives of the research participants are respected and privileged. This chapter describes the methodology and processes that propelled the research forward when the research questions were examined.

3.1.1 The research question

The research question emerged as a result of a slowly spiralling process of personal conscientisation, during which I became aware of the social, economic, and historical inequalities in Aotearoa, New Zealand. It began in the 2000s, when I participated in a Te Kotahitanga wānanga that encouraged the participants to talk together to make sense of the actuality of education for Māori students through reading and discussing their narratives (Bishop & Berryman, 2007). This emanated into a "continuing transformation of reality" (Friere, 2018. p. 92) as I became aware of the privilege and position that I enjoyed in a society that had systematically deprived Māori of their culture and identity through an education system that was designed to assimilate, and the consequent repercussions that ensued.

My interest grew as I began a process of learning, unlearning and re learning about how society in Aotearoa, New Zealand transpired, and the disparities in opportunity between Pākehā and Māori. I examined these through the lens of being a teacher in a school with an 86 percent Māori population, as part of that town's community, and for the last twelve years, through further education and recently as a Poutama Pounamu facilitator for the University of Waikato. The question developed as I reflected on the position of Pākehā to work with, and for Māori to honour the Treaty of Waitangi (Huygens, 2011). As I increased my understanding about the implications of our shared past and our present, the potential for a better future for the people of Aotearoa New Zealand also emerged. The questions that I examined through this research were:

- What are some of the diverse realities for Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand?
- How can we use these understandings to live and learn together, so that future generations are better positioned to reach their potential?

3. 2 Methodology

Culturally responsive methodologies (Berryman et al., 2013) guided the research. Relational, reflexive practices require awareness of the multiple and layered connections that were part of the research, combined with self-analysis and an awareness of personal bias (Hibbert et.al., 2014; Lumsden et al., 2019). Grounded theory (Ruppel & Mey, 2015) ensured the evidence gathered was analysed through themes from the voices of the participants.

3.2.1 Culturally Responsive Methodology

Unlike traditional impositional research practices, culturally responsive methodology (Berryman et al., 2013) demands a sharing of power between the researcher and the researched to determine boundaries and methods that are appropriate and that will benefit all participants. This requires a level of self-awareness and reflection for participants that develops open and trustworthy communication. Freire (2018) describes communication as dialogue and explains how it works when he states that "dialogue is an encounter between women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others (p. 89).

The hegemony of relationships in traditional research settings lies with the researcher who has control of what happens and how it will happen, thus the researcher uses evidence from their research subjects to name the world and define it. Culturally responsive methodology guarantees that

experiences, learning, and cultural ways of knowing, are also considered worthy and valid in the research process. For example, while Pākehā culture amasses and stockpiles knowledge, Māori, knowledge is seen as upholding the interests and values of the group and for the benefit of the collective (Brougham et al., 2015; Hook, 2007). Amundsen (2018) suggests that "Pākehā lifestyles should include engagement in both Pākehā and Māori realities" (p. 13) if we are to address bias and prejudice in our society and that this begins with "a search for self-identity as a Pākehā" (p. 13). Metge et al. (1984) contend that to understand others we need to be strong in our own identity. This has been a powerful lesson for me personally and one I brought to the research by identifying myself as Pākehā and acknowledging the cultural and social realities of my personal experiences.

3.2.2 Reflexive pragmatism

Given my comprehensive knowledge of the town and the participants, I included reflexivity into my research interviews and analysis. There are many variations of reflexivity (Brewer, 2000; Finlay, 2002; Hertz, 1996), however, Alvesson (2003) suggests that the most "common interpretation, emphasises that the researcher is part of the social world that is studied" (p. 24) and therefore examining and reflecting on oneself as part of the research process is imperative.

I adopted a form of reflexive pragmatism (Alvesson, 2003) during the research process. I made a deliberate and mindful effort to minimise any influence of the subject matter and the trajectory of the narratives during the interviews. Although I asked for clarification and enlargement of ideas, it was important that the participants felt that their perspectives were valued and that they saw me as a trustworthy and relational person who was genuinely interested in their viewpoint. Reflexive pragmatism is responsive to the restraints of time, space, and patience (Alvesson, 2003). It allows the researcher the flexibility to encourage language and conversation as research tools. Rorty (1982) describes reflexive pragmatism as having no limitations "save conversational ones - no wholesale constraints derived from the nature of the objects, or of the mind, or of language" (p. 165). He suggests that conversation is a process through which we make sense of the ensuing language. This concept fitted well with my approach to the interviews, where it was my intention that the participants were self-determining about the course of the dialogue, within our time and space allowances. The objective was to foster honest and frank conversations that were not impeded by regulatory constraints.

3.2.3 Insider Outsider

My 'insiderness' (Court et al 2022; Gair, 2012) eased access to the people that I required for the research and smoothed the way to familial relationships during the interviews. My consciousness of swinging between being an insider and an outsider guided the conversations, while maintaining a balance so that the participants were able to tell their stories in their own way. Hertz (1996) acknowledges this fluidity between insider and outsider positions and suggests that as a researcher we slide up and down a continuum and for me this was certainly true. During the conversations, I found myself in the position of being an understanding friend, while also reflecting that as a Pākehā, I was an outsider to the culture of the Māori participants. I appreciated that the conversations would be because of our reciprocal relationship and that an interview from a different researcher may have come up with an abbreviated narrative, which described a short, less detailed version of their truth.

I was conscious of working against the power of the researcher (Koo & Lester, 2014) and the need to re-establish trustworthy relationships. I applied the principles of partnership, protection, and participation from the Treaty of Waitangi, as an ethical way to uphold the *mana* (prestige) of the participants. In this way, I honoured the bicultural agreement between Māori and the Crown (1840), and the ontologies that participants brought to the relationship (McFarlane, 2013).

While culturally responsive methodologies required me to “work with people rather than on them" (SooHoo, 2013. p. 216), the process of *whakawhanaungatanga* (establishing family type relationships and connections) was key to kaupapa Māori research. The responsibility to the family as a collective group, came with an understanding that “there is *aroha* (mutuality) between the participants, evidenced by an overriding feeling of tolerance, hospitality, and respect for others, their ideas and their opinions” (Bishop, 1999. p. 4). In this research, as two of my participants were Māori, whanaungatanga and whānau type relationships were at the core of the methodology.

3.2.4 Critical Theories

Critical theory research focuses on reflective appraisal of our ways of being, doing and thinking as humans. It challenges our preconceived assumptions of the status quo as it examines and dissects the power structures that influence our thinking as individuals and society. Critical theorists (Bronner, 2002; Morgan et al., 2019) explain a variety of concepts, but as How (2003) concludes in an analysis

of these variegations, there is agreement that it leads to an "understanding of the present, and that if we allow it to speak to us it will open up rich avenues of thought" (p. 171). Friere (2020) explored critical theory in education when he argued that the banking concept of education creates a power imbalance between the teacher and student. This works against the student as a human who brings their own knowledge to learning.

This research was grounded in culturally responsive methodologies, using critical theory to examine some of the diverse realities of people, and the subsequent individual and collective impact on society in Aotearoa, New Zealand.

3.3 Methods

The research relied on qualitative research methods that included interviews as conversations, open ended questions, and reflexivity as research tools.

3.3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research provides the opportunity to allow meanings to be "socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world" (Meriam, 2020. p. 3). Using this method assumes that there can be multiple outcomes and answers to the research, which are in a state of continuous change depending on the individuals' circumstances. Hoonard and Hoonard (2016) describe qualitative research as taking guidance from the people who are being studied rather than having fixed perceptions about the course of the research. It links closely to culturally responsive methodology, in that it challenges traditional research methods and "requires the researcher to develop contexts, within which the researched community can define, in their own ways, the terms for engaging, relating, and interacting in the co-creation of new knowledge" (Berryman et al., 2013. p. 4).

3.3.2 Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory examines social processes and group behaviour. Glaser and Strauss (1999) purport that Grounded Theory is a way of "arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses" (p. 3). They further state that grounded theory does not presuppose the themes within the research, or the outcomes from these themes. It forms theory through discussions that are spiralling and "allows it to become quite rich, complex, and dense, and makes its fit and reliance easy to comprehend" (Glaser & Straus, 1999. p. 32).

A critical element in the grounded theory process was to explore the related literature after I had gathered the narratives of the participants. This avoided pre-conceptions of my own that could manipulate my interpretation of the participants voices. As I deliberated over the narratives, I was not confined by my original thinking, but had the freedom to explore and research emerging ideas as they transpired, thus the grounded theory process facilitated starting from the inside to understand the participants meanings and actions through the narratives and worked outwards to construct speculations and inferences (Charmaz, 2017).

3.3.3 Interviews as conversations

Semi structured interviews are a process of collecting data that combines loosely defined survey questions with "interviewer-initiated open-ended, ad hoc follow up probes" (Ahlin, 2019. p. 3). Bishop (1997) states that "semi-structured, in-depth interviews promote free interaction and opportunities for clarification and discussion between research participants through the use of open-ended questions rather than closed questions" (p. 8). This gives the opportunity to inquire naturally into the participant's dialogue, to fully make sense of their meaning. Although the participants and I were connected in a variety of ways, this semi formal interviewing style increased a sense of reciprocity and *whakawhanaungatanga* (making collaborative connections) into the conversations. It became a personal catch up, which began with exploring a connection to the town, meandered through early lives and education, and concluded with personal reflections on relationships between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa today.

Using open ended questions (Powell et al., 2014) kept the conversation flowing as I encouraged participants to explain their thoughts and perspectives. My first question was generally 'tell me about your connections to this town and how you came to be here?' and I continued in this style.
To further enhance our comfortable connections, I ensured that my participants were able to have the freedom to choose the date, and setting of the interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2000). All participants made the decision to invite me into their homes, where the conversations were conducted over a cup of tea and baking or biscuits. In some situations, other family members were within hearing, and children were playing around us. This augmented a relaxed ambience where the participants were comfortable in their surroundings and I (as the researcher and outsider to the home) was required to fit in with their environment.

3.3.4 Collaborative storying

Bishop (1999) describes collaborative storying as a "research approach which facilitates communicating, interpreting and giving meaning to people's lived experiences" (p.3).
Phillips et al. (2020) propose that “stories open windows into people’s lives and relationships” (p. 37). Storying, therefore, for researchers is a way of delving into personal and social experiences that would not necessarily be shared in normal social interactions. When unfolding the stories of my participants, it was essential that their voices rang clear with their own perspectives, not with an interpretation that I had imposed upon them. Equally important was to acknowledge my participation and connectedness with the research through my relationship with each participant.

When I explored the differences and similarities of the individual participant perspectives, I was cognisant of my own voice and the options that I was using to create the story. As Crick (1992) describes it, “the ‘self’ may be simultaneously enabling and disabling. Since we cannot shed the self, we must give it a focal point in our writings" (p. 175). Thus, I was mindful that the research was not separate from the researcher. The “indissoluble interrelationship between interpreter and interpretation” (Thomas & James, 2006. p. 782) meant that the collaborative storying in this research was the product of my choice as the writer and interpreter of the narratives. Returning the collaborative story to the participants for their final authentication gave them the power to decide whether my perspectives rang true for them also.

