THROUGH THE EYES OF WHĀNAU:

Destruction of cultural identity through education

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Education

at

The University of Waikato

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2019

Abstract

This thesis examines how the schooling experiences of a dual cultural heritage whānau influenced the development of their identity, their language and culture across three generations. Koro, Tuakana, Teina and Moko share their experiences with us and through these stories reveal how they were forced through the colonising beliefs and practices of schooling to reshape themselves in a bid to belong. The compromise and abuse of cultural identity in wider society, replicated and validated in schooling, created a vicious and dehumanising experience for each of them. School was a major site of assimilation for this whānau. They experienced racism, rejection, low expectations and cultural disconnection across the three generations. They suffered particularly as dual heritage children who experienced rejection and racial micro aggressions from both Pākehā and Māori alike. Instead of education being a means to realise their potential and to achieve success it was actually the vehicle for the destruction of their cultural identity.

He Mihi - Acknowledgements

I te taha o tōku matua

Ko Kakepuku tōku maunga

Ko Mangapū tōku awa

Ko Tainui tōku waka

Ko Maniapoto tōku iwi

Ko Matakore tōku hapū

Ko Kaputuhi tōku marae

I te taha o tōku whaea

Ko Kelso tōku whenua

Ko Tweed tōku awa

Ko Kōtirana tōku iwi

Ko Maxwell tōku hapū

Ko Caerlaverock tōku whare

Ko Raewyn Ngaamo tōku ingoa

To my beautiful mokopuna - Oliver, Mikayla, Ethan and to all my moko who are yet to come, this is for you. I hope the education you receive is one filled with joy and happiness, learning and growth, where your identity and heritage is celebrated and valued.

To my whānau - without you I could not stand. We have been through so much together and I love you all dearly.

To all my friends and colleagues - you have been with me throughout this journey, thank you for all of your support, guidance, suggestions and unfailing good humour.

And a very special mihi to you Mere –for believing in me, your encouragement and critical support has been immeasurable. Tēnā rawa atu koe mō tō manaakitanga, ō kupu tohutohu, tō aroha me tō āwhina.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

> To acquiesce is to lose ourselves entirely and implicitly agree with all that has been said about us. To resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves. The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope (Smith, 1999, p. 4).

Introduction

This study is intended to contribute to the body of work that, as Smith declares above, resists what has been said about us. To share our unique stories creates space not just for ourselves but for others too and in the telling and sharing of experiences our stories become spaces in which people may find the strength to resist, to stand and to declare we are worthy too.

School is a seminal experience for most children in Aotearoa, New Zealand today as it was for their parents, their grandparents and their parents before them. Whether it was good, bad or indifferent, almost everyone has had some experience of school and its subsequent impact on them and their lives. As a Ngāti Maniapoto woman who is an educator and a whānau (family) member, I am interested in exploring the significance and scope of the impact of schooling on Māori from the experiential perspectives of a whānau. I'm also interested in exploring the on-going impact, over generations that the schooling experiences can have on a whānau. With this in mind I propose to investigate the question - How did the schooling experiences influence identity, language and culture of one whānau over three generations?

Rationale

Education in Aotearoa, New Zealand from the 1890s through to today has been a relatively brief but brutal process of colonisation of the indigenous Māori people. The educational policies laid down one after the other, have paved the way to this decade, where only 11% of Māori are fluent speakers of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and where 44% of Māori do not speak any reo at all (Te Kupenga, 2013). Not only have these policies stripped many Māori of their

language but they have also contributed to the context of unequal outcomes for Māori in education (see Education Counts, 2016), health, wealth and the justice system (see Victoria Business School, 2014). Although the education system cannot be held completely accountable for all of these outcomes, it was instrumental in the colonisation of the indigenous people through the deliberate use of law and policy to ensure assimilation (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

The impact of schooling experiences on a child's sense of identity is significant (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Cummins, 2001; Rameka & Paul-Burke, 2015). The child enters school and becomes aware that others see them and the world in different ways. If a child is from a whānau whose beliefs, language and values align with those of the school, then this is a natural extension of their home and experiences and they are affirmed, that is, they belong. If a child is from a whānau whose beliefs, language, culture and practices are not reflected in the world of schooling, then this can have a strong negative impact on how the child sees themselves, their sense of belonging and their developing sense of identity as a learner, as a cultural being, and as a member of a wider community of schooling and society.

This is what happened for many whānau when school became the place where formal education happened. No longer exclusively educated within the whānau, at the side of their kuia and koro, but sent to school to learn the curriculum of the coloniser. This is not only an historical experience but also one that continues on for many Māori in the schooling system today. In *Culture Speaks* (Bishop & Berryman, 2006) the narratives of Māori students' highlight the different ways of being, values, knowledges and expectations that they experienced at school and the impact that this had on them.

> We do a unit on respecting others' cultures. Some teachers who aren't Māori try to tell us what Māori do about things like a tangi. It's crap! I'm a Māori. They should ask me about Māori things. I could tell them about why we do things in a certain way. I've got the goods on this, but they never ask me. I'm a dumb Māori I suppose. Yet they asked the Asian girl about her culture. They never ask us about ours. Some of us here have been brought up by the olds (Nana, Aunty, Koro). We know about this stuff. We can

explain it better than the teacher can. They don't think we know anything (p. 76).

This is one example of the frustration many Māori students expressed throughout *Culture Speaks*. The Māori students both engaged and non-engaged were able to articulate the experiences and reasons why they felt they were often unable to access the learning at school without compromising who they were. I believe they express, in their words, the ideas of Valenzuela (1999) in *Subtractive Schooling: US-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring* where she describes how students experience a lack of care even while the teachers say they care very much. She believes the school curriculum is prioritised over the student's language and culture and the students experience this, as a lack of care. The goal of the curriculum is to teach them (the students) what the dominant society says is necessary for successful integration into their society, often disregarding the aspirations and goals of the minority communities.

The power to describe and define normality has remained with the coloniser, as has the ability to marginalise and pathologise others. With the power to define came control over the educational process, and the ability to dictate which aspects of Māori epistemologies were acceptable for application within the schooling arena. Māori were therefore subjected to watered-down perspectives of their own culture as seen through the eyes of the oppressor (Rameka & Paul-Burke, 2015).

Often the storying, the explanations and the definitions of Māori and their position within New Zealand society, sit within the coloniser's realm. Although we have *Culture Speaks* by Bishop and Berryman (2006), which dramatically captured the hitherto unheard voices of Māori students and their whānau, these stories were across one point in time. What would be the stories from one whānau across multiple generations? Would there be similarities? Would there be differences? Would the stories reflect the socio-cultural and political context of each generation? Would these stories reflect any intergenerational impact on their identity, language and culture as a whānau?

By sharing the stories of one whānau across three generations, we may see how these wider influences have impacted on them, through their own eyes and how these have influenced their sense of identity, their connections to their culture and the language of their culture.

Personal context

As a country, we have failed in our duty to create a healthy, socially just society for the coming generations. Even though we have been able to identify the issues at a broad level, the impact of colonisation on Māori and the fruit of this destructive process continue. On-going evidence of educational disparity between Māori and non-Māori students show that we have yet to enact the solutions on the ground, in a way that addresses, once and for all the unequal power relations (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) experienced by Māori and undoubtedly other minority cultures within Aotearoa, New Zealand.

As an educator, I feel the responsibility of challenging the status quo deeply and desire to do what I can to ensure that all of our children receive an education that is empowering and affirming of them as cultural beings. I believe we can create the conditions where every child does not just survive at school but thrives, and leaves school with a strong sense of who they are, whole and well, and with identity, language(s) and culture intact.

Like many others I am a product of English-medium education and of the assimilation policies of our past. I am both Māori and Pākehā, but grew up with very little idea about what being Māori really meant. My whānau lived in and around Auckland, one of the many whānau who moved from rural towns to the city during the 50s and 60s, in search of work and a better life. I negotiated my way through the education system as best I could, and then, having managed to gain sixth form certificate left school to become a teacher. I have worked in English-medium education for most of my adult life, first as a teacher in primary schools and then moving into secondary schools. I saw the impact of English-medium schooling on Māori children on a daily basis and worked to mitigate these impacts in the schools where I taught. However, although I had a gut

4

feeling about what helped my students learn, I did not have the language to describe it, the tools to reflect on how effective my pedagogy was, especially for the Māori students, or the understanding of the wider political influences that have continued to shape us.

I was very fortunate to become involved in Te Kotahitanga, Phase One as a participating teacher in 2001 (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003). At Te Kotahitanga marae in Tuakau, sitting in the wharenui (meeting house) with teachers, whānau, and researchers, I read the stories from Māori students both engaged and non-engaged, their whānau, teachers and principals. It was an important moment for me as a Māori woman and as a teacher. That the stories I carried with me, both my own personal stories and those of the children I had taught, were shared stories of many whānau, a common experience across Aotearoa. It was the first time I truly felt empowered, that I could do something significantly positive to ensure that our tamariki mokopuna (children and grandchildren) would not have to experience the disempowering and disenfranchising forms of education that my generation and those before me had experienced. Te Kotahitanga gave me a way of describing, defining and changing the pedagogy in the classroom to one that was culturally relational and responsive.

Subsequently, I became a Te Kotahitanga in-school facilitator and then an external facilitator with various universities across the country. I have continued to be involved in this work as a kaitoro (facilitator) in Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success; as a Student Achievement Function Practitioner for the Ministry of Education; and currently in my work as an accredited facilitator and expert partner with Poutama Pounamu, at the University of Waikato.

I see this research as contributing to the growing body of work around the stories of Māori whānau and their experiences from their own points of view. The more stories we can gather and explore as Māori, the more we create opportunities for ourselves and others, to consider and perhaps understand, the reality of the impact of the policies and practices of colonisation in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The importance of Māori people carrying out research, asking their

own questions and telling their own stories as they define them to be, is a critical part of talking back to the research conducted by non-Māori researchers about Māori through the dominant cultural lens (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). To this end I chose to investigate these questions through my research:

- How did their schooling experiences influence identity, language and culture of one whānau through three generations?
- How did they understand identity within the education they received?
- What impact did the educational policies have on the educational experiences of one whānau?
- What were the intergenerational impacts of schooling on one whānau?

This thesis is organised in six chapters. Chapter One provides the rationale and justification for this study as well as some personal context about me as the researcher. Chapter Two reviews the literature both national and international regarding this topic and provides a theoretical background for this study. Chapter Three outlines the methodology and methods, data collection and analysis as well as the ethical considerations. Chapter Four presents the research findings and Chapter Five discusses the main themes that emerged from the findings in relation to the research questions and the literature. Chapter Six identifies the limitations of the research, considers potential ideas for further study and ends with some final reflections to consider.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

> What has been lost and what has been gained by participating in a system of education that does not stem from, or really honor, our unique Indigenous perspectives? How far can we go in adapting to such a system before that system literally educates us out of cultural existence? (Cajete, 2012, p. 146)

Introduction

These questions, posed by Cajete, ask us to consider what we are doing to our children in the name of education. If we are cognisant of the historical context in which the current public education system in New Zealand grew, then we must consider what we are doing to either perpetuate or disrupt the assimilationist nature of this system.

This chapter will focus on the research and theorising regarding the impact of colonisation through education on Māori identity, language and culture. It begins with a consideration of Māori identity in pre-European times and then goes on to discuss the removal of te reo Māori and the impact this had on its people. It outlines the use of education policy to assimilate Māori across the generations into the settlers' culture as second-class citizens, rendering Māori a minority people in their own land. Finally, it considers dual heritage and some international research focused on schooling experiences for mixed heritage children that lays the groundwork to reflect on the impact of schooling on identity today.

Māori identity in pre-European times

Before Europeans arrived in Aotearoa, New Zealand Māori identity was understood and grew out of the values, practices and beliefs of an iwi (tribes connected by common ancestors), Māori view of the world. We lived and identified ourselves by our whānau (extended family), by our hapū (sub groupings of a tribe) and by our iwi (Pihama & Cameron, 2012) and through these people to Ranginui our Sky-Father, Papatūānuku our Earth-Mother and to all of their children. Although these stories and related theories may have had

slight iwi variations they reflected the shared ontology of the indigenous people of Aotearoa.

In *Māori Pedagogies: A view from the Literature* (2000) Hemara uses the literature of the time to demonstrate the very special regard the children were held in, by the whānau, hapū and iwi in those pre-colonial times. The young were considered to be an 'iwi's greatest resource' (p. 11). The tamariki or Tama-a-Ariki (Child of God) were the ones who would grow to build the mana and mauri of their whānau, hapū and iwi, and so they were treated with respect, their education and correct growth of paramount importance to the hapū. Mead (2000) also notes that Māori children were treated with great affection in traditional Māori society (p. 52). Taonui (2010) writes that *'...violence towards children in pre European times was an exceptional circumstance rather than a rule'* (p. 195).