3.4 Research Process

3.4.1 Participant selection

To consider the research questions, I required both Pākehā and Māori participants. I resolved that a further grouping of participants in various age categories would enhance the quality of my findings over various historical time periods. Initially I approached my four potential participants informally and began a conversation about the research. After that first conversation I met with each participant separately, providing them with an information sheet and an outline of the proposed research. At this time, we discussed the research questions, and I answered any forthcoming questions or concerns. This meeting was also an opportunity to rejuvenate our connections. The participants were given two weeks to consider the proposal and the final four agreed to join the research.

3.4.2 Gathering the evidence.

After the consent process was completed, we co-constructed times and places for the first interview. Time was taken for whanaungatanga throughout the conversation. In all cases we shared kai and a beverage. The conversations proceeded with an open format of questioning (Ahlin, 2019) that began with participants explaining their connection to the town.

Each conversation was recorded and transcribed, and the initial transcriptions were returned to the participants who were invited to edit by removing parts they were not happy with or adding comments and themes to clarify their meaning. After each interview I wrote reflexively in a journal (Tribe et al., 2012) to note my own thoughts from the discussion. From these first interviews, the themes, and comments from everyone, and my own were noted. From the approved transcripts I created further topics to discuss at the second interview that would continue to give insight into the research questions.

Construction of a semi structured interview guide (Kallio et al. 2016) ensured I covered the themes from the interview questions yet allowed participants to recollect unreservedly about their viewpoints and lived experiences. Before the second interview, I created another interview guide for each participant based on what we had covered and what we needed to incorporate to answer the research questions. This included specific follow up questions that asked them to explain a previous response in more detail. The second conversation began again with whanaungatanga and a recap of their thoughts from the last session. Together we co constructed themes to cover in the interview that would meet the needs of each participant and explore the research questions. The topics for conversation became somewhat grittier as we delved into subjects that were challenging. Before I began analysing and theming the conversations, I checked the transcripts against the recordings for accuracy and gave the participants the opportunity to edit their recorded transcripts and provide input.

3.4.3 Thematic analysis

Grounded theory is based on “concurrent data generation or collection” (Birks & Mills, 2015. p. 11). In this research, after the collection of data from the first interview, I developed some initial themes from the narratives and highlighted statements that emerged from each of the transcripts. For

the second interview, I delved further into the emerging assumptions that the participants were making and encouraged them to share the themes that they considered to be relevant to the research questions. By colour coding the statements for each participant from their transcripts, I could distinguish between them. Printing the transcripts and mixing them up led to categorising the statements into similar topics that reached across the four participants. I collated these themes and reviewed them multiple times, sometimes switching statements and adding others from the narratives. Discussions with my supervisor helped greatly at this time to formulate and test my theories. Cross referencing these proposed themes ensured that the participants were able to advocate for the parts of their narratives that they believed to be significant for the research.

Through reading the thoughts and wonderings from my reflexive journal, and deliberating over my own themes, I colour coded my writing and merged my own thoughts and wonderings with the voices of the participants. When this was completed, I put the theme headings that I was intending to use through an online Wordle that tested the validity of the themes that I was considering. The themes were subsequently collated into three broad subjects and by using the voices of the participants through the reflexive lens of the researcher, the collaborative story was constructed. The initial themes were:

- Early experiences
- Education
- Perceptions of each other

As the findings were written, I was able to reconsider and enlarge on the themes that related to the research question. From the contrasting perceptions of the participants narratives, I explored three further themes. These themes went below the superficial and developed as I explored the literature around the subject and delved into the subtleties of what was being said and not said. These themes were:

- - Whakapapa and links to identity
- - Power and privilege
- - Colour Blindness

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Consistent with the ethical requirements for the University of Waikato, signed, written consent was obtained from all participants. Each participant was provided with an information sheet that outlined the reason for the research and the proposed action. The information sheet informed participants that pseudonyms would be used when writing the research. Pseudonyms were used to create anonymity for the participants that could encourage them to speak more frankly about their experiences. The initial meeting further explained the process of the research and participants were given the opportunity to ask questions. During the research process participants were reminded that they had the right to withdraw for any or all the research. All ethical considerations that were required by the University of Waikato, Faculty of Education ethics committee were upheld during this research.

3.6 Summary

This chapter explains the culturally responsive methodological structure that advised this research. The links to critical theory, grounded theory and reflexivity are considered and the research methods and processes were discussed. The following chapter presents the findings that are in response to the research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Mā te kimi ka kite, Mā te kite ka mōhio, Mā te mōhio ka mārama
Seek and discover. Discover and know. Know and become enlightened.

This whakataukī refers to the illuminations that occurred through the interviews as conversations. The semi structured interviews allowed the participants to introduce the themes they deemed to be important, around the broad research questions. Whānau type relationships of trust and respect were integral to these conversations as participants disclosed opinions and perspectives that were sometimes highly contentious.

4.1 Introduction and Participants

The voices of the participants are written in the form of collaborative storytelling (Bishop, 1997) that seeks to illuminate the research questions by revealing the perspectives of the participants. This chapter is arranged in three themes and the discourses are used reflexively by the researcher to compare the narratives. I begin by introducing my participants to distinguish the individuals within the entwined narratives.

Amiria is a Māori woman in her 40s. She and her husband formed a highly successful Kapa Haka group in the town, that focussed on attaining excellence in performing arts and achieving a positive environment for mokopuna. Over thirty years later the group is still performing. She is currently studying for a doctorate in Māori studies.

Huhana is a Māori woman, who is over 65. She has been active in the town through music, kapa haka and sport. Huhana is involved in marae activities and currently manages an office that assists people in the town with legal and personal issues.

John is a Pākehā male and in his 30s. He has resided in the town all his life. He lives with a partner and two children and currently works in the agriculture sector where he has begun to build his own business.

Brandon is a Pākehā male who is over 65. Education has been his major employment. He has been highly active in the town through sport. Brandon has not yet retired but has left the teaching profession.

4.2 Theme One: Early Experiences

All participants grew up and attended school in the same town in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The small, isolated community shared resources, and the participants had a genuine connection to the area.

4.2.1 Whakapapa

The participants began by discussing their association with the town. All participants had links that went back a varying number of years and a tie to the town that was intergenerational. Amiria began:

We whakapapa to town. My great Grandfather was Irish, and he emigrated and married three cousins from here. So, he had three wives, and my grandfather comes from his second wife. So, he had one child to his first wife, nine children to his second wife and I think three to his third wife. My Great Grandmother was the one he settled with.

Huhana recounted both sides of her whakapapa:

My Father's side goes back to Abel Tasman and my Mother's side goes back to my great great, great, Grandmother, but then my Māori whakapapa goes back even further. My family on my mother's side has always lived around here. Yeah, we are from here.

I found it interesting that two women who identify as being Māori, introduced their European connections first. I wondered whether it was perhaps part of an innate whanaungatanga process, where they deliberately connected to me as the interviewer. Amiria enlarged on the importance of whakapapa:

Whakapapa was like the major thing for us growing up. I'm not surprised that my Grandfather knew all his whakapapa right back to Ireland, Cork. He used to always say to us, "if you ever get to travel, you go to Ireland and you go to Cork because that's where we are from. So go and stand on your own whenua over there.

She continued to clarify the significance of whakapapa by relating a story about her mother who had a child out of wedlock:

My Grandfather always made sure that we acknowledged that side of our whakapapa, even though the incident was embarrassing for her because she got pregnant out of wedlock and then he left. But that act wasn't ever bigger than whakapapa, and us knowing that we were connected to that place and those people.

Huhana and Amiria have a deep knowledge of their whakapapa and its significance to their identity (Mahuika, 2018; Allen et al., 2008; Ngata, 2019). Whakapapa can mean to layer one thing upon another, which informs identity through language, land, stories, and ancestors, and it includes the past, the present and the future. For Huhana and Amiria, whakapapa connects directly to their cultural identity. John was able to recount some of his heritage:

My family on Dad's side came out of Scotland to the bottom of the South Island. One of the brothers decided he didn't like it there and so he decided to come up here. Mum's side got a ballot farm up here and that's how both families [my Grandparents] came here and never left. Mum and Dad never left, and in my generation, I'm the only one who went away for a year.

Brandon knew a little of his ancestry on his mother's side:

My Mother's parents lived here. My Grandfather worked for the railway. My Grandfather was Scottish. My Mother grew up in the town and met my father who was a schoolteacher up the coast. They met when they were both playing tennis and so they settled here, and my father became a school teacher at the local High School.

John and Brandon talked about the gaps in their knowledge of their personal history. When we discussed this, John said:

So, I don't know a huge amount about our ancestry, …. we are probably like a lot of families. I guess we don't delve into our family history, we just live life as we take it.

Brandon reflected:

I regret not asking the big questions or having greater knowledge of my grandparents. It would be nice to know where they came from and a little bit more about their lives. It would have been good to know more about my Scottish heritage.

John and Brandon have a whakapapa that has not flourished. Although Brandon feels the loss of it now, John thought that there was plenty of time to learn it:

But one day we'll sit down with Dad and get all his family history. I mean we get bits here and there but in terms of the Scottish side I don't know a lot about it.

Our historical celebration of white European explorers who 'discovered' Aotearoa was invoked by the Doctrines of Discovery (Greenberg, 2016) and so New Zealand was claimed, by denying the living proof that the land was already inhabited. The absence of a known history for Pākehā was a deliberate process of colonisation. If we, (Pākehā), deny our past, we can perhaps claim to come from here and deny Māori their indigenous rights.

4.2.2 Community life

We talked about what life was like as they grew up. What were their memories of play, work, and living.

4.2.2.1 Te Reo

Amiria recalled her early entry into the community:

Even before primary school, I was the Grandchild that went everywhere with my Grandfather and he was extremely involved with the community, with iwi and hapū - stuff that was happening all over the district and nationally. As soon as I could go to the toilet on my own, he took me with him. I can remember waiting for hours for him to finish his meetings at business places or marae. And a lot of those times it was all in te reo except when I was spoken to directly.

When asked why she was not spoken to in te reo, Amiria explained:

It was very clear that he [my Grandfather] and our people, wanted us educated in English and they had a firm belief that that was going to be the way of the future. For us to get ahead, we had to be really well educated in English.

Amiria has since become fluent in Māori, and she shared her experience of not being able to converse in te reo Māori:

It made may life harder and restricted my ability to go as far. I had a lack of confidence in engaging in certain spaces because I knew I would be spoken to in te reo and I wouldn't be able to answer. And that placed a lot of fear in me. The day that I got told, "do not apologise for not having your language because it is an outcome of colonisation" was freeing, because for so long I blamed myself.

Huhana grew up with a mother who was fluent in te Reo, yet her ability to speak and understand it was limited, because:

My mum wasn't allowed to talk te reo at home because my Dad was Pākehā. The only time she spoke te reo was when her sister came down from Auckland. She came quite regularly at least twice a year, and they would talk Māori when they didn't want us kids to know what they were talking about.