Hemara (2000) explains how important it was for the children to learn the skills, attitudes and moral codes necessary to flourish, not only as strong individuals but also, and more importantly, as strong contributors to the health and wellbeing of the whānau, hapū and iwi. The children were often taught and guided by the kaumātua (elders) while their parents were away tending to the daily matters of living. The kaumātua watched the children as they grew, noticing their natural inclinations, their strengths and gifts and from these observations made decisions about the direction of the child's education (Royal, 2007). *'It is evident that Māori had a complex and efficient education system prior to the arrival of the Pākehā colonisers'* (Jenkins, 1988, as cited in Irwin, 2004, p. 34).

Mead (2003) lays out the specific concepts of Māori identity in *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. He organises them as a set of attributes. These are divided into two main groups. The first group is to do with the person's place in the whānau and their locality. The second group is in relation to the ontological and epistemological understandings and beliefs of Māori identity.

Mead's set of identity attributes include:

Ira tangata, ira atua – Ira tangata refers to the new human life created and ira atua refers to the godlike and spiritual quality that the new life inherits through whakapapa.

Whakapapa connects the person into a system of kinship that provides their identity within a tribal structure and gives them the right to say, "I am Māori." It gives a sense of belonging. Hemara (2000) likens whakapapa to a rhizome where every node or point is connected to every other and allows for infinite potential. It's not the discrete unit that gives meaning on its own but the relationship of the unit to the whole.

Tūrangawaewae is used in conjunction with whakapapa in that it entitles the person to be associated to a locality. It means *'the place where I have the right to stand'*. It is associated with the history of the person's ancestors and the history of the place. Through whakapapa a person is forever linked to the place and to the land. Marsden in Royal (2003) expresses the profound and symbiotic relationship Māori have with Papatūānuku (Earth-Mother).

Whenua is the term for Natural Earth. It is also the term for the after-birth – placenta. This use of 'whenua' served as a constant reminder that we are born out of the womb of the primeval mother. Papatūānuku is our mother and deserves our love and respect.

Pūmanawa refers to the innate talents the child is born with, inherited from their tūpuna.

Next are the spiritual attributes of every Māori child.

Tapu at a personal level is inherited from the Māori parent(s). It can rise or fall depending on the way a person conducts themselves through life. If a person has a steady and good level of tapu then they are in a state of balance or wellbeing. Mead describes it as similar to *'…a personal force field, which can be felt and sensed by others'* (p. 46). By protecting one's tapu the person looks after their physical, social, psychological and spiritual wellbeing. Mead records the various ways one can maintain and improve the level of tapu.

Mana is closely related to tapu and is dependant initially on the status and achievements of the parents or whānau. It is possible through good works to build the mana of oneself and the whānau. Mana is *'the creative and dynamic force that motivates individuals to do better than others'* (Mead, 2003, p. 51). Mana is recognised and respected by others. Mead notes the mana of the child as something that is not noticed as much now as it was in traditional times.

Mauri *'...is the spark of life, the active component that indicates a person is alive'* (p. 53). Mauri is the life force, the self and is something to look after and protect. When someone's mauri is weak or low then the person is unwell (mauri noho), when the person is healthy and well then the mauri is at peace (mauri tau).

Wairua is the soul or spirit of the person. It is believed the wairua is planted in the embryo by the parents and begins its existence when the eyes of the foetus are formed in the womb. Unlike mauri, the wairua of a person continues long after they have physically passed on. Mead contends that the universe is inhabited by wairua and they roam through the world and in space but we cannot see them.

Hau is the aura of a person. It is invisible to most, though some healers and tohunga are able to see it as coloured rays surrounding the body. This is also associated with the personality of a person.

The attributes of identity from a traditional Māori perspective were very much focussed on keeping balance and harmony within the person, the whānau, and into the hapū and iwi. The culture supported and maintained this balance (Mead, 2003).

Berry and Candis (2013) define cultural identity as *'significant way(s) in which a person is defined or defines oneself as connected to culture (customary beliefs, traditions, practices, values and language)'* (p. 44). Hawaikirangi-Pere (2013) uses a similar definition, *'cultural identity is sustained by Māori language and cultural practices...'* (p. 84). Durie (2006) describes a secure cultural identity as one, which results from *'being able to access te ao Māori and to participate in those institutions, activities and systems that form the foundations of Māori*

society' (p. 7). These definitions emphasise the central importance of language, culture and practices to a flourishing Māori identity prior to European settlement.

Colonisation

> In the early 1800s the British settlers began to arrive into Aotearoa, New Zealand and in 1816 the first mission school opened in the Bay of Islands where the missionaries taught in te reo Māori. They were the first of many Europeans bringing with them their beliefs of cultural superiority and a desire to educate the people out of their primitive ways and into civilisation (Office of the Auditor General [OAG], 2012, p.16).

As more and more settlers arrived the name Māori was coined for the native people to distinguish them from Pākehā (white people). Māori in its original meaning means normal or ordinary. This might be considered one of the first colonisation acts of the settlers - to collectivise a people who did not see themselves as one people at that time but as members of different iwi or nations within Aotearoa, New Zealand (Berryman, 2008).

In 1840 512 Māori chiefs on behalf of their people and Lieutenant-Governor Hobson on behalf of the British Crown signed the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi promised full participation in the benefits that the new society offered for both Māori and Pākehā (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Unfortunately this partnership did not eventuate as the agenda of the colonists dominated and quickly marginalised the Māori people in their own land. The colonising agenda was inflicted upon them through warfare, legislation and education (Berryman & MacFarlane 2017; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005).

In 1847 George Grey introduced the Education Ordinance Act that subsidised the mission schools in a bid to assimilate Māori. In exchange for this the language of instruction would be English and te reo Māori would be excluded (OAG, 2012).

Banning te reo Māori

In 1903 a nationwide policy was imposed to ban te reo Māori from being spoken in the school playground. Many whānau members from this and the following

generations recall being strapped and punished for speaking te reo at school (OAG, 2012).

In 1915 the Department of Education had an assimilation policy for Māori and low expectations of Māori students. The annual report included a statement from the Inspector of Native Schools,

> So far as the Department is concerned, there is no encouragement given to [Māori] boys who wish to enter the learned professions. The aim is to turn, if possible, their attention to the branches of industry for which the Māori seems best suited (p. 16).

Education continued to be used as a tool for assimilation of Māori through the deliberate targeting of their children (OAG, 2012).

In 1930 an attempt was made by the New Zealand Federation of Teachers to have te reo Māori introduced into the curriculum. The Director of Education blocked it. In his view, *'the natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss to the Māori.'* He states that education *'should lead the Māori lad to be a good farmer and the Māori girl to be a good farmer's wife'* (p. 16). This belief ensured the on-going and deliberate assimilation policies as applied would bring Māori into a lower class of society (OAG, 2012).

Despite this on-going attack on te reo Māori, Māori understanding of the central place of language to culture has never wavered as it is embedded in whakataukī (proverbs and wise sayings from our tūpuna) such as this one:

'Toi tu te kupu, toi tu te mana, toi tu te whenua'

spoken by Tinirau.

Tinirau extolls Māori to hold on to our culture, for without the language and the land the essence of who we are is lost. Ngũgĩ (1991) also understands the centrality of language to a people's identity. He explains how the language of a people carries within it the culture, the values, the way of knowing and being of the people. Holthaus (2008) too acknowledges the critical importance of a people's language as it carries their 'knowing' of their world. He explains that a person's worldview is created or 'seen' through their language.

The deliberate attack on te reo Māori by the colonisers was to advance the colonisation agenda and this has had a crippling effect on Māori (Cain, Kahu & Shaw, 2017; Hawaikirangi-Pere, 2013; Pihama & Cameron, 2012). The effects of which continue to reverberate throughout whānau, hapū and iwi today.

> Whānau whakapapa, hapū and iwi structures have been shaken, and while they remain intact for many, other whānau whakapapa are disconnected from the mātauranga Māori that could reconnect them with the traditions, values, skills and beliefs of their tūpuna (Bell, 2006, p. 133).

The impact of assimilation through education

Education in Aotearoa, New Zealand has been and continues to be a site of assimilation and oppression. The coloniser's tool to bring about the formation of a society that represented all that was good and decent and worthwhile (to the colonisers). Policies and practices were enacted in the belief that the coloniser's way of life was better and would contribute to creating a more civilised society.

The urbanisation of Māori between the 1950s and 1980s as they were forced to move from their traditional lands to the towns in search of work intensified the disintegration of more traditional Māori living conditions and connections. *'This brought forth new generations of doubly alienated Maori: rejected by the dominant culture and at distance from their ancestral culture, concentrated in poor housing, working for low wages or on welfare, and subject to across the board racism'* (Taonui, 2010, p. 196).

Many whānau stopped speaking and teaching te reo Māori to their children in the face of the pressures of this new Eurocentric world and it's assimalist policies. Their children grew up perhaps hearing some te reo Māori but speaking only English. Between 1900 and 1960, the proportion of Māori fluent in te reo Māori dramatically decreased from 95% to 25% (New Zealand History, n.d.). In one or two generations many whānau had had their ability to speak te reo Māori fluently, or if at all, stripped from them.

At school, with the focus on the curriculum of the coloniser, with no access to te reo Māori or cultural knowledge, Māori children were being indoctrinated into

the view that most of them had limited abilities and were less intelligent. The impact of this underlying philosophy of assimilation became obvious in the academic outcomes for Māori (Jackson, 2016; Sullivan, 1994) that have continued to persist to this day.

The Report on the Department of Māori affairs known as The Hunn Report (1961) drew attention to the clear social disparity and unequal education outcomes between Māori and Pākehā. The main solution offered was 'integration' but the reality of this on the ground did not create any real change or improvement for Māori. Johnston (1998) explains that the solutions were focused mainly on the deficiencies Māori were perceived as having, making Māori the problem and ignoring the systemic and structural bias in favour of Pākehā. The assimilation policies and the associated deficit discourses (Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005) were already well embedded, and the Hunn Report did little to disrupt that.

Māori children were expected to give up their ethnicity, their culture and their language in order to do well in the Pākehā world (Sullivan, 1994). The cumulative impact on Māori was inevitable, the attack on te reo Māori, the on-going racism and the discourses which held Māori to blame for their poor outcomes continuing on unabated within the education system. This continued to feed the erosion of cultural identity and self-belief in our rangatahi (young people (Berryman & MacFarlane, 2017). The identity and wellbeing of many Māori was shaken and uncertain.

The impact of assimilation on identity

There are some key differences in the conception of identity between Māori and Western views. According to Houkamau (2007), a Māori perspective on identity is one of wholeness, where the self is seen in a holistic manner, and in connection with others. This is in line with Mead's attributes mentioned previously. The attributes centre and connect the child to a place, within a network of relationships and are imbued with the spiritual attributes that create a holistic and connected wholeness. Houkamau (2007) also proposes the

Western notion of identity is usually considered in parts or units, split into discrete elements and considered separately. The Western perspective also takes the view that identity formation is something that needs to be worked through as a child into adulthood, maturity being represented by becoming independent and autonomous (Erikson, 1968). According to Houkamau (2007) this is problematic from a Māori perspective as maturity of identity is shown through developing interdependence and connectedness. An attack on the relationships, culture and language of iwi was an attack on the very identity of Māori.

Measuring Māori identity and wellbeing

Many Māori scholars have sought to better understand Māori identity as a means of reclaiming and improving the wellbeing of Māori. Houkamau and Sibley (2010), proposed a Multi-dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) as a way of assessing identity and cultural engagement in Māori populations. Durie (1994) identified three Māori sub-groups as a way of measuring the 'health' of Māori: those who are culturally Māori, those who are bi-cultural and operate effectively in both realms and those who are not able to relate to Māori or Pākehā effectively. Although these measures mentioned are intended to support and improve overall Māori wellbeing, an unintended outcome can be just one more way of marginalising people, particularly those of dual or mixed heritage because they don't fit neatly into the 'boxes'.

As Meredith (2000) points out, *'To be of mixed descent has been a matter of shame and social reproach in many cultures, something to be concealed if possible'* (p. 1). Hawaikirangi-Pere (2013) also brings to light the issue of shame and embarrassment that some Māori may feel about their identity, under the microscope of the essentialist view. Their voices do not fit comfortably within the current binary discourses of who is Māori and who is not - you are either Māori or Pākehā. There is little room to be both.

Smith (2003) explains that hegemony is a way of thinking, an uncritical picking up of the colonisers' ideas and ways of being. At what cost do we, as a country,

insist on categorising people into opposing sides, cutting them into identity pieces? Identity is multifaceted and complex. It is not a flat two-dimensional or singular state. As Berry and Candis (2013) argue when our race becomes our main identity, it is in response to being placed within a binary construct by the dominant culture and is that what we want?

Freire (1970) names one of the elements of the relationship between the oppressor and oppressed. He calls it 'prescription'. Each time a 'prescription' is created the oppressors behaviour of wielding power over others is replicated. Freire encourages us all to free up our minds from this form of oppression otherwise we will continue to replicate the model of the oppressor on others. By casting other people and their identity as either Māori or Pākehā is this not a form of prescription?

Identity and dual heritage

Dual heritage or 'hybrid cultural identification', according to New Zealand researchers Grenell-Hawke and Tudor (2018), is *'set to become a significant social and psychological reality in New Zealand'* (p. 1543). The number of people who have both Māori and Pākehā heritage is currently unknown as there are some who have dual heritage but do not identify publicly as Māori and those who do not know they have this heritage due to the social stigma within the family from the past. How many children are sitting in classrooms right now that have both Māori and Pākehā whakapapa but are unwilling or unable to claim their heritage?

As a child of Māori and Pākehā parents I know intimately that the experiences of dual heritage can often be challenging and difficult. There is always the potential in each interaction of being rejected or challenged, if not by Pākehā then by Māori. Apart from Webber's *Walking the Space Between* (2008) that considers identity as Māori and Pākehā, it was difficult to find any literature directly related to the challenges of being of dual heritage in New Zealand schools. However, there is some literature that discusses the positive and untapped

potential of dual heritage in general (Grennell-Hawke, 2018; Meredith, 2000; Ward, 2006; Webber, 2008).

Interestingly, Meredith (2000) has taken the generally considered offensive term 'half-caste' as a positive expression of how he sees his identity. He makes a case for taking the term and shifting its meaning to a positive framing of dual heritage. However, he does acknowledge the dislocation that often occurs for people of dual or mixed heritage. Berry and Candis (2013) understand too that *'...identity is not a static, but rather a socio-dynamic, racialized, and historical construct'* (p. 45). They do have some encouraging words to share for those of us who are of dual or mixed heritage, that one's racial/ ethnic identity does not reveal a singular story. *'While we must acknowledge the ever-present normalness of race and racism, we must also resist the singular ways we are defined, by ourselves and by society'* (p. 61*).*

Borell (2005) also understands that:

> Establishing a 'secure' Maori identity based solely on particular criteria of Maori culture (i.e. te reo Maori, tikanga, knowledge of marae and whakapapa) continues to be problematic for some Maori. Those who are not connected in this way are often defined by what they are seen as lacking; hence terms such as disconnected, distanced, detached, and dissociated (p. 2).

Adults who are of dual heritage are more likely to have the skills and ability to make sense of this challenge to their identity and to push back when defined in deficit ways by others but are these experiences acceptable for our children? To be facing challenges to their identity day to day in schools? Alton-Lee, Nuthall & Patrick (1987) through their research revealed the discrimination they observed in operation in classrooms through the curriculum and the pupil-to-pupil interactions. They observed students in the normal course of a day targeting Māori students with teasing and racial abuse creating a *'profound sense of alienation'* (p. 205) for the Māori students. From this discovery they suggest *'The overt and covert ways in which an education system is monocultural and discriminatory need to be identified so that effective change can be wrought'* (p. 205). Are children of dual heritage experiencing similar attacks on their identity

as part of the schooling experience in New Zealand? I looked to international research to see if there was anything that might shed light on this important question.

United Kingdom research

In the United Kingdom the fastest growing ethnic category is 'multiple heritage' or 'mixed race'. Researchers from the United Kingdom (Lewis, 2016; Phillips, Hagan, Bodfield, Woodthorpe & Grimsley, 2008; Tikly, 2007) among others have a growing awareness of the specific challenges and even adversity experienced in school by some children of mixed heritage. These difficulties arise for various reasons. Tikly (2007) drawing from his research on meeting the educational needs of mixed heritage pupils identified these barriers to achievement: low teacher expectations due to assumptions that these children faced *'identity problems linked to fragmented home environments'* (p. 14); needs relating to having their unique identities recognised and understood; absence of monitoring their academic progress and meeting their needs due to the invisibility of their mixed cultural heritage; the lack of representation of mixed heritage people and experiences in the curriculum.

Phillips et al (2008) outlined four main themes in the findings that arose from their research: Mixed heritage children suffer disproportionately from social exclusion; they experience high levels of family breakdown; they underachieve in school attainment and they experience distinct patterns of racism.

Lewis (2016) identified these issues in her research: these children's physical characteristics as used by others to categorise them are not necessarily aligned with how they see themselves and are therefore rendered culturally 'invisible'; their invisibility includes absence from policy, achievement monitoring and curriculum; they can experience specific racist name calling that excludes them from single race groups; teachers are often unaware and lack confidence to engage with racial and cultural differences such as mixed heritage so avoid discussing matters related to race; teachers can hold inaccurate assumptions

about their home lives and; and teachers can be unaware of the specific challenges these children face.

Although the research findings from above are from the United Kingdom, and from a different context this aligns with the findings of Alton-Lee, Nuthall & Patrick (1987). The themes of identity ascription, social exclusion, teacher awareness, curriculum and school systems that impact on children of mixed heritage may also be helpful when considering the potentially hidden and negative impacts on the identity and success of dual heritage children in New Zealand.

Intergenerational impact of colonisation

Colonisation is not specific to Aotearoa. Indigenous people across the world have experienced and continue to experience the ravages of the colonial agenda. Pirbhai-Illich et al (2017) make two important points, *'It is not a postcolonial world, and the world is an interconnected system'* (p. 8). The colonial agenda was one of exploitation and domination, moving through the world acquiring lands, removing language and exploiting the resources and all under the guise of bringing the benefits of a greater civilisation to the world. It continues on today, maintaining the on-going domination of the coloniser's language and ways of being, in the oppressive belief that they are superior to the indigenous peoples of the land. Importantly, and according to Bell (2006):

> The process of colonisation has attacked many of the structures on which tūpuna lives were built. For many whānau whakapapa, relationships have weakened, roles and responsibilities have become unclear. An estranged relationship with whānau whakapapa is now the reality for many (p. 133).

Cajete (2012) summarises some of the horrific costs of colonisation on indigenous peoples of the world. Cajete contends that the:

Long-term effects of colonisation on indigenous people include a host of collective and individual ills. Some of the most pronounced are:

- a loss of traditional Homelands

- loss of personal and communal self-sufficiency and traditional sustaining practices

- disintegration of traditional communities economies and languages significant reduction in indigenous populations

- consistent disruption of personal freedom and family life and

- loss of personal self respect honour identity and economic independence (p. 148).

All of these conditions have been described under terms such as *"historical trauma," "internalized colonisation" and "ethno stress"* (p. 148).

If these results are not dire enough there is a growing body of research both nationally and internationally that suggests that the individual and collective impact of colonisation is also being passed onto the next generations as historical trauma (Connolly, 2011; Pihama & Cameron, 2012; Wirihana & Smith, 2014; Wolyn, 2016).

Waretini-Karena (2012) posits that the intergenerational trauma experienced by many whānau is driven by unseen factors. These factors arise from the legislative violations of the Treaty of Waitangi that attacked and undermined Māori societal infrastructure. These included *'the Native Lands Act 1862, the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, the Native schools Act 1867, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1908 and the Native Health Act 1909'* (p. 64). Waretini-Karena explains that these acts were the genesis of the intergenerational trauma of Māori whānau as the colonisers removed resource, land, ability to challenge the colonial agenda and then assimilated Māori children into Western ideologies, language and culture.

Waretini-Karena (2013) uses his own whānau to contextualise these factors from his great grandfather to his grandfather, to his father and finally to himself. He positions each of the men next to the legislative violations of their time and shows the impact on his whānau particularly from the 1940s when the full weight of the past legislation centres on his father. His grandfather was punished at school for speaking te reo Māori and did not pass this on to Waretini-Karena's

father. His father did not learn any tikanga (customs) either, and as an adult put his friends before his family and abused his wife and children. Waretini-Karena states that he grew up with no identity. He did not know his language (te reo Māori) or any tikanga or cultural knowledge. He suffered years of child abuse. Waretini-Karena extends to us the following challenge:

> If each Māori whānau were to research their family history over generations stemming back to 1840 forward to themselves to determine intergenerational impacts, it may give them a sense of understanding regarding some of the issues their whānau are facing currently (p. 285).

As Māori scholar Taonui (2010) contends, *'The systematic economic, political, social and cultural marginalization, cultural alienation, forced assimilation, demonization, racism, structural prejudice and intergenerational impoverishment'* (p. 189) has taken its toll. The trauma of these colonising factors has contributed to the internal and on-going destruction of indigenous cultural identity. Pihama and Cameron, (2012) point out, *'Colonisation has violently forced ways of being upon our communities that have changed our lives in ways that our ancestors could never have imagined'* (p.226).

Every 4 minutes: A discussion paper on preventing family violence in New Zealand (Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor, 2018) was recently released by the New Zealand government. It acknowledges the intergenerational impact of colonisation on Māori.

> Despite the well-reported relative absence of whānau violence before colonisation, Māori are now highly exposed to it. The trauma of colonisation has had an intergenerational effect on Māori, who experience disproportionate rates of family violence, combined with other negative social effects of racism, discrimination and dislocation, alongside strengths and resilience factors that endure (p. 5).

Identity and schooling today

From this backdrop of colonisation, our children emerge from their homes to attend school. Wenger (2009) posits that *'Education in its deepest sense and at*

whatever age it takes place, concerns the opening of identities exploring new ways of being that lie beyond our current state' (p. 263). Our sense of identity is formed by how we perceive ourselves and through the language and culture of our whānau we learn who we are and how and where we belong. Through the language and culture of the school we learn who we are, or who we are not, how we belong and where we do not belong. (Berry & Candis, 2013; Cummins, 2001; Wenger, 2009).

An important aspect of identity formation is learning. As we experience new ideas, new ways of being, we shift and change accordingly. Wenger (2009) describes identity as a vehicle for learning; it carries our experiences from context to context. He contends that identity formation is not just a childhood process but also a lifelong one, moving and changing in rhythm with the changing world. Houkamau (2007) makes the connection between identity and experience as well. As a person experiences the world, they do so through their sense of identity, and in the experience their identity shifts, grows and changes. The importance of how a child views themselves is critical to how they engage in school and learning.

Education has been and continues to be a major site of identity development, where children's sense of selves are opened up to the values and attitudes of the wider society. As Cummins (2001) explains, the child's identity is negotiated in school contexts through the micro interactions and these are intertwined with the macro patterns and power relations of the wider society.

And so our children absorb these messages and to be accepted, they begin to make choices about how to survive if not supported to thrive. Cummins (2001) says *'To be accepted within the mainstream society, represented by the school, required that students become invisible and inaudible; culture and language should be left at home'* (p. 2*).* He goes on to say that these messages are clear; to experience success in school and in the wider community society requires that the children should abandon their cultural identity.

In *White Fragility* (2011) DiAngelo provides a more nuanced explanation of racism that goes beyond the simplistic story that some people are racists (and are therefore 'bad') and some people are not racists and so they are 'good'. She believes that the problems of racism will never be addressed adequately if racism continues to be defined as individualistic and conscious rather than being driven by the systems and structures of the dominant group. She proposes a more accurate definition of racism as *'…encompassing economic, political, social, and cultural structures, actions and beliefs that systematize and perpetuate an unequal distribution of privileges, resources and power between white people and people of colour'* (p. 56). DiAngelo uses the word prejudice to describe our biases, conscious and unconscious. These are the beliefs that we have grown up with, internalised and often uninspected and sitting below the surface. These beliefs can lead to racial micro aggressions. Racial micro aggression is a term used to describe the daily slights and indignities that people of colour endure and that most white people don't see or see as significant. It's like receiving a million paper cuts, one cut on it's own while painful is not remarkable but receiving many of these constantly over time can create a truly miserable existence. Discrimination is the deliberate act taken driven by prejudice. It is the way a person or people can make decisions and take actions to favour one group above others. It works to benefit a group and exclude others. Racism is the collective bias backed by institutional power.

Earlier this year *Education matters to me: Key Insights* (2018) a report from the New Zealand School Trustees Association and the Office of the Children's Commissioner delivered six key insights from children and young people across New Zealand. These insights highlighted the on-going discrimination and racism experienced by some children at school today. When considering education and schooling we have to ask ourselves as teachers, *'Are we preparing students to accept the societal status quo (and, in many cases, their own inferior status therein) or are we preparing them to participate actively and critically… [in society]?'* (Cummins, 2001, p. 18).

The educational policies of the coloniser have filtered into the systems, beliefs and practices of the education system in Aotearoa, New Zealand. When we consider the pre-European Māori identity we can see that colonisation has subjected Māori, amongst many other things, to a fragmentation of their sense of identity, along with a loss of spirit (Durie, 2001) and left them with an array of critical questions about what this all means. For example:

What does it mean for whānau who through the processes of assimilation, cannot speak te reo Māori or partake confidently or competently in the activities of their culture and their people?

What does it mean for whānau who through intermarriage have lighter skin colour and sharper features thus taking on the visage of the coloniser?

What does it mean for whānau who have been dislocated and alienated from their identity, their language and their culture?