Although Huhana frequently heard te reo Māori, she was of the generation where it was not deemed important for her to learn the language:

At the marae, we heard Māori being spoken all the time. If I ever wanted to know what a word was, I would go home and ask Mum what it meant. Sometimes she'd go mad because it wouldn't be a nice word.

Despite not speaking to her in te reo Māori, Huhana's mother regularly sent her to a church service that was delivered totally in Māori:

I never learned much about Jesus or the Bible stories because the service was delivered in Māori. Looking back, I think Mum may have wanted me to learn te reo in this way, but I struggled to pick it up.

Huhana is learning te reo Māori, and she explained why this is important:

I was proud of being Māori, but I couldn't speak the language. I wanted to be able to speak it. I wanted to learn the language. It felt sort of wrong not knowing.

Te reo was deliberately marginalised in the Māori participants' childhoods. Pihama (2001) asserts that this was a deliberate process of colonisation used to assimilate Māori by "the replacement of te reo Māori me ona tikanga, or what is described as the 'habits and usages of the Natives' with the customs and language of the Pakeha colonists" (p. 71). Researchers (McIntosh, 2005; Karetu, 1993) have identified that te reo Māori is a fundamental component of identity, and a strong identity is connected to wellness (Durie, 2001).

While Amiria and Huhana both had experiences of hearing Māori being spoken, John was unaware of it:

I have no memory of hearing te Reo being spoken. In my later years at Primary School, there was a little bit such as hello and goodbye but there was nothing major apart from the kiwi language like cuz, and bro.

Brandon had a similar perspective:

One or two would talk to each other briefly in Māori at the tennis club. The rest was just slang. We didn't even say kia ora. I certainly didn't, and my family didn't. There were a couple of older Māori people at the tennis club who occasionally would speak briefly in Māori but not to me.

4.2.2 Leisure

John had memories that related to play:

The town was one big playground to us kids. We would ride our bikes through people's drains, getting yelled at by local people because we were destroying their gardens. We all played as one. Everyone in the village, Pākehā, Māori, and there was an Irish family, all got on as one and we would play and play.

He described the sense of community within the neighbourhood:

At the end of the day, it was like a domino effect because you would hear one Mum yelling and then another one yelling and you would know it was time to go home. We were all that close knit that you would walk straight in the door of your neighbours and ask for a biscuit or ask for a drink or help yourself to a drink. It was awesome.

Brandon recalled that the natural environment of the town was a setting for play.

My friends were the neighbourhood kids who lived in the area within walking distance and so we would hang out after school and in school. We would play games together. The boys used to play a lot of war games, chasing each other round or digging trenches or chasing through the trees at the cemetery. I had lots of friends and lots of good times.

When we talked about whether the friends of the Pākehā participants were Māori or Pākehā, John reflected:

I didn't see any difference between Māori mates and Pākehā mates back then. Everybody was equal. Everybody got on.

Brandon had a parallel viewpoint:

At that age you don't differentiate, I didn't see colour.

Huhana enjoyed playing with friends and family and she remembers the marae as the setting for this play:

My Mum had a lot of ties with our local marae so every time there was something on, I used to go over there and play with the cuzzies and be with the whānau and all the Nannies. Whatever was happening we'd be trailing along. We lived by the railway station, so we were never short of a playground.

Although she had play time at the marae, it was also here that she learned the responsibilities of tikanga:

When we went to the marae we had to go to the kitchen and work. We had to set up tables and do whatever needed to be done. If they didn't need us, we were allowed to go out and play.

Whānau dominated Amiria's connections with others:

I didn't really have peers. I didn't have close friends growing up. That's interesting [when I reflect]. I think, because I was the youngest of a really big family, I spent my whole life around adults. My grandfather took me to hui, I was around kaumatua and older people.

When we talked about whether their relationships were with Māori or Pākehā, Huhana was mindful of the difference in culture:

We lived on the Māori side of town and the main part of the town was the Pakeha side. That's where the elite lived. That's what we were brought up thinking. Anyone who lived on that side of the town …. oh, that's where all the rich people live.

Amiria was also cognisant of the culture difference:

We lived in a predominately Māori community and that's who we connected to.

The "mythtake" (Jackson, 2018) of harmonious Pākehā-Māori relationships was determinedly spread during the colonisation process. By maintaining the positives of assimilation, it sought to deny culture and self-determination for the indigenous people (Amundsen, 2015; Barnes, 2013).

4.2.3 Living conditions

The participants shared the way that they lived. Amiria remembered:

We were never poor. I had the most amazing upbringing. We were never hungry ever. We probably should have gone hungry we were so well fed. We had holidays. My grandfather planned something every holidays. We were either in Tauranga, Wellington, or Auckland. If we stayed home, we were at the river.

Huhana described her house and living conditions:

We had a big open fire in the lounge and the hot dogie - a little wee chip heater thing that you could put a pot on. It would be going the whole time, and we'd get up in the morning and it would be quite warm in the kitchen. It was cold in our bedrooms and cold in the bathroom.

Although it was cold, Huhana felt well off in comparison to others around her:

We had an outside toilet, so it was freezing out there, but it was a flush toilet, so we weren't hard done by. Some of our neighbours had the old long drops and that you could smell as you passed the place. When I look back, I think oh we weren't hard up you know and my Dad never owned a car till the day he died, he used to ride his bike.

John remembers how his living conditions looked to others in the community:

We lived in a huge homestead and everybody in later years would say, "oh we always thought you were rich; you would always come to school in a clean uniform, and you always had clean shoes and your Dad would drop you off and go to work."

However, John regarded his living conditions as rather spartan:

Dad said for years and years and years that we had no money. We never went on holiday. I don't know any family that didn't go on holiday. I can honestly say I've never stayed in a motel or anything with my mother and father. I don't even think me and my family have eaten out at a restaurant because mum and dad didn't have the money. The only place we went was to the family farm once a year.

Whilst growing up John remembers feeling mortified by his perceived childhood poverty:

At school, mum would pack our lunches and we would go with home baking. I remember thinking "God we're unlucky, this is like child abuse. She's wrapping our sandwiches in baking paper. This is embarrassing".

Brandon remembers being:

……. well fed, well clothed and we always had sufficient clothing. When we first got use of my grandmother's car, they [my parents] would supply a bit of petrol.

He considers that his parents could have done more to make their life comfortable:

We weren't poor but my Mum and Dad weren't that generous with money. They had good jobs, but Dad locked the money away in investments and shares and things like that. He always drove second hand cars. He never bought a new car ever in his life.

The Pākehā participants disgruntled tone when talking about their living conditions, contrasted with the tone of gratefulness from Māori participants for a roof over their head, and food on the table. Pākehā participants believed that they were entitled to more, however, this privilege was not recognised by them.

4.2.4 Food

The town's proximity to the coast and to a rural setting, revealed a way of being for the participants. Huhana had memories of food and how it impacted her upbringing:

We had meat and three veges, that was our food. On a Friday it was fish day. We weren't Catholics but we always had fish on Friday. Sometimes Dad would go out and catch a kahawai on his bike down to the river mouth, or he'd sell the extra to the surfers, or go the pub and swap it for a jug. Every Saturday was tripe and sausage [laughs] we used to have that when we came home from netball or home from sports. Seafood was something we loved too.

She went on to recall:

My mum used to cook rotten corn, kānga pirau, and every time my Mum's sister came down, she would expect a feed of that. Dad would make Mum cook it outside. We grew up on vegetables. Whatever you could grow, we would grow. We had a garden in the back yard and chooks and ducks. We were semi self-sufficient.

Brandon also remembered an experience with kānga pirau:

I distinctly remember a Māori guy, who was a friend of the family, brought rotten corn to our tennis club picnic. It was our first try of that and I don't remember being able to get through a mouthful. I don't think we got much further than smelling it.

However, food wasn't a dominant memory for Brandon:

We had a vege garden, but Dad wasn't much of a gardener. I don't recall much about food, it was pretty plain, it was pretty simple, nothing exciting. We had mince, sausages, things like that. Mum would cook tripe sometimes, and I remember the smell. My Mother was the cook and Dad did no cooking, but he used to do the washing up. I think for Christmas we used to have a chicken and when I got older, we had a sparkling wine with the meal. And we would have bacon and eggs or something like that for breakfast.

For Amiria the relationship to food in her family was an act of manaakitanga:

We had plenty of vegetables and we could get mutton off the farm. I come from a family that were raised to look after people. Manaakitanga for me is about relationships. If you've got something, you offer it even if it's a stale piece of bread. And for me, it's about the act of giving, it's not about what you're giving, it's just about making people feel welcome and that you are actually giving. My family [laughs] they have gone to the extreme where manaakitanga is about the best food, a lot of it, the most expensive food. My parents were never like that. They were very basic but always offered.

Amiria's voice links to Mead's (2003) assertion that "all tikanga are underpinned by the high value placed on manaakitanga" (p. 74).

4.3 Theme Two: Education

4.3.1 Experiences of Primary School

Amiria and John attended the same country primary school, eight kilometres from the main town, and all participants attended the only secondary school in the area. Huhana and Brandon attended primary schools on different sides of the town. All schools reflected the make-up of the town and comprised of a majority of Māori students.

Huhana began by remarking on her sense of belonging:

My primary school was a good school. We were all Māori kids and a few Pākehā kids. A lot of the kids you went to school with especially the Māori kids were all related. We were all close. At primary school I was called by my Māori name.

I asked Huhana if she remembered any difference between Māori and Pākehā relationships at the school:

We were all close, in fact to be honest I didn't know I was partly Pākehā. I've always considered myself to be Māori. Maybe it was the way we were brought up. I was Māori and I didn't know what Pākehā was, I thought we were all Māori, all one people.

Amiria enjoyed primary school and the positive relationships within the school environment:

I loved primary school. We were in a community where we all knew one another. We knew every child in the school, we knew all the teachers, and at that time it was truly the centre of the community. My family was one of the two biggest Māori families in the district, and so we dominated the school. We all went to that school.

In contrast, John remembered the same school:

It was quite a white school. You had the locals but apart from that it was well ……, not white, but traditional values and I don't remember lots of Māori.

After looking up the demographics, I reported back to John that the school was 78 per cent Māori when he attended. He rationalises his earlier perception:

Growing up here I suppose there were only a few white families. Maybe I just saw them as equal, or not any different from me. I didn't really worry whether they were Māori or Pākehā.

Brandon is affirming of his primary school years:

I don't have any negative memories of primary school. I made friends at primary school. My friends were the neighbourhood kids who lived in the area within walking distance and so we would hang out after school and in school. We would play games together.

When I asked if any of his friends were Māori?

I had no Māori friends. I can't explain it. It seemed to be a cultural thing, I guess.

As he thought about it, Brandon ruminated:

I got into the Ross Shield when I was at primary school. I played a lot of rugby and when I look back, I think that most of the players would have been Māori, but I didn't see colour and it wasn't discussed.

Both Māori and Pākehā participants thrived in small primary schools with a whānau type environment that developed a sense of belonging. The invisibility of Māori culture and identity is strong in the Pākehā narratives. The impact of this on the wellbeing of Māori children must be considered.