Conclusion

The impacts of these earlier education policies have been devastating for many whānau Māori. The stripping of te reo Māori, the deliberate cultivation of Māori to lower class status through a colonial curriculum, the assimilation practices that have cast and recast Māori identity in deficit terms, all of these and more have contributed to the lived realities of many whānau today.

In this Chapter I have considered the research and theorising regarding Māori identity, language and culture. I have also explored some of the impacts of colonisation and the associated education policies on Māori. Dual and mixed heritage have also been considered. Finally, I discussed the implications of schooling on identity today.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

> From 1844 until 1960, assimilation was official government policy, a policy that was based on a racist assumption; namely, that which had been brought by the colonialists was the best for Maori people. Maori were encouraged to abandon their culture as rapidly as possible in order to learn the ways and processes of the dominant culture (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 16).

Introduction

The quote above keeps me focused on why I undertook this research. I have used this as a way to metaphorically look the coloniser in the eye. To present the experiences of one whānau as evidence of what the assimilation programme, hiding behind the banner of education, has done and continues to do to our people on the ground, everyday. I do this research so we can look directly at our own experiences, to make sense of them together and in the sense-making, we may create some space to reclaim who we truly are and not what we were trained to be. I do this research to become *conscientised* to the way my mind has been colonised, to *resist* that which colonisation has promoted and in so doing to *transform* and be transformed amongst others (Smith, 2003). To do this research well, I require the ways and means that align with and support these aspirations.

In this chapter I identify and discuss the research methodologies and methods that I have used to inquire into how the schooling experiences of one whānau influenced the development of their identity, language and culture. I also present the methods for data collection and analysis as well as the research procedure.

Culturally responsive methodologies

I have chosen to use culturally responsive methodologies (Berryman, SooHoo & Nevin, 2013) as a means to resist colonisation and to challenge the way in which much research has been undertaken in the past, where the researcher's voice, lens and practices were dominant and where the researched became the objects to be inspected, defined and categorised.

Culturally responsive methodology is an emerging framework that includes *'…cultural and epistemological pluralism, deconstruction of Western colonial*

traditions of research, and primacy of relationships within a culturally responsive dialogic encounter' (Berryman, SooHoo & Nevin, 2013, p. 14).

Researching alongside Māori whānau requires an approach that validates and prioritises their ways of being and knowing and is respectful of the complexities and nuances of their life experiences. This means the members of the whānau being interviewed are able to participate in ways that they determine and are comfortable with their role as collaborators and co-inquirers.

As such, *'Culturally responsive research methodology is the conjoined work of both the researcher and the participant(s) of carving out a liberatory research pathway toward mutual respect and freedom from domination'* (Berryman, SooHoo & Nevin, 2013, p. 4). Researchers as co-inquirers with the participants create more respectful, power sharing research-relationships.

This methodology requires the researcher to develop contexts within which the researched community can define in their own most appropriate ways, the terms for engaging, relating and interacting in the co-creation of new knowledge (Berryman & MacFarlane, 2017). This means that at each step of the way there was on-going dialogue with the members of this whānau to ensure that the contexts created were appropriate and co-constructed. Some of the issues that came to the surface during the interviews were difficult for the whānau members to share. Together we have considered how we could tell these stories in a way that keeps everyone safe but still allows the important themes to emerge. These contexts created opportunities for previously marginalised and suppressed discourses to be brought to the surface and considered respectfully, given space to be legitimated and validated.

Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin (2013) suggest these methodologies challenge all forms of traditional research paradigms that devalue or dehumanise research participants. They go on to say, that this stance challenges the traditional notion of objectivity and neutrality and opens up a space for relational discourses. *'This position requires researchers to develop relationships that will enable them to intimately come to know the 'other' with whom they seek to study'* (p. 1). In the

case of this research, the decisions about how the research was conducted, what was used and how the voices of the participants were going to be shared, were co-constructed with the whānau.

Culturally Responsive Methodologies is drawn from both Kaupapa Māori Methodology and Critical Theories. These approaches see the importance of connecting research to the historical and cultural realities and complexities of participants who have experienced marginalisation.

Kaupapa Māori theories

Kaupapa Māori Research is a theoretical framework that seeks to address Māori cultural aspirations for power and control. It challenges the dominance of the Pākehā worldview in research and focuses on 'tino rangatiratanga' (self-determination). It privileges Māori ways of being and knowing. Decolonisation puts the coloniser at the centre and places Māori in a reactive position, whereas Kaupapa Māori raises 'consciousness' and positions Māori at the centre. Kaupapa Māori is, according to Durie (2006), a proactive and positive stance.

Kaupapa Māori research not only addresses the issues of power and control but it asserts and validates Māori ways of knowing, practices and preferences. By using a Kaupapa Māori framework in this research I am choosing to work within the practices and preferences of te ao Māori (Māori world), even while acknowledging the impact of colonisation. As Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin (2013) point out; just belonging to the cultural group does not mean you are exempt from hegemonic practices of imposition and power. As researchers, it is critical that *'the unlearning of dominant research practices and relearning methodology'* (p. 14) happens through and with the research participants.

Critical theories

Critical theories are a call to action. They challenge us to examine our practices in the light of equity and democracy.

> The intention is not merely to give an account of society and behaviour but to realise a society that is based on equality and democracy for all its

members. Its purpose is not merely to understand situations and phenomena but to change them. In particular it seeks to emancipate the disempowered, to redress inequality and to promote individual freedoms within a democratic society (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 26).

To be truly critical one cannot just understand or theorise about how society operates but to believe that together we can challenge and confront the social injustices, by analysing, by deconstructing and by creating new liberatory spaces of freedom and self-determination. As Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1971), explains, to be critical is to participate in the practice of freedom, to transform and to be transformed.

Critical theories require us to see and respond to the unequal power imbalances that can often be hidden within the research project as the wider relationships of society between the privileged and the oppressed are replicated. In the light of this theory, this research, needs to be emancipatory and empowering for all involved.

Insider/Outsider

I claim my right as an insider within this research as I am a product of the coloniser's education system - as are my parents, my siblings, my children and as are the whānau members that shared their stories with me. Many of our people experienced the dehumanising process of school (Smith, 1999). It taught us, that who we are and what we brought, was neither admirable nor desirable, and certainly of no relevance. The schooling experience was one in which we were encouraged to remove any part of our 'Māoriness' and assimilate into the ways of the coloniser (Smith, 1999). As an insider in this research I come from a place of knowing, therefore, I am better able to analyse these stories and to test my hypothesis that our experiences share some common themes.

Method

In line with the methodologies in which this research was undertaken semi-structured individual interviews were used to create a framework in which the conversation could flow from and develop naturally. As Bishop and Glynn (1999)

explain this approach allows shared understandings, metaphors and imagery to emerge between the researcher and the participants. The participants were from one whānau and represented some of the voices across three generations. By sharing the stories of one whānau across three generations, I was able to see how these wider influences have impacted on them, through their own eyes and experiences, and in turn how these experiences, have influenced the development of their sense of identity, their connections to their culture and their language.

The semi-structured interview usually began with some set questions that were designed to open up the areas to explore with the interviewee. The subsequent conversation or questions allowed for the interviewer to be responsive to the ways in which the interviewee would like the conversation to be directed. The flexibility of this kind of interview allows for the viewpoint and perceptions of the interviewee to be privileged and unlike the structured interview, the questions become secondary to the representation of the experiences of the interviewee. As Burns (1994), points out *'the only person who understands the social reality in which they live is the person themself [sic]'* (p. 279).

Research procedure

Initially I became interested in finding out about the lived experiences of whānau in relation to school through my work. As I have worked in New Zealand English-medium schools to support them to wrestle with the realities of a system that was never made to accommodate the aspirations of Māori, I have become more and more aware of the policies and processes that set the stage for whānau to experience negative outcomes from schooling. Being a product of this system has meant that I was unaware of the implications of these policies and practices and so, assumed that there was something fundamentally wrong with me. With this realisation came my wondering - how have other Māori experienced school? And so, I have set about to find out from some members of one whānau what it was like for them and how they experienced school.

I began by contacting some of the whānau members and shared with them my desire to undertake research on the impact of schooling on people's identities, language and culture. I explained that I was particularly interested in the experiences of whānau who are of dual heritage; both Māori and Pākehā. I know this whānau well and believed that their stories could make a significant contribution to understanding more deeply the impact of schooling experiences and how our schooling experiences are capable of shaping us.

After having the initial conversations with most of the whānau members we agreed on four members to be the interviewees. They were the grandfather, the eldest daughter, the youngest daughter and a grandchild from another daughter. This decision was made partly through availability of the people and also their willingness to participate. Some of the whānau did not want to participate in the actual interviews but were supportive of the research in general.

One of the whānau members asked that they remain anonymous in this research. To honour this request all names and identifiers have been removed from their stories. This has meant that I am unable to acknowledge their iwi links directly within this research but I do acknowledge their maunga, awa, waka, hapū and iwi as the genesis of who they are.

Once I had gained the four whānau members written consent to participate in the research, we set times and places that were comfortable and appropriate for them. Each interview was conducted in their homes and I made sure that the interview was low key and as close to a natural conversation as possible. I wanted to ensure they were at ease and I treated it as much like a regular visit as I could with kai (food) and whanaungatanga (making connections) before we settled to the interview itself.

During the interviews I watched and listened closely and when it seemed needed, I checked in to see if they needed a break. This was particularly important for the grandfather as he is in his eighties and tired easily. Some of the stories shared were very sad and I made sure that the whānau members were able to take the time to recover before continuing on as needed.

After the interviews were completed the participants were able to add any further thoughts they had in regards to the interviews. I transcribed their interviews and sent them to each of the whānau members for editing. This was an important part of the process as it helped them be confident that their voices were reflective of what they wanted to share and not an interpretation from me. Once they had returned their edited interviews I began to consider how they could be woven together to support the development of themes and I developed an initial draft of the findings. I then sent this draft to the whānau members to consider. I had on-going conversations through this time with each of them while they read, digested, provided feedback and discussed emerging themes. This is part of the on-going dialogue and negotiation of meaning that Bishop and Glynn refer to in *Culture Counts* (1999). As a way of introducing each whānau member and their individual stories I chose some key phrases and words from each person's interview and refashioned them into poems. These Found Poems are a collage of their stories that give us a glimpse into their world through their eyes. They set the scene for the findings in Chapter Four.

The intention of this research was to collaboratively engage in sense making with the whānau members, so that the themes and new knowledge that arose out of the research procedure were co-constructed by the whānau members and myself. The negotiated themes and understandings, using the voices of experience, are presented in the research findings.

Ethical considerations

All ethical requirements, as specified by the University of Waikato, were followed during this research. Written and verbal information was provided to all whānau members who were part of the research. Written consent was gained from each whānau member who was participating and they were given multiple opportunities to contribute to the process.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research methodology and methods used in this research. Culturally responsive and relational methodology was presented and

the connections to kaupapa Māori and critical theory were considered. The method of semi- structured interviews was discussed as an appropriate way to allow understandings, metaphors and imagery to emerge between the researcher and the participants. Finally, I present the research procedure and how the research was conducted. The following chapter presents these collective whānau voices as a collaborative research story of my findings.

CHAPTER FOUR – RESEARCH FINDINGS

The essence of an oppressed people will always be found in their narrative voices, and these serve as the inspiration for identity and self-awareness the will [to] share until people forget (Berry & Candis, 2013, p. 50).

Introduction

The quote from Berry and Candis inspires those who live at the edges and in-between to tell and retell their stories as counter stories, stories that challenge and talk back to the dominant narrative. The lived realities of Māori are diverse and the impact of colonisation on iwi, hapū, whānau and individuals is profound and on-going. The coloniser's story, that reduces the nuances of our lived realities into binary constructs and hegemonic titbits, requires challenging. Our stories do that. They are powerful and bring to the surface the lived experiences that have shaped us. They can also create space to connect and reconnect, through recognition of shared pain, to reflect and to heal.

This research sought to explore how the schooling experiences of one whānau influenced the development of their identity, their language and culture. Through their stories and sense making which follow, we may see how these influences have impacted on them and contributed to the shaping of their identity and their connections to their Māori culture and their language.

The whānau

The four members of this whānau Koro, Tuakana, Teina and Moko are from across three generations and give a view into how the influences on their identity, schooling, language and culture carried across the generations and through Koro we also get a glimpse of Pop his father.

Koro is in his eighties, he grew up in the 1940s and in a place and time where being Māori was very challenging. He gladly left school the day he turned fifteen without any formal qualifications. He had many jobs over the years from dry cleaner to publican; he was a jack-of-all-trades and experienced two marriages, both to Pākehā women.

Tuakana is Koro's oldest daughter from his second marriage. She left secondary school with University Entrance and has gone on in later life to complete some tertiary study. She has worked over the years in universities in student support. Today she is in her fifties and is the mother of four adult children.

Teina is the youngest daughter of the second marriage. She is in her forties. She completed secondary school and left with University Entrance. She went on to tertiary studies and gained an arts degree. She works in business and technology.

Moko, Koro's granddaughter is in her thirties with two young children. She left school with sixth form certificate and went on to complete a degree. As well as being a mother she currently works in the community health sector.

This whānau are from a North Island iwi. Koro grew up in a small rural town where there were many Pākehā families. He left there when he was a teenager, marrying early and having a family. The marriage failed and he moved around the country until meeting a young nurse and beginning another family with her. They lived in Auckland but had to move often over the years in search of work and housing. In the seventies they finally settled in a South Auckland town. They bought a new home made possible by a Māori affairs housing loan, without this loan they would never have been able to afford a home on their own. Tuakana was eleven at the time; her siblings were ten, eight and three. Teina would be born a few years later.

Found poems

In order to hear what this whānau would say of themselves the following Found Poems have been constructed from their own words taken from the interviews that follow.

Advice from Pop to Koro

Don't speak Māori
It is not worth anything
It will not get you anywhere
In this life

If you speak English well
And dress in a fine suit
And get a job

Maybe, just maybe
They will look past
the brown

Koro

I learned I was Māori at school
Taunted
Beaten
Humiliated
Made to stand in front of the class
to speak Māori when I did not know how
I didn't want to be Māori
And neither did my father
He tried to drink himself whole
But it didn't work

Tuakana

I tried my best
To do well at school
I kept my head down
Conformed
But sometimes I was seen
"Māori Bitch!" the teacher yelled
I could not succeed
No matter how hard I worked
It was already decided
Where this 'Māori bitch' was going

Teina

Pixelating my identity
To fit at school
Small
Insignificant
In pieces

Chameleon like
I watch from behind
the roles I play
It's easier than being me

Huia feathers decorate my hair
A reminder
of the exploitation
the destruction

And the blatant disregard
For life

Moko

I am a bit Māori
But mostly European
That's just how it is
My white skin
Is a barrier
Both inside and out

Who does she think she is?
Speaking te reo
Are you a Māori?
You don't look like one!

If I was brown
Would I belong then?
Koro didn't belong either
I wish I had the words to speak
About the racism I see
People just don't get it
And I'm exhausted

The interviews

I met with each of the whānau members in turn and using a semi-structured interview format to create a loose framework, we talked together about their identity, their experiences and how they perceived these were shaped by schooling and their whānau.

Identity

I began each interview by asking the whānau member to describe their identity, as they understood it. Koro sees it this way:

Well as a kid I didn't think I was Māori. I mean Mum was white. Pop, well he was not Māori in any other way except his appearance. I didn't think about it until I went to school. It wasn't until sometime during the first year that I realised that somehow I was different to the white kids, to the Pākehā. In those days when I was a kid, Māori were looked down on, really looked down on, "dirty Māoris." There used to be a family [Pākehā] that lived down the hill. They used to walk up the track past our place every day. Every time they went past our house the girl who about the same age as me and had a whiney voice, she used to say, "That's where the Maaaris live mum. That's where the Maaaris live." And her mother would say, "Shush shush." We could hear it going on all the time and that made a big difference because I thought there was something wrong with being a Māori, must be something wrong with us.

Tuakana has a positive sense of how she understands her identity:

I think when I feel Māori…. it's evolved more as I've got older. I'm exposed to it a lot more engaging in noho marae, meeting other cultures or things like that…. I've realised the importance of being Māori and the encouragement to be Māori in the organisation I work in currently.

Teina explains her sense of identity:

I don't have a single identity and live in conflict on a daily basis. It's tiring. Most of the time the switching between identities happens automatically- a practiced habit, but there are moments where things don't feel right.

When I asked this question of Moko she seemed unsure how to answer and I needed to prompt a little:

I'm a New Zealander, a woman, a mother…. and I am European and Māori

My dad's parents are from England so he's European probably with other things mixed in and my mother is Māori and European. Her dad is Māori and European her mother is European.

I asked how that played out in her sense of identity today and how she felt about that:

I feel mainly European and a bit Māori. I don't know how I feel about it; it's just the way it is.

Koro's sense of identity began to develop in his first year at school. This is when he first realised he was Māori. The racism he experienced at this young age began to build in him a belief that being Māori was 'wrong'. Tuakana expressed a positive sense of identity, one that had grown as she had aged and found a supportive work environment in which to safely experience being Māori. Teina viewed her identity as conflicted and unresolved. Moko was reluctant to speak about her identity at all. As Teina explains below, each whānau member experiences their identity in different ways. She brings to the surface this idea of having to make choices between pieces of identity, rather than seeing identity as a multifaceted and complete whole.

The concept of our identity is not the same for each person in our family. We are all at different stages of our personal transformation, how we choose to use and react to our experiences, knowledge and constraints; and what culture we choose to identify with [Māori or Pākehā]. I think myself and one other sibling are closer because professionally we have some commonality, it's easier for us to talk about it with each other as we have a stronger vocabulary in both te reo and English and self reflection is an integral part to be successful in our jobs. In comparison I find it hard to talk to some of my other siblings because we lack common ground and they have a different perspective on being Māori.

School

School was a significant influence on the identity formation of this whānau. Koro struggled with how he was seen as Māori and how he felt about that:

In school, especially school, because at that time there were very few Māori going to that school and they got a pretty hard deal with the other kids you know, they used to be taunted, I was taunted. At first I couldn't understand it, but then later on as I grew older I knew exactly what was going on. I think it made an impression on me and I was full of resentment about how I was born and the reason that I was half Māori and half Pākehā and I blamed my father for that of course. I could have blamed my mother but I blamed my father. But anyway, I think I blamed my father because he was Māori and I didn't want to be Māori.

When considering the impact of school on the identities of this whānau they all identified the conflict of being Māori and being Pākehā. Tuakana recalls being told: *"Oh you're white and blue eyed, you're not Māori!" and that was the thing. You didn't fit in with the Māori kids because you looked Pākehā.*

Teina recognised that her schooling experiences had been deeply influenced by how she was perceived:

…that the colour of my skin excluded me, impacted my life. It changed the relationship with my teachers and my peers. People I went to kindergarten, primary school and intermediate with for the last 13 years of my life - all had changed.

The impact of these experiences left their mark on Teina. She explains how she perceives her identity now:

I change. The person I project is different; the person I choose to share is specific depending on the players and onlookers. The metaphor of a stage I think is right. I often feel like I'm acting.

For this whānau, being at school reinforced the idea that they were not acceptable the way they were. Koro remembers:

When I was in school at different times, I was reminded of the fact that I wasn't Pākehā, but also reminded of the fact that I wasn't Māori either.

I asked Tuakana about her experiences of school and whether they were positive or not:

There were teachers that were mean. I remember one in particular. He was the vice principal. I remember him identifying me as Māori and saying some rather inappropriate things to me like "You little Māori bitch!" He told me to get out of the area he said, "You should be over there!" He used to always come and stare at me. It was pretty yuck. I'm glad I wasn't there long.

Tuakana recalled the time in the 70s when schools were asked to collect information about the percentage of Māori blood students had:

Oh yes! We had to identify what percentage Māori we were and I remember distinctly saying I'm a quarter but that was incorrect you're either Māori or you're not! I learnt that later, but that's what it was, it was what percentage are you? Not asking what our tribe was or anything like that, it was just the percentage.

I asked Tuakana if it was difficult being Māori with fair skin at school:

There were the odd times when you got picked on but I just shook it off I didn't care because I was good at stuff so you know they were jealous.

Tuakana considered what it was like for her when she was younger at school:

It was definitely Pākehā more than Māori. I identified more predominantly in the Pākehā world. I feel my education from primary through to secondary was definitely Pākehā and not te ao Māori.

For Teina it was less clear:

It was really confusing. I didn't understand why I had to choose to be one thing or another. The teachers had expectations that I had to behave a certain way, be more Māori or be better and be more Pākehā. Friends made me choose, either hang with us and not with those other girls. One group was Māori and the other group was Pākehā. We had all grown up together and been friends then all of a sudden there was a split by perceived shade of colour. I was too Māori for the white group and too Pākehā for the Māori group. It meant that I had to start pretending, I had to no longer be me.

Teina remembers an incident too where her way of being as Māori was criticised:

I loved singing and I was in the Māori culture club through primary and I joined the choir too. Mrs B was our choir teacher, she would tell us off for singing like Māori people because "We don't bring Māori culture here, you have to sing English. Sing! Don't yell!" She was referring to the way we sang in our kapa haka group. We would have to throw our voice across the room because we always performed outside or in big halls, no microphones or fancy acoustic rooms. She didn't want our Māori yelling but she wanted us to sing loud - funnily though she never taught us how to do that. She acted like we were a lost cause, but she felt she was a giving person, a saint perhaps to continue working with us - we were to be very grateful.

Teina experienced prejudice and a lack of manaaki as well. Manaaki is a term that among other things means to take care of, to protect and show respect. One could reasonably expect the adults at a school would provide care and protection for all of the children.

At Intermediate it was becoming even clearer that you had to be purely one thing, or at least look and act the part. It was awful. An awful time in my life, that was only surpassed by high school. The intermediate kapa haka group was very confronting. It was here I learnt I looked white, and so I must be Pākehā. At primary school I was always in the front row of the kapa haka group. As soon as I got to Intermediate our leader, who was also not very brown said, "All the white girls go to the back 'cause that's not very good for the competitions." Then I was used as a weapon against any of the brown girls who weren't performing "Girl, if you don't start being in time I'll swap you with Teina."

Teina continued on, explaining how she soon learned what was required of her to be accepted:

The older I got through school the more I realised I had to fit into a box to be seen, heard or liked by peers and teachers. For one teacher it would be, don't show I'm Māori, for another better if you do. Be quiet versus be inquisitive. Know the answer and put your hand up versus don't know too much. If it wasn't [just] the teachers, it was the other kids and students.

High School made me the most aware that I didn't fit into people's expected boxes. It meant that I didn't have a place or a group of friends that were close. The ones I had grown up with no longer wanted to be friends because I didn't look Māori enough and thought I was stuck up for a range of reasons. It was hard and yes, school, the teachers, the students, have impacted the way I see myself, it probably was in this environment that I truly started pixelating my identity to fit in.

Through High School the teachers were a constant reminder that [many] New Zealanders don't give a shit about Māori. Not one of them could say my surname or the town we lived in correctly, most didn't even try. There would be the dreaded pause before my name was ever called, and each time they couldn't get it right and each time there would be a snigger from classmates on how badly the teacher had pronounced it. The teachers chose not to care about our names; they chose not to spend the time to remember how to say it correctly. I remember one teacher would pronounce my name as an offensive insult, I think it was on purpose. It made people around me laugh hysterically. It made me feel small and insignificant.

Teina's stories highlight the complete lack of manaaki she received in her schooling experiences. The micro aggressions, the cruelty, the social exclusion and the racism delivered by both teachers and students made for a difficult schooling experience. This should give us pause for thought when we consider the common deficit responses one can hear in relation to Māori students' lack of engagement in education. Cummins *(2001)* addresses this important point *'...devaluation of identity played out in the interactions between educators and students convinces many students that academic effort is futile. They resist further devaluation of their identities by mentally withdrawing from participation in the life of the school (*p. 3).

Koro spoke about his experiences at school and when he got into trouble:

Sometimes you only had to look sideways at a teacher and you were in trouble. I was strapped a lot. Probably because I showed resentment you know. I wouldn't

take it and the last time a teacher was going to belt me, by then I was learning a little bit of boxing and a little bit of jujitsu so I said, "If you're going to hit me, you come and hit me now." He hurriedly put the strap back in the drawer and said, "You're too big to hit. I'm not going to hit you but you need to go and stand outside there." So I walked out of the classroom and I walked home and I never went back to his class. Each time I was supposed to go to his class, my friend, who was the son of a local doctor and another boy used to go down the creek at the back of the school. Somebody had left an old canoe made out of a bit of roofing iron and we used to get in there and paddle all around there and we had fun. We spent probably the last three months of our schooling in that canoe.

Koro remembers an incident at school that, although he laughed about it as he was sharing, I could see the memory was not a pleasant one. Once again he was being called out because of the colour of his skin and once again it wasn't a positive experience:

In standard two this teacher asked me and a friend of mine, who was part Māori too, asked us to stand up and speak in Māori. Well, neither of us could, so we just mumbled away, mumbo jumbo stuff and the kids were yelling out, "We can't hear Miss, we can't hear them Miss." I can remember my friend and I just standing there looking at each other and we didn't know what to say, so we just mumbled things you know. Anyway for that we got out five minutes early from school so we went out at five to three and we sat out on the bench waiting for our bus. It was no reward. I think it was a sort of punishment the teacher gave us. That caused a lot of resentment in me.