4.3.2.1 Learning at primary school

Amiria remembered the learning in primary school as a shared experience that was supported and fun:

For me the learning at primary school was rich and the learning wasn't done out of fear and that was the biggest difference [to secondary school]. There was a huge emphasis on reading, writing and mathematics.

She recalls the diversity of learning:

We had really loving teachers. We were always involved in sports. They embraced kapa haka. I remember the guy coming to give us Māori lessons twice a week. We would get bible study. It was a really rich environment. We would be involved in cultural activities, we put on shows at the hall all the time for the community.

Huhana recalled the learning in her Primary school:

I don't think I had a problem. Maths was a difficult subject for me but once I got the hang of it, I was ok. There wasn't a clever side and a dumb side we were all mixed up together. We learned together and helped each other.

John had positive memories about learning in primary school:

Nothing seemed to change a hell of a lot. It was really fun. It was pet days and the swimming pool. It was going to school to learn but also going to school to have fun.

Although he struggled with learning, there was an environment that assisted John:

I was not the brightest chap but the support and encouragement around it all was amazing. Everybody seemed ….. not to be in the same boat because we were all at different stages obviously, but yeah it just happened, and it was great.

Brandon recalled a positive learning environment.

I have no negative memories in the classroom or struggling to learn. I must have been a reasonable student academically. I enjoyed reading.

4.3.2 Intermediate

The two older participants attended their respective primary schools until year eight as the Intermediate school did not exist. The youngest participant went from Primary school to the High school because of a recapitation process that saw closing and merging of schools in the district. Amiria attended the Intermediate school.

It was like going into a whole different world. We weren't connected. I didn't have a sense of being because I was surrounded by all these people I didn't know. I was surrounded by teachers who didn't have a personal connection to our family and who didn't treat us with the respect that we were used to. It was a culture shock, and then of course you're at the age when your body is changing. You're dealing with all of that on top of it.

Amiria continued to reflect on her treatment at the intermediate:

I was badly bullied, and it was awful. When I look back on it, I was also bullied by the staff. It was the first time I had ever been strapped. I'd never ever known corporal punishment and I got strapped for wearing the wrong skirt. Yeah, so in my head when I look back now, I was intelligent enough to know that that was wrong.

4.3.3 Secondary School

All participants went to the same secondary school. The discourse around Secondary School education was divergent.

4.3.3.1 Experiences

The impact of streaming on relationships and learning was predominant for the Māori participants. Huhana explains:

I was devastated when I went to College, and I wasn't in the same class as some of my friends. I was down below, in fact, we were all Māori, all the Māori kids were in the bottom streams and our Pākehā friends were all right up there in the top classes [laughs]. I don't know what it was, I don't

like to think of it as being racist, but it could have been. There weren't many Pākehā in the bottom classes.

Amiria remembered the streaming in the school:

We knew early and it was made clear what was the bottom and what was the top. I wasn't in the top stream, maybe the second or third class. I noticed the top stream was always Pakeha. "Oh yeah, that's the top class because they were Pakeha". Even when I was teaching at the same school years later, I used to teach the social sciences top class. They were all Pākehā.

Although the Māori participants remember the streaming in the school, it is not an issue for the Pākehā participants. John recalls:

I remember my streaming. I was in the middle somewhere, I think. Towards the end of secondary school, I went up, but I didn't do too well. Academically I'm not great. Chuck me in a crowd of people or put me out physically hands on and I'll just do it. I've never been an academic apart from Geography and English.

John soon felt comfortable in the school:

Some Māori mates came to secondary school with me. It was quite funny; they weren't in the same class as me. I was sort of lumped in another class. I might have had one or two that I sort of knew but they weren't close mates or anything. It was pretty much getting chucked in the deep end with new teachers and new students that I had never met, but it was at a time when the school was going pretty good and it was great.

Brandon fitted in easily:

I was in the top stream at secondary school. Now I look back there were two Māori students in the top stream. They were friends but not close friends [of mine]. At the time I didn't really think anything of it.

The Māori participants continue to share their negative experiences of secondary school. Huhana reminisces:

Down the passageway at secondary school, you could hear the teachers caning the [Māori] boys and that was a horrible sound. It didn't do much good for a lot of our boys.

Amiria remembered the impact that her secondary school years had on her disposition:

I stopped being inquisitive. I stopped acting intelligent. I stopped trying to be noticed, no I just stopped being myself, happy, curious asking questions, being inquisitive, not being scared to speak if I knew the answers. I became quiet I wanted to go into the background because if kids didn't do that they would be bullied, [especially Māori kids] by both students, because we didn't have relationships with them, and by the townies, or by staff.

John made new friends easily:

As time evolved, I became good friends with the people I hadn't met before, and I still have those friendships today. It was a happy time. School was a happy place.

Likewise, Brandon only had positive memories:

I enjoyed secondary school. I enjoyed the sport, and being with mates, drama, the girls [laughs] everything really.

The negative experiences for Māori participants are in direct contrast with the positive environment that school was for Pākehā. Māori students' voices from researchers (Bishop & Berryman, 2007; Berryman & Eley, 2019) consistently report cultural and structural responses that have disadvantaged Māori students. Some of these include low expectations for Māori learners, teacher and peer racism, and less positive feedback (Alton-Lee, A. 2003).

4.3.3.2 Taha Māori

We discussed the place of *taha Māori* (things Māori) in this secondary school which was around 86 percent Māori. Brandon remembered that:

There was nothing Māori for me at school except the haka. When I was in the first XV, we did a haka. We didn't know what it meant; we just learned it by rote. I can't speak for the others, but I certainly did it with a lot of pride and passion, but of course it was kind of ignorant in a way. I didn't even know what the words meant, didn't even know what I was saying. I did it because it was something special to do as part of the rugby team.

When I asked if the pride and passion was for the Māori culture, he responded:

I didn't equate it with Māori culture. It was a rugby culture thing. There is probably a lot more understanding now of the words and meanings.

John was in the kapa haka group at primary school because it was:

…. compulsory back then [at primary school] and I loved it. I think partly because it wasn't sitting in a class writing.

However, at secondary school:

I didn't join and that might have had more to do with the fact that I didn't think I'd fit in, but I don't know.

Amiria described her time in a te reo Māori class:

By the time I reached secondary school, I could only understand little bits and pieces of te reo. It wasn't something that was encouraged. I remember doing a Māori class and it was horrific. I remember it was "turn to page 4 and then next minute turn to page 9". It wasn't related, so I hated it, and I didn't do kapa haka because that put me right off it. I didn't want to do anything Māori at College.

And she explained why:

Well, it didn't do you any good to be Māori. That wasn't going to help you at secondary school.

Besides a dearth of taha Māori, there were stereotypes of how Māori students, especially Māori boys, could achieve. Huhana recalled:

There was no kapa haka at secondary school. There was nothing Māori. Nothing Māori at all. They used to put all the Māori boys into the army. They had trade training, and the senior boys had an army group. They used to get dressed in their army gear… like cadets. Our music was being in the school choir. No Māori songs. Nothing.

Huhana confided that the scarcity of anything Māori in the school:

… made it feel as if I didn't belong, I shouldn't even be there.

Although this was a school with a large majority of Māori, the lack of *te ao Māori* (the Māori world view) was intentional. It was deemed important that "British forms of knowing" would assimilate Māori "but in the process children were required to leave their families, communities, language and culture behind" (Armitage, 1995. p. 3). For our Māori participants, the lack of te ao Māori in their education, eroded their sense of identity, their value as individuals and their well-being.

4.3.3.3 Expectations to achieve

The expectations, achievement and learning at secondary school offered disparate narratives. Brandon recalled an expectation for him to attend university:

I was successful academically. I was the Head boy. In that last year, the seventh form, I got my University Entrance which allowed me to go to university. There seemed to be no question that that was where I was going to go.

I asked if that was the expectation for all students at the school and Brandon replied:

Teachers expected the people in the classes that I was in ... this is the seventh form .... to go to university. Most of my friends were heading for university and my parents expected me to go university.

When asked about Māori students going to university, Brandon answered:

There were a couple of Māori students in my class. I don't know if they went to university.

School work was not a priority for John or his family:

My family had no academic expectations. It was more .... learn how to change a tyre, learn how to hit a nail in, learn how to go up and shake someone's hand and say thank you, learn how to identify when someone needs help. Learn how to respect your elders.

John made it clear that he is not an intellectual, however he felt teachers encouraged him to achieve:

At secondary school there was always someone in your corner even if you weren't doing good or struggled with the work. There were oodles of support.

And the high expectations that his teachers had for him sometimes clashed with his personal aspirations.

I had this driving ambition to go into the army. That's all I wanted to do. My Maths teacher kept pushing and pushing me to go to university. She was pretty much telling me that my life was going to be wasted if I didn't go to university.

In contrast Huhana spoke of the lack of assistance available to her:

I found secondary school difficult. You had to catch on straight away to what they were talking about. We had subjects that we never had at Primary school, like algebra. If you didn't catch on you were down the tubes and there was no opportunity to stay behind and learn a bit more. The lesson just went up on the board and that was it.

She considers the lost opportunities:

I think we missed out on a lot by being put in a lower class and so we had to learn as adults. With typing, went shorthand, but only the ones with brains were allowed to learn shorthand. So, you had to pick it up and learn by yourself. That was for the commercial class I think they called it. So, I wasn't allowed to learn shorthand.

When I asked Amiria whether her teachers expected her to achieve, she replies:

No teacher tried to dissuade me from leaving school in the middle of the sixth form. It was really interesting because I was a well-behaved student and when I started dating [husband to be] there was such disappointment among some of the staff. They showed their dissatisfaction. Not one of them said to me Amiria you need to stay at school, you can do this. All they said was aaaagh, we knew this was going to happen.

4.3.3.4 Leaving school

Participants shared the reasons for leaving school and their subsequent pathways. Huhana was not permitted to learn in subjects that led to an academic qualification:

I was fifteen when I left school. I couldn't sit school certificate because you had to pass three subjects. The subjects I passed didn't count. For instance, typing never counted. If you didn't pass three you couldn't get in. I had no show because I was hopeless at Maths and that was a main one, so I left school and went to work.

When she began to look for employment:

I wanted to be an air hostess, but I didn't think I was clever enough. I knew I wasn't going to go anywhere because I couldn't get School Certificate, so I thought I would look for secretarial jobs, but when I got to my aunts in Auckland, I got cold feet so I went to a sewing factory, much to my Mother's disgust. She wanted me to be a typist because I did so well in typing - I was top of my class - the idea was for me to get an office job, but I went to the sewing factory instead.

Years later Huhana thought about her mother's aspirations for her when she landed a job in the town she still lives in:

Just after my Mum passed away, I got a job as the secretary to the manager of the telephone exchange. I started as a technician's assistant and then the manager asked me if I'd be his secretary. I said yes, so my typing skills came back. I thought "oh my Mum would be turning in her grave if she could see me now. She would love it".

And when we talked about her current position for the last 18 years offering legal assistance. Huhana said softly:

She would be so happy.

Amiria explained her reasons for leaving school early:

He [husband to be] wasn't why I left school. I just felt like I was getting nothing out of it. I'd lost the drive to learn. I couldn't see where I was going. It all seemed pointless. I didn't feel as if anyone [teachers] really cared whether I was there or not.

Although Amiria's family had high expectations for her to achieve, they supported her decision to leave:

I finished in August because I didn't feel that I was getting anything out of school. I said to Dad "I don't want to go to school anymore", and he said "well, you're not staying home doing nothing. You've got to get a job". That was the only expectation. So, I went rousing.

Although she was not involved in taha Māori at school:

I went out and rousied from August to October till I went to Auckland and joined a Māori Performing Arts tour group.

Amiria's intrinsic love of learning began to surface:

I got a degree in Māori Performing Arts when I was working at the Trust Board [in the town that she grew up in]. It was because we had started the kapa haka group and we got asked if we wanted to get the degree.

She shared her subsequent educational experiences:

Then I went and did my teaching degree and after that I completed my Masters and now, I have started my PhD.

For John, the high expectations of teachers kept him at school:

Leaving school was more difficult than being at school. This teacher kept saying that you need to go to university to get a degree and then you can do what you want. It was overwhelming.

He was proactive about following his career path:

The army recruitment people said I should get a job for a year before I applied so I approached a farmer I had worked in the holidays for and he said, "no worries at all" and gave me a job helping with the bees.

Teachers, however, were insistent that he was making a mistake and that he was not aiming high enough:

I remember vividly this teacher saying to me "don't be a beekeeper". The words weren't exactly you'll get nowhere in life, but it was "you'll get far further if you don't". I remember thinking that it might be easier if I just bloody stayed at school. Anyway, I left, and I learned about bee keeping for a year and grew this almighty passion for the job and I forgot about the army.

Brandon had an uncomplicated pathway to furthering his education, however, there were some hitches:

My close friends all were going to uni. It was more or less the done thing, so I packed up my bags and applied and went to Victoria in Wellington. It was my first year getting away from home and town, so I had a very social time, and I didn't go to classes, just played cards and had fun.

He talked about the consequences of that year:

I couldn't believe it when they said I couldn't sit the exams. I knew I could have studied and passed them; I was good at that. It got to the point where because they paid me with a Bursary, I had to pay back all the money or go teaching.

And his next educational steps:

So, I completed Teachers College, and I finished my degree when my children were young. Teaching has been my main career pathway, probably because of that year of fun [laughs].

Pākehā participants are confident that things will turn out for them whatever course they take. This speaks to the "privilege" of being part of a system that works for them. Māori participants start from behind, with streaming, low expectations, and a lack of qualifications. Their future is not so assured.

4.4 Theme Three: Perceptions of Each Other

Cultural experiences and differences were shared, and each participant made recommendations for living together with harmony, respect and understanding in the spirit of *ōritetanga* (equality, equal opportunities), the third article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Participants were asked to think about how they would describe themselves, what was important for them? What identified them?

For Amiria, this was a straight-forward question:

I'm definitely Māori. I'm strongly 'Tamaterangi' and that was a learning because undertaking my Masters really allowed me to define and understand exactly who I was.

Amiria enlarged on this discourse:

You know a lot of people think that because I've taught kapa haka for 30 years that a lot of my stuff came from kapa haka but it didn't. When I really deciphered it, and went down to the nitty gritty, all of my cultural values and beliefs, that make up my identity, are related to Tamaterangi.

She refers to the Treaty settlements in the area and the issues that they caused for smaller iwi:

When I read my Grandparents birth certificates, they don't have Ngāti Kahungunu recorded, they have Tamaterangi. They [Government] call us a hapū, but our old people said no, we are not a hapū, we are an iwi. So, when all the settlement stuff came out and the Government would only recognise larger iwi, that started to cut away a lot of our individual identity.

Likewise, Huhana was able to answer the question firmly:

I always consider myself as Māori. I'm even on the Māori roll.

Huhana considers that she may not be "Māori enough" (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021). She has struggled to be accepted as Māori and an example of this is that she has been called by an English name, given to her by teachers when she began secondary school at thirteen years of age.

I'm trying to get my identity back. I've told work that I'm reverting to my real name. The staff have already started calling me by my Māori name and it feels good. I'm proud of the Māori I've got, even if there's more in my name than in my blood.

She asserted:

And that's the other part, having people say, "how much Māori have you got in you"? You know, questioning my heritage, and that I should be on the Pākehā roll because I look like I've got more Pākehā in me. But I believe that it doesn't matter how much Māori you have got in you. If you've got Māori blood in you then you can still be Māori.

Brandon found talking about identity challenging:

It's a hard question. I think any Pākehā man today of my age would struggle with this question.

He resolved that he identified to New Zealand as a country:

I don't consider myself a Pākehā. I consider myself a New Zealander in an increasingly coloured country. I would have to correct myself and say that I am a white New Zealander because I'm talking Indian, Asian, Pacific Islanders, and Māori. New Zealand is now a melting pot of races and cultures - in the cities anyway.

After further discussion Brandon decided:

Yes, I'm a white New Zealander, but I'm only putting the white in because of our conversation and what we are talking about. If we weren't talking around the issues between Māori and Pākehā in our country, I probably would have just said New Zealander.

He explained why it is difficult for him to describe his identity:

We [Brandon] don't have a culture. If we sat down, we could probably work out some things that we share and do that creates culture, but we don't think of it as an identity thing like Māori.

As asserted by Amundsen (2018) identifying as Pākehā is a political act. The status quo that has privileged Pākehā, is founded on blindness to the colonising history of Aotearoa New Zealand, and to maintaining privilege and power.

John described himself as:

…. just a typical rural kiwi bloke. I don't look at someone else and say oh you're better or worse, you know. I always want to give everybody a shot, give everybody the time of day.

I encouraged John [whose partner is Māori], to enlarge on the "just a kiwi bloke" statement. Where did he position himself in relation to Māori in New Zealand? Can Māori be good kiwi blokes? He retorted:

I don't really see a difference between Māori and Pākehā. We are just one.

Like Brandon, who denied that Māori are different in any way, John's discourse that "we are one people" offers the perspective that Māori are or should be just like Pākehā (McCreanor, 1995).

4.4.1 The tension

All participants acknowledged that racism was prevalent in Aotearoa, New Zealand and they were able to point out examples of racism. What contrasted in the dialogue, was the emotional quotient. For Pākehā, relating experiences of racism was indirect, something they witnessed but played no part in. Māori were emotive and personal in their response, as Huhana relates:

I think this town has a lot of racism. I've picked up on a lot with my clients. I think it's because people don't understand the culture side of it.

Huhana gave an example of a client who complained about living next to a Māori family:

She was an English woman who bought a house in a nice street. She was absolutely devastated because a "Mowi" [Māori pronounced badly] family was next door and they had music going and an outside thing where the kids stayed and because this "Mowi" family was next door it was devaluing the price of her property.

She expressed her frustration about this incident:

She was just devastated that she came to this town and didn't want to live next door to Māori. I think she picked the wrong town.

When the conversation with Amiria turns to racism, she said:

You get exhausted. It's so disappointing when you've come so far but you have to keep pushing so hard.

She recounted an incident about her nephew that has distressed her since she was a pupil at Intermediate.

He got caught smoking weed on the back paddock of the school, with seven other boys. Out of the eight students, five were Pākehā, and they were not looked at. The other three were Māori and got investigated and then my nephew got expelled and he was the only one that got expelled. We had the police at our house every night.

And the impact on the family:

That devastated our family. We were tarnished for a long time after that.

The damage to mana and relationships between the school and this family was enduring:

I remember my Grandmother weeping and wailing when he [nephew]got sent out of town because the secondary school refused to take him back.

And the resentment was evident as she asked the question:

What do you think that did for our relationships with the school, for my sister, me and all of our children and grandchildren that went there? So even at that stage, I was at Intermediate, and I knew that was happening and that it was wrong.

Brandon introduced his first dialogue about racism as being during a Te Kotahitanga professional development hui. He remembers being surprised when:

A teacher friend [Māori] came out and said that he always felt that there were racist teachers and that he wasn't given equal support as a Māori student at the school. I was gobsmacked because we didn't see it or realise it, but he certainly did.

He rationalised this point of view:

We didn't really understand what racism was. Because of our involvement in sport, in a town which had a majority of Māori, you were rubbing shoulders and playing alongside and socialising afterwards with Māori, so it all just seemed that that was how life was when we were growing

up. Possibly my parents did things that would be seen as racist now, but at the time I didn't pick up on anything.

Brandon went on to qualify that he sees racism now:

…. against anyone who isn't a white Pākehā. Through the years there has been bashing of Asians - verbally and even close friends have made derogatory comments about Māori and about Asians, Arabs …about anyone who isn't white.

His reaction to hearing remarks:

I've never held any of those discriminatory ideas myself, well I don't think I have, but I have not really told off my friends for making comments like that. I've accepted their racism, overt racism in most cases and I've just kind of let it go, which is an interesting thing.

When I questioned him further:

I suppose I'm afraid to rock the boat, afraid to lose their friendship, or piss them off, for what? However, there are a couple of people who continue to make those statements now which I find upsetting.

Friere (1984) asserts that "washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral" (p. 524). An unwillingness to confront the racism that they see is evident in the Pākehā participants.

When I asked John if he had witnessed any examples of racism:

Definitely, right through to mates or family members that are getting partners that may be Māori. The fathers say, we don't want you to be with her, but it's coming from a real back door perspective of "you don't want to be with her because this will screw your life up".

He proposed that it can be what is not said that drives the momentum of racism:

But if you flip it the other way, and it was a young white girl from a white farming background I bet there would be no complaints. So that's the sort of straight-out blatant racism that happens, but it's a real undertone that's rampant, and that undertone is everywhere, particularly from older white males if I'm honest.

John appeared to negate this statement:

But going through secondary school, it was still from day dot, we are all one. There is no them and us.

4.4.2 Learning from each other

Perceptions differed as we talked about what it is to be to be Māori or Pākehā, the contrast of culture, what we still must find out about each other, and how we could learn together to create a better world. Amiria explained the differences:

Our cultural values. I think we are very different. We think whānau wide and I think Pākehā can be quite …. I care about my cousin's, cousin's child you know. We are very collective in our thinking and I think that is probably the biggest difference. Everything we do, we do it not as an individual, we do it as a collective. We are representing our whakapapa. I think we are truly connected to the past and really consider the future.

John's position:

I don't see a difference. No.

John elaborated on his perspective, which perhaps indicated some antagonism that Pākehā feel with the revitalisation of te ao Māori.

The big difference I see today, and again I'm flipping this …… there could be an element of… …. [reassures himself] oh it's not racism coming from me. The difference I see at the moment is .. …… and I can see why there is a need for it because of what's gone on in the past. But it's almost today, I wonder if Māori …… you know, like the language and everything has been … …not pushed

on us. I'm reversing it now, but like hospitals and all the signage and that. It's pretty much everywhere.

Huhana's viewpoint on the differences:

We are culturally different. For example, we see Pākehā who marry Māori. When the Māori dies and is taken back to their family, because that's their culture, to be taken back to their whenua, Pākehā can be left in the lurch so it's not knowing the culture of the other.