The schooling experiences Koro shared in these conversations were mostly negative, however there was one exception:

There was one teacher who was very, very good with me. Somehow I responded because of the way she treated me. That's when I really began to learn to speak English. I had a science teacher and a French teacher and stuff like that. Those teachers, I never ever got on with. I really responded to everything she showed me. In her own way she taught me how to appreciate English and that's when I

took an interest. I think I had her for almost two years and in that time I came top of the class but only because of her. She saw something in me which nobody else had seen and she managed to draw that out and that was the reason I came top of the class because I responded to everything she asked me to do and I made sure I was doing it well.

Moko on the other hand had some good memories of belonging at school:

I just remember being involved with kapa haka at primary school and it was a lot of fun. It was cool because my mum was one of the teachers. That was awesome, she was up there playing the guitar and singing the songs. She had written out all the words on big pieces of paper and stuff and I remember when I first joined, the bigger girls would get the little ones to sit on their lap. It felt like you belonged to a group, which was really cool!

Similar to the others in her whānau things changed for the worse at High school:

When I went to primary school I didn't care about what people thought of me so it I guess it made it easier for me to join kapa haka, but also in primary school nobody cares, it's just like whoever wants to join can. Probably for me the main thing was that my mum was there so that made it easy to join. But I remember going to high school and even at Intermediate I thought, there's no way I'm joining kapa haka. I did not feel comfortable in joining because I have fair skin and I was scared of not being accepted and because I didn't know anyone and because I went to a new school.

Tuakana recalled an experience that alongside the lack of expectation demonstrated how the systems of the school worked to reinforce the low expectations:

I had done really well in my third form year and I was picked to be in the top class for fourth form. But apparently because we hadn't been taught like the top class in form three, quite a lot of us students were put down a class. The principal rang Mum and Dad and said we will have to move Tuakana from the top class down to a lower one. It's still a top class but because she hasn't done the work

that was done for the 3G students she is not able to do the standard of work that is expected in 4G. There were about eight of us that were moved. We had not done the work required because we had been in a lower class in the third form and we had learnt different things. So even though we had done really, really well in third form because we hadn't done the work the same way, for the fourth form we got put down. We weren't good enough. It went 3G 3H 3I they were the top three classes and I was in 3K which was the next tier down and they had based the classes for third form on an IQ test. I remember doing the IQ test. I came in late because I had been at the dentist and I was only given half an hour to do it. My IQ didn't come out well so they put me in a middle band class and it made me feel crap. I didn't really think about it until later when it happened to me in the fourth form and from that I decided what's the point of working hard? Even though they said it was still a top class it wasn't you weren't pushed academically.

Teina spoke of her experience with low expectations from the school as well. She recalls the quality of the teaching pedagogy and the lack of expectation of achievement for her from the principal:

I hated all the STEM subjects [Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths]. I hated English it was boring. The teacher didn't teach, she just sat and read a book and told us to read a book. There wasn't any active learning. My maths teacher treated us like little children. We were only allowed to use pencil, no pens, we were to open our books, do the exercises and mark our own work by looking at the back of the book for the answers. She didn't teach either. In science we weren't allowed to do anything, we were all too naughty. We weren't allowed to use bunsen burners, do experiments or go on trips. We were allowed to write about precipitation and we were allowed to look at weather maps and be quiet.

By the end of Fifth form I asked Mum if I could just do art subjects. You're supposed to do English, Science and Maths but we went to meet with the principal to see if I could be excused. I can't remember the exact words but it was basically "Yes, she can do all the art subjects because you're Māori and you're probably not going to do any good at the other ones even though you should do

them." And so I did. I was super happy about it but now I look back and know that was the wrong thing for that principal to do.

If that principal had been caring of the students and their futures then I believe that would have filtered down to the teachers. Classes would have been more engaging. He would have made sure his staff were educators. I was always in the top three of my classes so it wasn't because I was misbehaving or not doing well. I don't think the teachers enjoyed their job and I think they felt resentful they were at this particular school, this multicultural school in South Auckland.

Te reo Māori

Speaking te reo Māori came up often in these conversations and seemed to be a major issue for each of the whānau members. I asked Koro if he had ever wanted to learn te reo growing up:

I did when I got to 14, 15 and then that's when I asked my father if he would teach me and he said, "No! You don't want to learn that it's a dead language", so that was it! I wished, I really wished I had learned it then because it would have given me a bigger, a better understanding of Māori, all things Māori. But he [Koro's father] wanted to be a Pākehā and he always dressed up. He was never in old working clothes, he was always dressed up and he got some bloody good jobs in a Pākehā world. Nothing suited him better than to be walking down the street and people saying hello K, hello K on the way down.

The only time I heard te reo spoken was when Māori were together. It was never spoken outside of that. Even at school there were Māori kids at school but they never spoke te reo they just spoke English because they were told not to speak Māori.

I asked Koro what he thought about te reo now:

I think it's very good for people to learn te reo because the whole attitude has changed towards Māori, you know and there are so many European who want to learn and that's good because it breaks down all those barriers that were erected years ago. They are slowly being whittled away which is great but I find even

today that different people who come to this country, sense straight away what the feeling is between Pākehā and Māori. They become like Pākehā they don't want to be Māori. I can see that, I can feel that and I've experienced it on quite a few occasions.

I wondered if people expected Koro to know te reo when he was out and about:

Yes oh yes, it's not only embarrassing for me it's embarrassing for them. Because somebody will come up and start speaking to me and I can't answer and it embarrasses them and it embarrasses me at the same time and that's when I wished to hell I had learned it.

Koro mentioned that he had taken French at school and so I asked why:

It was something that came to the school around about that time. It would have been around the 1940s. It was compulsory. I excelled in the first year because I took an interest in it. The second year I'd found girls so French went by the way. I was more interested in girls than French or anything else.

The same topic came up with Tuakana:

I remember doing kapa haka. No, no I didn't take te reo. I took French of all things. I didn't have any te reo or Māori until form 2. So all schooling was done in te ao Pākehā. Pākehā concepts like reading and writing. Yeah, the conformity! I just put my head down and did it.

Teina had a different experience with te reo Māori. Although she was able to take te reo Māori as a subject unlike her older sibling and father, the poor quality of the pedagogy meant it was still inaccessible to her:

I remember at Primary School learning te reo in class and then at intermediate. We did it as a subject, but it was not integrated like it was at Primary School. In High School it was a subject that you chose to do and it actually got harder because the quality of teachers decreased. They were people that could speak te reo but they weren't able to teach so it made it really, really hard. I always felt like I was grasping for the magical day that it might make sense. I'm still waiting for it. New Zealand has made it so difficult to learn te reo.

I asked Teina about what helped to keep her reo going:

The things that kept my te reo going were kapa haka and learning songs and picking up little sayings but after finishing school there was nothing. I made a decision that I really wanted to speak te reo and I went looking for different courses and I ended up doing a range of courses at night.

It was disappointing. When I first went I did the beginner level one course but they are so rudimentary. It was stuff that I had already learnt through school and it didn't really motivate me to want to learn more. One course weirdly was structured in a way where you really had to know structured English. I either hadn't been taught at school or couldn't remember some of the content so when they talked about pronouns and things, I was like, what the hell's a pronoun? So you kind of have to forget that and try and work it out yourself. I muddled through but never really felt like I understood things.

Teina continues to seek other ways of growing her reo:

My sister and I went to our iwi hui recently, which was full immersion and it was awesome. It was incredibly hard though, made my brain hurt lots. It made me feel so stupid but it was also really good. It was uncomfortable but there was definite growth and now that I'm not doing that I'm back to my old habits, I've dropped trying and I don't have that continuous stress to want to do more and more because life just gets in the way. My life doesn't have te reo integrated in to it. I think New Zealand has Māori and English as the formal languages but te reo Māori is not encouraged enough to get people to be fluent. We encourage at low levels like how to pronounce vowels so that people can say street names correctly and we might be able to say hello and how are you, but apart from that there isn't depth to it.

Moko also spoke about te reo Māori and her desire to learn it:

That would be amazing! Currently I just say kia ora, just the odd word every now and then. I am interested to join courses. I did a bit of Te Ataarangi last year, which was cool. The way I do use it is I try to use the correct pronunciation of

place names and people's names and words. That probably helps me to connect with Māori families. I don't know if they notice but maybe it's showing them that I may have some background in that culture and also that I value the Māori culture through the pronunciation of words and because the place where I work and the place where I live are mainly European and they do not use correct pronunciation.

Moko's children learn some te reo at school but she has some concerns about that:

They learn a little bit, I think. At their school the teachers try to teach some of the Māori words but they don't have the correct pronunciation so my children come home and pronounce it the incorrect way, which I find frustrating. But I mean it's great that they're doing it but I find it a bit frustrating I try to correct them but it's confusing for them because their teacher is such a huge role model and authority figure. They must think whatever they say is correct and so they might find it confusing for me to correct them. I guess they're not too sure who's right.

Moko goes onto explain why she feels uncomfortable using te reo in her day to day life:

I have had the experience of working with a racist lady and I was telling her about my mum and she automatically assumed that my mother looked like me quite fair skinned and I was telling her about all the things that my mum does, that she speaks te reo and she said something like yes it's sad how people who have fair skin, that's not the word she used but that's what she was basically saying, that people who have fair skin who are not as Māori, know more about Māori things then people who are more Māori.

I still don't feel comfortable walking in a Māori world because of the colour of my skin. It has held me back about finding out more stuff about that world. I think because people think I'm European. I don't know I guess I'm worried that if I start busting out te reo, If I started saying kia ora and all that, it would be like what's she on? She looks white why is she talking like that?

49

Teina reflected again on the challenges she faced as a child navigating the spaces of dual heritage in school:

I remember when we were doing fundraising, Mum came because they asked for family to come and pitch ideas on how to help fundraise and support the group. A leader was talking and purposely pointed Mum out to make her feel small because she was the whitest looking parent there. She purposely kept mispronouncing our surname after Mum had introduced herself because of the way Mum said it. And when Mum offered some ideas like having a little market and helping kids after school and things like that, the leader said, "We don't do that sort of shit here."

It was really awful. I didn't say anything and I felt embarrassed. It underlined that there was a division in our Māori culture club - if you looked like the ideal Māori you were in the 'in-group'. If you could speak a lot of te reo and you were brown - well you were Moses himself. If you weren't any of the above then you were relegated into the dregs. It didn't matter how well you supported, performed or sung, you were always at the back, always unheard, you just made up the numbers and were there to be used. It was like being in the B-Team, you didn't always get to do the things that everybody else got to do. When that person did that to Mum it was so apparently racist, and that she was doing it on purpose, just because Mum is white and Pākehā. It was so horrible and I eventually dropped out. That meant I had no more Māori language or culture in my life, and at that point I was glad.

This story shared by Teina exemplifies the many difficulties faced by this whānau in their schooling experiences. The attacks on their identities both small and large contributed to this belief that they were unacceptable the way they were and that they needed to change to belong.

Whānau

Koro and I were talking about his home life as a child and I asked if he had learned any skills from his father such as hunting or fishing:

No! The only thing he passed on to me was how to drink and in great quantities. He set an example to all the people in the township. "Hey man, your father can drink! Man, he can stand at the bar from nine until six o'clock and drink, drink, drink!"

Koro reflected on the relationship between his father and his grandfather:

It was very bad. His father was very violent with him. I didn't know him at all because he died when I was very young. I only remember him being next door just before he died. They brought him up and he lived next door to us on our property. He was sick. He died there. I remember when he died they had him in a coffin and they had him on the back of a bloody old Essex truck with the old wooden back on it and they had the coffin on that and a couple of them just before they drove away did a haka. It was two of my uncles and where was Pop? Nowhere to be seen, not even at his father's tangi!

Koro went on to talk about the relationships he had with his wider whānau and his siblings growing up:

We were never close with our aunties and uncles. Even with my brothers and sisters we were never close. We didn't know the meaning of the word. We didn't know what love was.

I also asked about the relationship he has with his children now:

As I grew older I realised that there is a bond and I keep reminding myself that my father…and I know at times I've been pretty bad. I know that and I regretted everything. I feel really guilty about some of the things I've done and said to my children and I regretted it immediately. I really appreciate all of my children now. I really do. It's woken me up. It's made me realise that this is the feeling I should have had for all those years. It's made me realise how important family is.

The violence, the break down in family relationships and alcohol abuse are all well documented patterns of post-colonial behaviour for Māori. The effects of colonisation are traumatic and on-going for many whānau. This is true for this

whānau too, each member carrying the guilt of the system with them in different ways.

Tuakana remembered a special experience of connection with her Māori heritage:

Tikanga was just normal [at home]. It was just part of who we were "Tutaki the door!" It was always there even though dad didn't speak or our parents didn't speak Māori, there was always Māori ways of doing things. For me, moving into a marae situation was really easy. I didn't have to think, I just did it, and so it must be there.