Brandon rejected any differences:

I don't think there is an identifiable Māori culture that is them and us, because there is no them in a way. Does a Māori or say a 64th per cent Māori, …. does that make them a different race?

He went on to rationalise his perspective:

I think from what I've learned, Māori from older times had a different set of spiritual beliefs and faiths and culture around family than we did, but I don't believe that the majority of Māori still have those perspectives. I think they have been assimilated and intermarried so much that there is a mish mash now and the thing that we call Māori culture has been constructed by some Māori who believe that this is the way things should be.

This led to a conversation about those in Aotearoa who identify strongly as Māori. From this Brandon reflected:

Although they identify as Māori, in many respects I don't believe that Māori are different. I think there is the church and spiritual side of Māori culture, but there are many Pākehā who are spiritual or religious, and not every Māori adheres to the religious side of things.

Brandon and John, in their protestations that there is no difference between Māori and Pākehā ascribe to a 'settler theory', which, by denying Māori culture and identity, they are asserting their power with rightness and whiteness. The denial of identity is a form of colour blindness which protects white settler privilege, yet purports to not be openly racist (Terruhn, 2015).

4.4.3 Solutions

We conversed about what would help us understand each other so we could create a country where we showed respect for each other and our lived experiences.

Amiria's initial reaction:

They [Pākehā] are never going to know about being Māori and I think they should stop trying!

She qualified this retort by explaining.

I've got a friend who is married to a Māori and so now she thinks that she is Māori. "No lady you are not! You're married to a Māori; you have Māori children who have whakapapa but it's not yours. So don't sit there and try and tell me what it is like to be Māori, because you are never going to know… ever"!

Amiria believes that valuing each other is key.

I think accepting culture is different to what you know about it. I think accepting and not being scared to try to understand. They [Pākehā] can be respectful of other people's culture and make it feel valued. You're not going to lose your power if there's no fear in it.

Amiria offered trepidation about a loss of hegemony as a reason for Pākehā to resist accepting Māori perspectives:

The fear is about power. Pākehā don't listen because I still think it comes down to domination, power, and fear. I think Māori have the answers and that there is a fear in giving control back to Māori to fix, or find, or give the solutions to the issues that exist for us as Māori people.

Brandon believes that Māori should be given the authority to transform Māori lives:

The Māori centred programmes can't be run by Pākehā. It's a case of Māori being able to have control over what they think will work best. Police based programmes are never going to work but Māori based programmes could.

He considers education is a step in the right direction:

You can't force people to change their thinking, so we have to do it carefully. We've got to raise the economic situation for Māori so they can live on an equal footing and that's based around education.

Although, he identifies some pitfalls:

From my experience, many Māori parents have lesser expectations for their children. Because they were unable to achieve in education themselves, and go to university and have higher paying jobs, they don't expect that their own children will have those aspirations.

And although he believes that education can make a difference, he considers that Māori parents need to do more to be part of the change.

Still, many Māori parents don't read to their kids, don't get them books, and don't put education above things like sport or a new car. They often struggle to have a stable home life which is not going to make you a good student, if you don't know where your next meal is coming from or where you are going to sleep. That's partially economic but there I think there is a mindset that may have to change. I don't know how you do that.

John rejected the idea that Pākehā are afraid of losing power:

I don't think I'm afraid of Māori having some power, I think I'm afraid that if it goes back too far the other way, if you get what I mean.

Although John has a little historical knowledge, he is unaware of the laws that inhibited Māori prosperity. He adhered to the meritocratic view (McNamee et al., 2013) that if Māori worked harder, they would be more successful. This is a common opinion in rural areas of Aotearoa.

Yes, the English or Pākehā came in and yes they did practically take all the land and whatever, but then in saying that, and growing up in a small rural community like this, I'm aware of heaps of Māori land that my whole life has sat dormant and there was heaps of young ones in there that could be doing a whole lot. Sometimes I think it was about you know pulling your socks up and just getting on with it. That's where I think that maybe they could look at some of the ways of how Pākehā do things. I know this makes me sound racist but maybe they could look at you know "pull your socks up" and get on with it and try and make a future.

There is a propensity for the white working class of Aotearoa New Zealand to be proud of their achievements and they are often cited as an example of underprivileged who have earned their privilege. Borrell et al (2009) describe how material success was "seen as due to hard work and a "pulling yourself up by the boot lace attitude" (p. 45), a direct parallel to John's statements. Refusing to accept the societal privilege that you enjoy from ethnicity and gender is a common narrative in Aotearoa, New Zealand and it is advantageous for the dominant ethnic group.

John thought directing young Māori into workstreams may help:

… if we can get to a point where young Māori kids are really wanting to get into trades and there's plenty of availability there to get into trades and do trades then things will start to come right.

Huhana was adamant that:

Pākehā need to learn more about Māori and a lot of them think that they don't need to know anything.

4.5: Summary

Pākehā denial of Māori identity is unmistakeable in the narratives. Māori are pleading, listen to us, accept us, value us into a sometimes well meaning, but staunchly impenetrable Pākehā void. Joan Metge et al. (1984) argue that cross cultural communication can result in talking past each other, however, the conflicting perspectives in these findings reveal an impermeable wall between the cultures that will require deliberate perforations to enable us to see and hear each other.

The found poem from participants' own voices demonstrates this talking past each other:

Pākehā need to learn more about Māori. (Huhana)

I don't believe that Māori are different (Brandon)

Pākehā don't listen, it comes down to domination, power, and fear (Amiria)

Pull your socks up and get on with it and try and make a future (John)

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to examine the varying ways of being, doing, and knowing for Pākehā and Māori who grew up in a small town in Aotearoa, New Zealand. From these similarities and differences, and with myself as a sometimes "insider" and sometimes "outsider" in the research, I sought to explore a deeper understanding of the perspectives of Māori and Pākehā, that would lead to greater awareness of each other, and a way forward towards valuing and respecting our diversity. I identified three major themes from the findings; whakapapa, power, and colour-blindness and here I discuss each one in turn.

5.2 Whakapapa : Links to identity and culture

Māori participants had a connection to their past that was a measure of their identity. Researchers (Mahuika, 2019; Anderson et al. 2015; Ngata, 2019; Ballara, 1991) assert that whakapapa is bigger than genealogy, that it is directly related to culture, identity, language, well-being, and the past, present, and future. Māori participants used whakapapa to identify themselves and this encompassed language, customs, education, and a sense of self. In contrast, Pākehā participants did not see their historical past as significant. They had sparse knowledge of their own heritage but were focussed on getting ahead in life and striving for the best for themselves and their immediate family in the present (Hook, 2007).

Pākehā participants did not identify as Pākehā. John asserted that he was a "a typical rural kiwi bloke" and Brandon considered himself a "New Zealander". To deem oneself Pākehā is to recognise the relationship that we have with Māori and to accept them as Tangata Whenua (Amundsen, 2018; Spoonley, 1995). Pākehā participants dismissed the notion of having a culture that was different to Māori, and in doing so denied the concept of a distinct culture that was Māori (Black, 2010; Kendall, 2012), supporting the theory that as the dominant force in our society, whiteness does not need to be named. It just is (Halley et al., 2022; Zeus, 2004).

5.2.1 Education

The ubiquitous hegemony of the systems and structures of colonialism in a town where the population had a large Māori majority was apparent. Secondary school saw the influence of pervasive colonialist structures, where Māori participants produced similar themes to the Te Kotahitanga research evidenced in *Culture Speaks* (Bishop & Berryman, 2007). They talked of the

impact of streaming on their sense of worth, the lack of anything Māori in the schools, including te reo, a stripping of identity, and how low expectations and the denying of academic subjects affected their future (Walker, 2016).

Māori participants claimed that the absence of a *te ao Māori* (Māori world view) at school resulted in a cultural detachment from education. They left school early with few qualifications for low paying, basic employment. Although the Hunn report (1961) identified the disparities that Māori experienced, few changes were made in schools to address these issues. Pākehā participants appeared oblivious to the predicament of their Māori classmates, claiming that they saw no difference between Māori and Pākehā, despite Māori being approximately 80 per cent of the school population. The education system worked for this group of white people.

As they grew up, Māori were on the periphery of the Pākehā participants' vision, as part of their life but not 'in' their life, and the Pākehā conviction that the state education structures worked for everyone, was part of their adult psyche.

5.2.2 Te reo Māori

Māori participants, while confirming their identity as Māori felt the deprivation of their native language keenly. The oral traditions of whakapapa that link to identity, culture, politics, language, and religions (Mahuika, 2019) were destroyed by refusing te reo Māori to be authenticated. Māori participants came from homes where families made the decision to withhold te reo Māori from their children, a resolve that possibly resulted from past punishments for speaking te reo, (Selby et al., 2010) and a recognition that 'being Māori' was not going to help their children in an overtly racist education system (Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Hetaraka, 2022; Walker, 2016). Love (2006) ascertains that whakapapa is the cornerstone of the Māori world when he states that "through separation from their whakapapa or contextual base, Māori language and culture becomes lifeless and empty" (p. 251). For Māori participants, marginalisation of whakapapa meant not speaking te reo, not being called by their given name, mispronunciation of Māori words and an education system that devalued and belittled their culture.

Kendall (2012) discusses the privilege and arrogance of being white. Although Pākehā were the minority in the town, the Māori world was not visible to them, and they were largely unaware that

there were a group of people who spoke another language. Te reo was rarely heard, except in a haka, where the words were not understood, or a quiet conversation in a sports club. Pākehā participants mentioned a slang dialect which was considered part of 'being Māori' for them, and this in my opinion, was used derisively by Pākehā to mock the vocabulary of a people who were divested of their original voice and contributed to the stereotyping of Māori as uneducated and 'not as good as us' (Wall, 1997).

5.2.3 Differences of time and space

Pākehā participants focussed on their immediate nuclear family, while Māori had a more collective outlook; “We care about our cousin’s, cousin’s, cousin” (Amiria). In te ao Māori, the past is as important as the future, so the decisions that are made in the present take into consideration the past and impact the future. This concept of time and interconnecting relationships within the entirety of our existence, is a world view that was unfamiliar for the majority of Pākehā who had a more individualistic perception of time (Hook, 2007).

For Pākehā, the lack of knowledge about their own history, and an espousal that they don’t have a culture (Spoonley, 1995) was used as a justification of colonisation and assimilation. By denying their own past, they deny the identity of Māori, and our combined past, present and future realities. In this way, we as Pākehā, obliterate whakapapa and continue the 'mythtake' (Jackson, 2019) that we are working together in a world of equal opportunities.

5.3 Power and Privilege

Pākehā participants, demonstrated an acceptance of the structures and systems that dispossessed the culture and identity of Māori, either through ignorance, entitlement or by a focus on their individual opportunities, rather than the collective perspective of community (Hook, 2007). This has contributed to a form of historical amnesia for Pākehā which has concealed the distribution and accumulation of wealth which benefitted settlers (Di Angelo, 2018; Terruhn, 2015).

5.3.1 Hold on to what you got.

While Māori participants were grateful for a roof over their heads and food on the table, Pākehā participants, had memories that included wanting more and believing that they should have more. Friere (2018) discusses the desire of the oppressor for more, and how "having more is an inalienable right" (p. 59). For many, particularly landowners who have reaped the benefit of land acquisition, this has developed into a sense of entitlement that manifests into a belief that they (Pākehā) got where they are today through hard work (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). This affirms the stereotype that Māori didn't and still don't work hard. John's assertion that Māori should "pull their socks up and get on with it" aligns with this meritocratic ideology (McNamee & Miller, 2013).

Illegal acquisition of land from Māori, and other discriminatory practices including ineligibility of ballot farms for Māori after World War One (Souter, 2019) has contributed to the undermined position that many Māori are in today, and yet it was not a consideration for the Pākehā participants. In some cases, Pākehā participants were still unaware of any inequitable systems, and if they were known, it was seen as a sad fact of the past and not something that could be dealt with now. This "learned bystander apathy" (SooHoo, 2004) is the unwillingness to openly challenge racism but rather, to stand on the side-lines and watch it happen. Bystander apathy shrouds the onlooker with a cloak of innocence and blamelessness. They are not in the world but watching on (Friere, 2018). However, not to act against racism is to accept it and to condone it. The tyranny of niceness in social situations is such that we perpetuate the power of the dominant culture over the less powerful (McDonald, 2018).

Amiria says, "you're not going to lose your power if there's no fear in it". However, the fear of "rocking the boat" (Brandon) is an anxiety around losing power by severing connections to the dominant white society that is influential (Borrell et al., 2009) and to the power of the social constructs that have advantaged Pākehā and kept them at the top of the food chain in Aotearoa New Zealand (Kendall, 2012).

Whilst we [Pākehā] don't acknowledge our power and privilege, there are examples all around us of resistance to the embracing of ōritetanga, that promises equality between Māori and Pākehā in article three of the Treaty of Waitangi (Huygens, 2009). The recently proposed "Three Waters Bill" that has many of us [Pākehā] scrambling to retain full power over our structures is one example. Social media is alive with the fear that "mana whenua may input in the delivery of water services through equal representation on the regional representative group" (Dept Internal Affairs, 2022). Other aspects of

the Bill which propose to improve the distribution and services of water to make it safer and affordable for all New Zealanders are largely ignored in the fear of handing over any power to Māori (Terruhn, 2015). When John rejects the concept of having power, and then says, "I think I'm afraid that if it goes back too far the other way, if you get what I mean", he voices the fear that if we give "Māori" power, we will lose what we have and what we deserve and that won't be comfortable for us.

5.3.2 Stories in our heads

Moana Jackson (2019) suggests that "mythtakes" are a direct result of selling and justifying the process of colonisation to maintain the privilege and power of the settlers and the Crown. Georgina Stewart (2021) calls these narratives truth-myths and suggest they are the stories that Pākehā believe to be true about culture and identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. This research revealed Pākehā participants entrenched perceptions about Māori, which they demonstrated through stereotypical comments that implied that, Māori should work harder, Māori should look after their children better, Māori should look at the way we [Pākehā] do things, and that it was time that they [Māori] got over themselves and moved on (Petrie, 1998; Wall 1997). In contrast, the Māori voices in the research were asking for Pākehā to listen to them, to understand them and to allow them to "be Māori" (Durie, 2001).

For generations of Pākehā families (my own included), the plight of Māori who were driven into poverty because of illegal land appropriation, violent acts of aggression that caused hopelessness and homelessness, assimilation through education, and laws that ensured Māori were kept at the bottom of the social order, were invisibilised or ignored (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Jackson, 2018; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Pākehā participants did not discuss their privilege, and indeed, there was an underlying position that there were things that Māori needed to do if their situation was to be improved. This research demonstrates the power of the 'stories in our heads' to cement stereotypes that perpetuate racism (Wall, 1997; Terruhn, 2015). I contend that this is a direct result of the intergenerational justification of colonisation that settler families have complied with, to "eliminate indigeneity" (Terruhn, 2015. p. 54).

5.3.3 Racism

Understanding the depth and nature of racism eluded Pākehā participants. They did not consider themselves as racist, although they were aware that racism existed. Zeus (2004) asserts that racism is always about other whites, and so we abide in a country that has racism but no confirmed racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Pākehā participants alleged that Māori and Pākehā lived together in harmony, and as one community. This was disputed by Māori participants who spoke of the cultural divide, the racism of the education system and the cultural poverty gap that divided parts of the town. Māori participants were able to identify acts of racism and had personal narratives that they re-counted. The narratives of Pākehā in the research indicate, that when everything has gone right for you; when the structures of society (education, health, income, land laws) work for you and not against you, and when you have not been discriminated against, because of the colour of your skin; making room for "other" ways of being is not seen as necessary and furthermore as a relinquishing of power (MacDonald, 2018; Mills, 2020).

Pākehā participants' lack of empathy for the power discrepancies between Māori and Pākehā today can be explained in several ways. Firstly, the stereotyping of Māori that began as a deliberate result of colonisation has been ingrained in the stories of Pākehā families. Initially this meant that white settlers could turn a 'blind eye' to illegal land acquisition and unjustified violence, however, these yarns are still perpetuated today, sometimes surreptitiously and in some circles, more overtly (MacDonald, 2020; Terruhn, 2015). Secondly, the privilege of wealth, and social standing that Pākehā families have acquired, is something to be aimed for and desired. The fear that we will lose some power if we afford Māori the same privilege was implicit in the Pākehā dialogue (Mills, 2020; Freire, 2018). Thirdly, Pākehā genuinely believe that they have worked hard for what they have, and it isn't something that they want to share. This individualistic and meritocratic ideology contrasts with the more collective Māori perspective (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). There is a fear for Pākehā that if we uphold the Treaty promises of kāwangatanga and tino rangitiratanga, Māori will take over and treat us unfairly. Inherent maybe, is the conscious and unconscious knowledge that we [Pākehā] weren't particularly honourable in our historical dealings with Māori so why would they reciprocate with respect and kindness?

5.4 Colour blindness

The next theme is linked to the previous two as it discusses the power imbalance between Pākehā and Māori that is invisible to Pākehā but not to Māori (Barnes, 2013; Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Haig-Brown, 1995) and the rejection of a Māori culture or identity that was separate or different to their own from the Pākehā participants.

Although Māori participants acknowledged the diversity of culture and race, Pākehā participants could not see any variance. Colour blindness insists that alluding to race is in itself racist and by denying culture or race Pākehā can "set themselves apart from their colonising forebears to ward off responsibility" (Terruhn, 2015, p. 67). The colour blindness (John: we are all one) that Pākehā participants used to deny the culture or existence of Māori is part of the assimilation story that has been accepted by Pākehā families throughout generations. The rejection of Māori and Pākehā culture stems from the stories of colonisation that told us we had the best race relations in the world, that we [Pākehā] were kind to our indigenous people, and that Māori are in some ways inferior to Pākehā and are fortunate to have been colonised by us (Mills, 2020; McDonald, 2019; Stewart, 2021). Blindness to colour, and the conviction that we are all the same, benefits those for whom the status quo is already working, by maintaining their power and privilege and thus undermining those who are less powerful (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Borrell et al., 2009).

The narratives of sameness attempt to justify the inequities of our current situation. If we are the same, there can be no racism, we have equal opportunities, I am in this position because I worked harder than you, you should look after your families better, and there are no Māori left in New Zealand. These imageries (Amundsen, 2020) have been comfortable fabrications that Pākehā families seldom challenge. Confronting these mythtakes (Jackson, 2019) jeopardises a whole culture of historical privilege that Pākehā have enjoyed while rejecting its existence (Brandon: We have no culture).

"Colour evasiveness" (Annamma et al., 2017) names the strategy that is colour blindness. These researchers maintain that colour evasiveness goes a step further, as it acknowledges that to circumvent talking about race, we deliberately undermine and avoid the experiences of minority groups. Thus, in Aotearoa, New Zealand today, when we ignore or dismiss colour or race, we are actively maintaining power and privilege over those who are less powerful by denying their existence, and subsequently their culture and identity. When Pākehā participants insisted that we are

all one people, and that they treat everybody the same, this is a means of discounting racial disparities and suppressing essential conversations that pertain to culture and race (Gillborn, 2019).

The findings highlighted the exterminator ideology (Stewart, 2021) among Pākehā who argue that there are no "real" Māori left. Brandon says, "there is no them and us because there is no them". This denies the relational concept of ethnicity and focuses on blood as a concept of race. Māori culture determines that identity is created through whakapapa, so the notion of a half caste, or "full-blood Māori "is in itself racist" (Stewart, 2021. p. 6). Halley et al. (2022) propose that race is not blood, that it is perceived within the constructs of culture, societies, and history. Georgina Tuari-Stewart (2021) asserts that 'exterminators' are a type of people that believe that assimilation is best for Māori, and that in doing so they "deny Māori the right to even exist" (p. 5).

In a former life, I was a proponent of "colour blind racism" (Ortiz, 2021) as I purported to treat all my students the same, regardless of race or circumstance. On reflection, I am aware that I denied my Māori students the opportunity to "be Māori" in my classroom, primarily because of my blindness to their culture, my upbringing that stereotyped Māori, and non-comprehension of the need for equity over equality. I propose that education involving critical consciousness is a powerful and essential antidote for colour blind racism.

5.5 Summary

The discussion focusses on the varying perceptions of Māori and Pākehā who grew up in the same small town with a predominantly Māori population. It highlights the gaps in our understanding of culture and identity, the privilege and power that has been largely invisible to the white population, and the ideology of colour blindness as a tool of colonisation and assimilation. In the study, Māori participants ask Pākehā to listen and learn about their culture and accept their identity, while Pākehā are listening to the intergenerational mythtakes that have blocked relational communication. This chapter provides insight for Pākehā and Māori to contemplate their own position within these differing perspectives, and to consider how power is being played out in their own contexts. Breaking down of power and privilege through conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis (Friere, 2018), is imperative if we are to achieve a partnership that tackles the inequities of the past and the present; and moves forward to create ōritetanga, where te ao Māori is valued alongside the perspectives of Pākehā. This study indicates that we have a long way to go.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This research identifies some bi-cultural disparities between Māori and Pākehā and examines them to conceive a future with more equitable outcomes. As a Pākehā who grew up in a town with a majority population of Māori, my interest was piqued by the cultural separateness of Māori and Pākehā, and with earlier research and reflection, the unearthing of my own prejudice, and racism. While this is a topic that I have previously grappled with, the research created further reflections and additional enlightenment regarding our bi-cultural connections and our lived experiences within Aotearoa, New Zealand. In this final chapter I will consider the position of power and privilege within Māori and Pākehā relationships and how that has linked to the historical silencing of culture. I will then explore the position of conscientisation as an instrument of decolonisation and the implications of this research for others.