Often times I dream in Māori. I am speaking Māori so for me there must be something deeper and I know when I karanga (welcome call) my tūpuna are behind me. I can feel it, all the hairs on the back of my neck come up so I know when I do the karanga they are there. It is always very special. I feel that connection but it didn't come in education that came later when I was put into a situation where I had to do the karanga for the first time. It was this huge wave of energy that came up and I felt reassured and when I started, the energy that came out was amazing and everybody just went, "You've obviously done this before." And I went "No this is my first time." Everybody went "What!" Even the kaumātua they were like what? It was pretty amazing that I knew my tūpuna were behind me and I could feel them, "You're all right girl." A lot of people came up afterwards saying, "That was amazing! I had chills we've never had that before at a pōwhiri." It was quite a surprise to me too because I didn't know what to expect. That was a defining moment. I thought, "Ok I've got this, it's going to be ok."

This experience shared by Tuakana is an example of the liminal space often traversed by Māori between the spiritual and the here and now. These spaces are integral to the ways of being for Māori but were not at all part of the schooling experiences for this whānau. Tuakana has been able to reconnect as an adult to her cultural heritage but schooling for her and her whānau was characterised by cultural denial and a lack of belonging.

Teina reflected on what she finds herself doing to create connection:

I honed my chameleon-like skill as a young adult and when I married I changed myself for my Pākehā husband. It was easier than being me, as I didn't have a real sense of who I was. In recent years I've become more confident about who I am. I still find it hard to articulate but the feeling inside me is stronger. It gives me confidence to not have to fit into people's expectations so much and sometimes I purposely push peoples boundaries to see them uncomfortable. However, my default is to change my persona for the person or situation.

She went on to reflect on her whānau and their identity:

I think that my family does not have a strong identity and so there's little that holds us together. Over the years we have drifted apart.

Moko also shared a story that affected her sense of belonging:

At work they have a special meeting for the Māori workers and one day I went. Everybody went around in a circle and said hello and said their name and stuff. My colleague told me when they were going around that when it was my turn to say who I am and who my mum was and who our iwi was. I felt why should I have to say that when no one else is, so when it came to my turn I just said my name and where I work and that was it really and then the facilitator of the group she was like "So are you actually Māori because you don't look Māori?" and I said yes I am. My mother is Māori and that was the end of that but I felt very uncomfortable. I didn't want to go back. It just didn't feel like a positive environment and I feel if I had looked brown would they have said that? Would they have said are you Māori? So what if I'm not Māori! Would you have said well piss off then you know. So I don't agree with that, I think if you want to go into that world no matter what your background is you should be welcome no matter who you are.

Koro remembered his uncles being able to speak te reo but they never spoke in te reo to him and his father never spoke te reo in front of his children either:

Pop was an excellent te reo speaker I believe but when he met Mum he made a decision that he would become a Pākehā.

I asked if he had made that choice not to speak te reo to his children because he thought he was giving them an advantage:

No, I think it was because he was ashamed to be Māori. I think that's what it was. He distanced himself right away from Māori when he married mum.

Tuakana shared her experience that became a barrier to her engaging in te reo:

I remember an incident when I was younger. I tried speaking and someone said, "You sound terrible don't speak!" It was one of my siblings [Tuakana is visibly upset here].

So from there I've never had the confidence to speak. I've still got to get over that. I was 15 and I tried to speak and I was told, "You can't pronounce anything don't speak!" So I thought ok and I didn't.

The interview was stopped until Tuakana regained her composure:

Teina found other ways of expressing her identity:

Through my art I have a hunger and need to explore the part of my identity that I feel the strongest but evaluate myself as the weakest. Through my painting and jewellery I explore me being Māori. It's through these practices that I feel the most connected. Growing up and even now I still expect that people would just accept me - it is disappointing when it is not the case. I feel the mood change when they find something that doesn't fit their box for me or their complete disregard, sometimes people will act like I'm not even there, or say an off colour or offhand remark that puts me in my place. I have a tendency then to try and provoke responses out of people.

Koro spoke of his father with bitterness in his voice. He experienced violence in the home growing up and violence at school too. Unsurprisingly, he grew up to become a man who struggled with building positive relationships until much later in life:

I was never close to my father. He was too violent. He was far too violent. He started drinking after he contracted TB. It was going right through the Māori population at that time. He went into hospital for twelve months.

I asked how his mum had coped during that difficult time:

Mum would get ten shillings a week from the equivalent of social welfare today. Her sister used to give her money to help her. When Pop came out of the sanatorium he was just skin and bone. So one of his medications I suppose, was he had to have a bottle of stout a day to build himself up. Yep and it started him drinking. He used to go over to that hotel everyday to pick up a bottle of stout and then one day he stopped and someone said, "Hey drink your beer here!" Which started him drinking and of course he wanted to be the best at it as always, so he showed them that he could be the best drinker in town. So he drank large quantities of beer and he used to come home pissed. For some unknown reason my older brothers were ok but if I was there I'd get the bash. I don't know what it was but my brothers reacted differently to me. When he hit me that really finished any relationship we had together and then when I saw him hit mum, it made me sick. I can remember the day he did it, he just grabbed her and slapped her up against the wall and whacked her and all I wanted to do was just be sick. Violence with him became prevalent and it wasn't until I was 13 I started to react against all the hidings that he used to give me. He picked me up and he threw me, because he was a strong man, he picked me up and he threw me and I hit the wall and I ended up on the floor and I said to him, "That's the last time you do this otherwise I'll kill you." He never touched me from that day on because he was a fucking coward. From then on I made sure if he was around I wasn't around and then of course later on I got a job and I moved away. I lived at a boarding house and is probably one of the reasons why I got married because I wanted to get away from there.

Koro understood his father's behaviours were not good for the whānau but even knowing that his life followed in a similar pattern. The violence and drinking are symptoms of the pain and destruction experienced by whānau caused by

colonisation. The cost to whānau is high as these behaviours and hurt are passed on from one generation to the next.

Teina recalled being close as a whānau when they were younger:

Our family was definitely stronger in my earlier years but as everyone had their own families those events stopped. I believe part of that separation gaining traction was developing different identities. There wasn't a commonality like there used to be which widened when we spent less time with each other. I think our family has splintered because we don't have a strong identity as a family group and because we're all figuring out who we are in our own ways.

Moko had similar reflections to share:

I guess we are not as family orientated now but when I was growing up we would be over at nana and grandad's all the time and we were together and it felt like a really close family that enjoyed being together and talking to each other and supporting each other. It was nice to belong to that. We did lots of singing and I remember we had lots of yummy food like at Christmas. I remember Christmas as being really cool at their house. I remember nana being very clean, always cleaning and picking up little bits of crumbs off the floor. I remember Grandad sitting down a lot. He played darts and I remember him making beer and I remember him laughing and doing his cross words and he picked me up from Kindy. He would pick me up, he would walk me home and we would watch cartoons and he would watch them with me, I think he enjoyed it too. Then he would tell me my friend next door was jumping on the tramp and calling out for me. Her and I used to go and play on the trampoline. They are good memories.

I asked Moko to talk a little more about what she knew of her grandfather's life and whether she saw any common experiences passing down through the family:

I know Granddad's father was very abusive and Granddad was encouraged to follow the European path not the Māori path. He didn't grow up speaking te reo. I think about how that impacted my mum and that she rejected her Māori side as

well until she got to a certain age and that influenced the kind of man that she fell for. My dad I mean. I guess my identity and how I grew up has influenced the man I chose too. I have chosen someone who is similar to me. He has a similar background, he's a bit Māori but he's not as interested in it as I am.

Achieving at school has become more accessible to this whānau since Koro was at school but as we listen to him and the rest of the whānau one can't help but wonder at what cost:

My parents didn't say anything about school. Pop [Koro's father] didn't take any interest in anything we did at school. He took no interest whatsoever. He was too full of himself and what he was doing to worry about what we're up to. But when I came top of the class I had a special presentation in front of the whole school and we had a prize giving. I went up to get my prize and mum was sitting in the audience. When I walked up there was a lot of clapping. I mean everybody got clapped when they went up there. We got treated the same. I can remember going up and the headmaster who had belted me on numerous occasions, just sort of brushed it aside, like it was an everyday sort of thing. He had no time for me. I think probably because he had thrashed me so many times. He must have been feeling a bit guilty.

I asked Koro to talk about what he expected of his children and whether he involved himself in their education:

No I didn't, it wasn't until I was in third form that I understood that education was important but no, I never said anything to my children about school.

I asked about the messages he gave around learning te reo:

No I didn't encourage it. I had nothing to do with it so I couldn't understand why anybody would want to learn it

I asked Tuakana about whether she received any messages about school from her father:

Go to school. There wasn't any expectation for me to go to university or to look at higher education. After school, get a job. That was the expectation. Get a job, leave home and that was it.

I asked Tuakana whether she had received any encouragement from her father to learn te reo and then what messages she had given her children:

No, Dad didn't say anything. But for my children, we encouraged it. At pre-school we had them in a bilingual unit and that was because of the people I was associating with at that point in time. Their children were doing it as well and I thought what a great opportunity to get them started really early. It's fresh and they really enjoyed it and I really enjoyed it. It was all just basics. It was fun. The husband I have now is very encouraging. I'm happy about that.

Teina understood her father saw school as a hierarchical system of winners and losers. The winners being Pākehā, the losers being Māori:

I don't think Dad held school in high esteem. I remember he would always ask, "Did I beat everyone else?" and if I didn't, why not.

Koro's children all agreed that he did not encourage them to do well at school and as we listen to his experiences perhaps we can see why:

School had impacted on me as to who I wasn't. I think that was the biggest thing when I went to school. I thought I was like everybody else until I started school but I was soon told in no uncertain manner, "You can't do that, you're Māori!" That went on all the time, which caused a lot of resentment in me. I didn't want to be Māori. I resented my father for being Māori because if it hadn't been for him I wouldn't be there.

Koro is clear that the messages he received at school impacted him in a big way. The colonial agenda delivered so effectively through state schooling planted the seeds of self-hatred and a belief that he was not worthy.

Reflections

Each of the whānau members had experienced significant events in their lives that silenced, shamed or marginalised them in some way. This has had a lasting impact on them and they have each found their own way to express their identities.

Tuakana with support from her Māori colleagues has reconnected to Te Ao Māori as an adult:

I was encouraged to reconnect through people knowing that I was Māori... through learning the karanga being encouraged by some of my colleagues. One was a kuia (female Māori elder) and so I learnt the waiata (songs) of that region and to karanga. I was sort of 'whangaied [sic]' (adopted) by the tribe as they were so small and all hands on deck. There were only a couple of kaumātua (respected elders) and their workloads were so huge. People were always asking them to come and speak or open for official things like that, so I made myself available to help bring in the manuhiri (visitors). It was those influential people that helped me to be comfortable, to encourage me to reconnect which was awesome.

Tuakana reflected on the impact of this on her role at her work:

I work with a lot of international students. When I first meet them part of connecting with them is talking to them about being Māori and the way we way do things is that we share kai together, we get to know each other first before we conduct our business. Whānau is the most important thing and making sure that the connection is strong with the [workplace] whānau. A lot of Asian students, as soon as I mention whānau, they connect right in. I feel really good about it, it's very positive, it makes the connection, they've got someone that they can come to and connect with.

Teina shared a story to demonstrate how difficult it continues to be for her in maintaining her chosen identity against the on-going racial micro aggressions:

One day, fairly recently, I chose to wear some feathers in my hair to work, huia feathers I had made, so extra special, extra proud. I was doing something and somebody; a senior staff member came over to be sociable and made a comment that I found a bit racist and diminishing. I felt it minimised the strong Māori woman identity I chose to portray that morning. In one small comment they took that all away. I don't think they realised they were being hurtful or racist. They probably thought they were being conversational and interesting. They said I looked like Hiawatha and I thought it was just a bit odd. They know more about a foreign culture over the local culture here. And yes, they are kiwi.

These feathers are very special to me. They are huia feathers that I made. The huia has a special significance to me and is often included in my creative work. Their history is a sad one, their beaks and feathers were exploited as trinkets with no care or future thought, they became history pretty quickly with the arrival of man. That blatant disregard and consumable behaviour I feel is a story that reflects how awful we can be. I have a small ritual when I put them in my hair and it makes me stand up just that little bit straighter and taller. They are a representation of my culture, my art, and the person who I am and for somebody to diminish it with just a few words (shrugs) well it sucks!

Moko talked about her lack of confidence and shyness to speak up but also spoke about a forum in which she can participate and get her ideas and beliefs across:

I am very empathetic and I really do listen and find compassion for people. When I see people being judged especially on Facebook if I see people judging in the comments I really enjoy giving my perspective and then I can see that it might change people's views, their minds and I get a real sense of satisfaction out of that because it's ugly and it's horrible. I've changed my partner's views a lot. I feel very strongly about people. About how a lot of society thinks there are bad people but there are no bad people or evil people. I don't believe that. I believe that everybody has stuff that happens to them that can lead them to make decisions or do things or be a certain way so there's always a reason why people do the things they do. It's not because they're bad.