6.2 Power and Privilege

The Doctrine of Discovery underpinned the justification for the colonisation of New Zealand which began a lengthy process of disproportionate and unequal disparities between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Although Māori have regularly contested inequitable laws and dishonourable outcomes, successive governments have been steadfast in their resolve to maintain control over the people and the resources that Aotearoa, New Zealand has to offer. The power to govern, power to own, power to influence, and power to maintain a superior status in society, that ensures the fiscal, social, and cultural profits of hegemony remains with Pākehā and is a ubiquitous product of colonisation.

While our colonised history tells us that Māori/Pākehā relationships are the best in the world (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991), the status of Māori as second-class citizens in their native country belies this. Although this study finds Pākehā alleging oblivion to the laws that discriminated against Māori, trusting instead in the idea of a kiwi culture that is fair for all, Māori, even if not aware of the laws and history, were aware of Aotearoa New Zealand as a racist country that privileged Pākehā.

Identity and culture for Māori is closely linked to whakapapa. Mahuika (2008), discusses the issues of authenticity and authority for Māori who do not feel Māori enough, when through the process of colonisation, their language and culture has been denigrated and marginalised. Māori voices in this research expressed the sadness of being denied their language and culture, that made them feel vulnerable and less than whole. Pākehā in the study consider that to be Pākehā is not very different from being Māori. Māori, however, articulate the differences, referring to collectivism versus individualism, the importance of whakapapa to identity, manaakitanga as a guiding value, and the lived experiences of the effects of colonisation on their social, financial, and cultural and educational experiences.

Education had an important part to play in undermining the culture of Māori. Schooling for Māori was deliberately planned through the Mission, then Native Schools and subsequent streaming, as a tool of colonisation, to ensure that Māori were positioned as inferior to the superiority of settlers. Māori are still more likely to be in low paid employment that demands physical labour, they leave school earlier with fewer qualifications than Pākehā, they attend school less regularly, and Māori parents are less likely to engage with the schooling systems and structures (Statistics NZ, 2013). While Māori participants disclosed that low academic expectations prevailed and that their culture was not valued or acknowledged, Pākehā participants sailed through school regardless of academic ability. Māori participants talked about the dearth of cultural inclusion, the stereotyping of Māori who were placed in classes that deprived them of academic learning, and the effects of streaming on academic achievement and well-being. Subsequently, Māori participants left school earlier than their Pākehā compatriots who confided oblivion to the predicament of their Māori school mates.

Successive governments have been slow to initiate changes of cultural and structural reform that will create favourable conditions for Māori students in the Aotearoa, New Zealand education system. The Ministry of Education produces archetypes of impressive documentation bursting with high ideals for schools to implement (Ka Hikitia), however, these policies are not complemented with deliberate strategies of cultural and structural change with adequate funding and iterative professional learning opportunities. Furthermore, there is a pattern of withdrawing funding and changing course, even as the policy implementation develops momentum and analysis begins to report progress (Te Kotahitanga). The Education and Training Act (2020) places the enactment of Te Tiriti o Waitangi at the top of its priorities. However, there are still Boards of Trustees and principals who staunchly ignore these mandates and others that are confused about what this means.

Our mainstream secondary schools seem resistant to change and the pre-dominant pedagogical position in this sector is that the teacher imparts knowledge into a vessel that is the child (Friere 1984). NCEA is used as a rationalisation for traditional style teaching methods where the teacher, the controller of the power, often denies the social and cultural interactions that connect the student to the learning in an authentic way (we don't have time for that). Government initiatives around cultural change are not prioritised (we are so busy) and professional development in schools is becoming more difficult to access. Changing the way that we teach or imagine schooling is neither welcomed or prioritised and thus those pristine Ministry of Education mandates gather dust at the back of the shelf while we continue to focus on curriculum rather than people, on content rather than context.

Ani Mikaere (2010) asserts that racism is a Pākehā problem. She suggests that "Pākehā people carry an enormous burden of guilt about the way in which they have come to occupy their present position of power and privilege" (p. 53). While I sometimes encounter white people who are confused or upset about the past, I am not aware of many who are trying to return stolen land, fighting for equity, or, as this research exposes, able to acknowledge their own privilege and power. While I concur that racism needs to be tackled by Pākehā, it is Māori who are the casualties, therefore I contend that it is a shared problem.

Alex Hotere Barnes (2015) claims that the inability of Pākehā to take action is a form of Pākehā paralysis, describing the emotional and intellectual challenges that can occur for Pākehā when engaging with Māori. He suggests that the factors around Pākehā paralysis stem from "a fear of getting it wrong; concern about perpetuating Māori cultural tokenism; negative previous experiences with Māori; a confusion about what the 'right' course of action may be" (p. 41). In this theory, Barnes seems to deny the generationally ingrained privilege and hegemony that Pākehā have enjoyed, that is evidenced in this study. I suggest that this research reveals that Pākehā power and Pākehā privilege are more valid reasons for Pākehā inaction.

The privilege that comes with being Pākehā is made comfortable by its invisibility, and it will remain under a blanket of ignorance and silence, unless we are prepared to pull back the covers and face a world that is free of colonialist mythtakes. The change that is needed in our education system will not be restored with a silver bullet. Just as the insidiousness of colonisation was slow and deliberate, to reverse the process our change process needs to be measured and persistent.

6.3 Silencing

Pākehā participants in the research adamantly denied any difference between Māori and Pākehā, arguing an exterminator viewpoint (Stewart, 2020) that we are the same. This perspective links to the colonising process of assimilation that expected Māori to fit into the settler world and in a sense, become Pākehā. Accordingly, the injustices of the past would be erased, and the 'mythtake' of meritocracy - that we are all in this together with equal opportunities and prospects would be embedded. Conversely, the Māori perspective revealed a strong link to identity and to being Māori. Māori participants acknowledged the importance of whakapapa, and the struggles that Māori have experienced to retain culture and identity. They express sadness, anger, and frustration at the position that they are still in today.

While Pākehā were challenged by the notion of a culture that identifies them, other than being a New Zealander and "a good kiwi bloke", the diverse ways of being are glaringly obvious to Māori. Pākehā imaginaries about the past have been intergenerational and intentional and this research reveals the erasure of their (both Pākehā and Māori) history and culture. Because of this silenced history, Pākehā are deprived of anything that links them to the past, that informs their ways of being, knowing and doing and so it becomes almost impossible for them to understand the importance of culture and identity. Embracing the concept of colour blindness to reject any cultural differences has resulted in Pākehā eliminating their own sense of self. The power structure of privilege for Pākehā, where ignorance and indifference are favoured over a relationship that values and is accepting of different ways of being, has resulted in the dispossession of both Māori and Pākehā culture.

Breaking the silenced history of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Pākehā historical amnesia of the past is an important step towards an understanding of our present societal position and building stronger relationships for the future. The Ministry of Education has introduced the Aotearoa Histories Curriculum, and its website asks us to understand that "colonisation and its consequences have been central to our history for the past 200 years and continues to influence all aspects of New Zealand society" (Ministry of Education, 2023. p. 3). While I applaud this step, I have concerns about the strategic implementation of this policy. Are teachers, predominantly Pākehā, who are firmly entrenched within a colonialist education system, able to open the stories of the past without the influence of their personal perspectives? Have we prepared teachers for the required cultural shifts that include reflecting on their position in society and their personal prejudice and bias? How have

teachers learned about the effects of colonisation and the history of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and how has this impacted on their consciousness of being a part of this colonial history? How is this relearning of our historical past prioritised and supported by our current educational structures, and where is the space for teachers to develop their critical consciousness though unlearning, learning, and relearning of the silenced past? Terruhn (2015) maintains, “whiteness and settlerness are undeniably linked in an intricate interplay of imperialism, colonisation and racialisation” (p. 49). How then is the Ministry of Education addressing the silenced stories of our teachers, particularly Pākehā teachers, who are a by-product of colonialist privilege, so that our next generation have a better understanding of their place in our history?

6.5 Decolonisation

How do we break the cycle of power and privilege that Pākehā have enjoyed for generations so that Māori can achieve the partnership, participation and protection that was promised in Te Tiriti o Waitangi? I contend that we need to shatter the silence that has preserved the ignorance and power of our settler families. Firstly, we need to address the silencing of our history, then the silencing and subsequent denial of our (Pākehā) culture and the culture of Māori. Thirdly we need to cease silencing the voices of Māori and create an environment in Aotearoa, New Zealand where Māori perspectives are normalised.

Decolonisation is about taking action to change our colonised world to one where the power is shared. The first step of decolonisation is critical consciousness and the second is re-imagining the world, before we take action to make transformative change (Smith, 2021). Some researchers (Berryman & Eley, 2020; Jackson, 2019) believe that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a good place to begin this process of ōritetanga between Māori and Pākehā In Aotearoa, New Zealand, Te Tiriti o Waitangi guides our government policies. *Manatu Hauora* (Ministry of Health) aims to "align with Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations to go beyond just remedying disadvantage and reducing inequities, enabling Māori to flourish and lead their aspirations for health" (Ministry of Health website) and *Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education) has National Education Learning Priorities that young people will "appreciate diversity, inclusion and Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (MOE website, Education and training act, 2020).

Do we know how to enact the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in our work, our leisure, and our personal life? Writing it down is not enough. As this study has ascertained, Pākehā are mainly

unaware of the "overarching injustice of colonisation" (Jackson, 2019. p. 26), and the impact that this has on the everyday life of Māori and Pākehā today. Education has been charged with changing the hearts of minds of the children of Aotearoa New Zealand, while students return to privilege or powerlessness, depending on their circumstances. I challenge our political parties to collaborate on how we enact the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi rather than using it for political leverage.

For Pākehā, understanding one's own identity and culture is a step towards acknowledging the differences of others (Black, 2010). The relationship between Māori and Pākehā will flourish when Pākehā acknowledge their own identity and culture, thus opening and recognising pathways of comparison and contrast with others.

6.6 Implications of the Research

Using culturally responsive methodology provided the opportunity for participants to share their perceptions honestly and without fear of reprisal or disapproval. This resulted in rich narratives from which to create a collaborative story. Although I ensured a varying age range between both participant groups, age was not a factor in the experiences that were expressed. Māori perceptions were similar regardless of age and Pākehā voices also aligned. A study that encompassed more participants would create further discussion and a more detailed analysis of age and gender comparison.

The research showed that the lived experiences of Māori and Pākehā had some similarities and a range of differences that Māori could communicate and that Pākehā dismissed. The illusion that 'we are all the same' and 'we get on well together' was firmly entrenched in the psyche of the Pākehā participants. The Māori voices in this research had a major message for Pākehā and that was to listen to us, try to understand us, and value us so our culture and identity may thrive, while Pākehā suggested that Māori would have more success if they became more like them.

The research demonstrates the ingrained perspectives of Pākehā that are influenced by colonialist processes that include, the silencing of history, (including the laws that discriminated and separated Māori), negative stereotyping of Māori, and the myth of meritocracy that denies the existence of racism or privilege in this country. The study challenges Pākehā to develop skills of critical consciousness, to find out about the history of our country and confront the inequity that Māori have been enduring for generations. It urges Pākehā to 'step up' by listening and learning, firstly about

themselves, and then the culture that they are living beside; so that we may reposition Te Tiriti o Waitangi from our policy documents and into our lived realities.

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