Moko, shaped not only by her own experiences, but by the trauma handed down through her whānau, went on to talk about how social justice is important to her:

I don't have the fancy words and stuff. I do wish that I could have a better vocabulary though to explain things better and to talk about the institutionalised racism and things like that. I do think I understand the general principles but I'm not good at explaining it. When you come across racism it's really hard to explain it to someone because people just don't get it and it's exhausting explaining it. It makes me tired and I can't be bothered explaining it to them because I feel like it's not going to make a difference anyway.

I asked Koro to reflect on what it was like for him growing up with dual heritage:

When I was becoming more mature I realised that being Māori didn't help you at all. The only way to get ahead in a Pākehā world was to be Pākehā. So I had nothing to do with Māori. I had Māori friends and that, but as far as any protocol or anything like that, I didn't want it. And then when I married my first wife, it sort of fortified my opinion that I didn't want anything to do with Māori and of course she didn't want anything to do with Māori either.

Koro shared another key experience that affected him deeply. As he recounted this story I could see the anger and outrage playing out on his face. This was one of the many events that contributed to his rejection of being Māori:

I remember this time when I got blamed for hitting a girl on a bus and looking back I got blamed for a few things I hadn't done. The girl would have been the same age as me and we came to school that day. She was crying on the bus and we went into the school together and she was still crying. I asked her why but she wouldn't say, so I was there trying to comfort her and the headmaster came along and he said, "What's going on here? Why is she crying?" I didn't know why she was crying so I said, "I don't know Sir"

"Did you hit her?"

"No sir"

"Yes I think you did!"

"No I didn't!"

"Yes you did and I'm going to make a spectacle of you!"

So at the assembly in the morning at 9 o'clock we all assembled outside. He gets up and makes this big speech about violence that's been used in school and he was going to make an example of the boy who had made this girl cry this morning. So he dragged me out and gave me six wallops with the big strap in front of the whole school. Well, I put the mākutu (curse) on him. I was full of anger for getting a thrashing in front of the school for something which I did not do. So whether or not my mākutu worked, I don't know but he was dead in twelve months. He came to school this particular day and somebody went in to see him about something and he had collapsed over his desk. It was the best news I'd ever heard. It made up for the belting I got in front of the whole school for something I didn't do.

The girl didn't do the full time and she died in childbirth. She was pregnant and that's why she was crying. It was one of her uncles that had done it. It was all hushed up nobody was blamed; nobody went to court or anything. "Oh she's only a Māori, it doesn't matter." In those days if you were Māori you were worthless. She was a nice kid. She was the same age as me. I was in standard three so she would have been I don't know maybe ten.

This story is horrific on many levels: the abuse and death of a child compounded by the racism and unconcern of the principal; the beating given to Koro for no other reason than him being near the girl at the time; the intense outrage Koro must have felt from the unjust accusation and the subsequent humiliation at the hands of that principal to put a mākutu on him; and all this under the banner of education. These stories of racism and stereotyping are not only part of the schooling experiences of this whānau, but they are part of their workplace experiences too, as Moko's story shows:

When I was going to work out in a small rural town, I remember one of my work colleagues said to me that she was really shocked that I was going to go and work out there. She was like, "Oh well you will definitely know the smell of marijuana." And another nurse said something about that it would be dirty and the homes would be dirty. I was quite shocked that they said that. I never once smelt marijuana. I thought it was a beautiful place. It's out in the country and they are just like everybody else so I just wonder about a community worker who might have these ideas of, "Oh well they're probably smoking marijuana in there and they must be dirty." I just wonder how can they connect with the families if they're going there and thinking things like that?

Moko continued to reflect on the issue of stereotyping and racism and the impact it has had on her:

I have a real problem with judgement. I feel most of society is very judgemental. I do feel very strongly about that and that's a huge part of my identity. It gives me a sense of purpose, I feel like I can Influence people to think differently and to not be so quick to judge people. I think with my experiences and with my mental health it's kind of like personified. I don't know if that's the right word. It's made my understanding deeper because I really struggled with judging myself and struggling with people judging me and caring about what people think of me. It was having a huge impact on me and how it affected me, believing what people said about me. So going through my mental health journey has taught me that it's all crap, it doesn't mean anything. People's judgements mean nothing so that's been a great tool for me to use and also help other people.

Moko went on to talk about the Treaty of Waitangi and how she learned about it:

I remember in fifth form history we learnt all about the Second World War but I don't remember learning any Māori history. The first time that I remember about the Treaty of Waitangi was when I was at university. I had to go for an interview to do the course and I think maybe that was one of the questions or something like that. I asked my dad about it because I was living with him at the time. I

asked him because I didn't understand anything about it and he said, "Oh that's the reason why we have all the stuff we have today, why we have shops and all that kind of stuff." So that was my first introduction to the Treaty. That was his understanding of the Treaty at the time, he didn't understand about how Māori got fucked over.

Teina considered the impact of the schools curriculum on her life:

It's not just English language; it's all the STEM subjects. We were taught to be the workers in factories. We are left to muddle through life, to make the most of the hand that has been dealt. I was a good student with above average marks. It's not my brain that was lacking it was my education and I've missed out on information that would help me better succeed in today's life.

Teina also spoke of her belief about how school functioned to keep people in their place in society in New Zealand:

It frustrates me that I have learnt that what was taught at school about Māori history and culture is mostly wrong. Idyllic, romantic and showing that colonisation has made a better life for us all. But has it? Were people unhappy before then? Do we really need technical revolution to live a better life? How can we measure this with eyes that are used to looking at today's world and what is currently valuable? School was a mechanism to spread lies and indoctrinate the population. Most of the time in Social Studies we learnt about Greek and Roman history instead. Isn't it important to know where you come from rather than knowing that you're not from somewhere else?

I feel cheated by school, my knowledge of English is a subset - the education I received was not what I needed to do well or be 'better' in the world. This is so apparent now when working in a company that offers professional services. The language that is spoken there is a hidden, moneyed language. It's created to keep the masses from knowing it, questioning it, and requiring to pay someone to interpret for you. Obviously some schools taught it, not my school. If it did, there would be more Māori and Polynesians in top positions in these types of companies. No, at our schools we were taught enough to be able to read and

listen to instructions and follow them without question that is so blatantly obvious now.

Teina believes that the systems and organisation of New Zealand education contributes to and does not disrupt the poor outcomes for Māori and other marginalised groups in society. It is almost as if the native schools curriculum of 1915, is still in operation. The one that determined Māori boys and girls were best educated for manual labour as a higher education was wasted on them. The continuing gap between Māori and non-Māori academic outcomes gives credence to that theory. Teina continues:

I feel school is an opportunity to set people up for what comes next in the next stage of life. My experience at school was not nurturing me to be successful in society and instead felt like a place for me to be while parents went to work and giving me just enough knowledge to be a low paid worker. School was not a place to be different; it actively tried to make you the same. The institution, the teachers, the content and the other students were all tools to make us a monoculture, make us ready to be the next lot of workers in the industrial chain. How many Māori haven't learnt what is real and are living by those old damaging ideas? I am angered that Māori are reduced, disappointed my education wasn't there to set me up for success, frustrated I'm penalised for something I cannot change.

Tuakana also reflected on why she felt that she couldn't succeed in school and prompts us to think about why this is:

I observed that there were no strong Māori role models like there are today. There was no voice or they were in isolation if they were there. It was expected if you were Māori you'd be having kids as soon as you left school or if you were working it would be a low paid job. But that wasn't your priority, your priority was to go and have a family or go on the benefit. 'Great' messages and very, very disheartening being a Māori woman at that time.

There was never any [explicit] expectation it was never talked about. The expectation was that you would just get through school and out into a job. If you

had a family that would support you, you might go to university but it was never encouraged.

Moko experienced a similar lack of expectations and a lack of support to move through school into a meaningful pathway:

I was not set up to be successful. My strengths were art and photography and English. They were the only subjects I passed in fifth form but I didn't know what I could do with that. There were no career options there. The only time I saw a career advisor was when I said I was going to leave school. That's when I got to see a career advisor. I did a questionnaire and it told me what career paths would be good for me - midwife and nursing came out high for me. God knows why!

Moko describes the events that what prompted her to leave school:

I remember in seventh form art I didn't do that well. I didn't feel like I had a lot of guidance from the teacher. I really enjoyed photography and I really liked my teacher but then he left and the teacher who came, well I didn't like him. I went and got heaps of photos from Dad's work and I thought I'd done well and then when I showed the teacher he told me I had to go back and get more photos but I couldn't really. Dad was not supportive of me coming back into his work again. I'm quite shy, so I didn't really say to the teacher that I couldn't go back so I just said ok and I didn't do it. I definitely think about how I would have loved to have gone down that path rather than the one I chose because I don't know if my current job is the thing I'm most happy doing.

The stories of this whānau are heart wrenching. They uncover experiences that that should not and are not acceptable for any citizens of a supposedly egalitarian society. They describe a set of educational experiences that did not deliver on the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi and for all intents and purposes delivered an assimilation agenda preparing Māori children to take their place as second-class citizens in New Zealand right up until recent times. The everyday racism and discrimination this whānau experienced while at school is laid out for us all to see. Their voices have spoken words of pain and sadness and anger. Are we willing to hear them, then to understand and to respond?

CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSION

> But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against the collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages rather than their own. It makes them identify with that which is decadent and reactionary, all those forces, which would stop their own springs of life (Ngũgĩ, 1981, p. 3).

Introduction

The 'cultural bomb' is an accurate description of the impact of the lived experiences of this whānau. Ngũgĩ uses this term to emphasise the internal destruction that the conditions of imperialism have created for indigenous peoples around the world and this destruction is present throughout the stories of this whānau. These stories shine a light into the heart of their world and the way they were forced through the colonising beliefs and practices of their time to reshape themselves in a bid to belong, and in doing so hopefully to find the path to greater success and belonging. The compromise and abuse of identity in wider society, replicated and validated in school, created a vicious and dehumanising experience for each of them.

In this study I sought to investigate the questions - How did their schooling experiences influence identity, language and culture of one whānau over three generations? How did this whānau understand identity within the education they received? What impact did the educational policies have on the educational experiences of one whānau? What were the intergenerational impacts of schooling on one whānau? This chapter presents a discussion of the research findings in relation to the literature review in Chapter Two in order to provide some answers to the research questions.

Identity

The whānau members all spoke of the difficulty they had in developing a positive identity growing up against the backdrop of racism and racial micro aggressions. Having to work out who they were in the midst of this negative and often hostile environment was challenging. Each one of them eventually found their own ways to manage these challenges but they all wished it had been different. Koro in particular described harrowing racism and rejection for being Māori and there seemed little support for him to enjoy the safety and acceptance of being Māori in his whānau, at school or in his community. His experiences of developing his identity seem almost directly opposite to the positive description of Māori identity in Pre-European times by Hemara (2000). As Koro explains:

> I was full of resentment about how I was born and the reason that I was half Māori and half Pākehā and I blamed my father for that of course. I could have blamed my mother but I blamed my father. But anyway, I think I blamed my father because he was Māori and I didn't want to be Māori.

Tuakana, Teina and Moko each expressed their own sense of identity in different ways but there seemed to be a common underlying theme. A lack of confidence in their right to claim their dual heritage and to see this as a whole, secure identity rather than pieces to be swapped in to and out from. In Moko's case she was uncertain whether she had any right at all to claim her whakapapa due to the colour of her skin and the residual impact of the times where others had called her identity into question.

The literature supports the idea that a child's identity, their sense of self is influenced strongly and developed by the experiences around them. Education in particular plays a major role (Berry & Candis, 2013; Cummins, 2001; Wenger, 2009) in the shaping of identity. Each whānau member described the struggle of trying to work out who they were in the face of confusing and often conflicting interactions at school. Identity formation for this whānau happened without many of the cultural supports Hemara (2000) and Mead (2003) alluded to in their descriptions of Māori identity. Without these supports the impact of assimilation on this whānau was heightened. Having been disconnected from their whenua

(land), their language (te reo Māori) and their wider whānau connections through the process of colonisation they were literally alone, cut adrift in an alien world.

The impact of education

School had a significant impact on each of the whānau members. Tuakana, Teina and Moko had some positive experiences through primary school but this did not carry on past Intermediate school. Their experiences in secondary school were particularly disheartening as not only did they experience rejection from their peers and teachers but they also spoke of receiving little support to build and achieve Māori cultural identity and/or education excellence. In fact they each experienced a distinct lack of care (manaaki) from the school for their learning achievement and their pathways from school into society as both Māori and Pākehā. Teina described this as:

> I feel school is an opportunity to set people up for what comes next in the next stage of life. My experience at school was not nurturing me to be successful in society and instead felt like a place for me to be while parents went to work and giving me just enough knowledge to be a low paid worker.

The low expectations were evident in many of the stories the whānau told about school. These expectations came not only from the poor quality of teaching they experienced but compounded by a curriculum that had little to do with who they were; no New Zealand history from a Māori perspective, no Treaty of Waitangi, no or little opportunity to learn te reo Māori (though Koro and Tuakana were both expected to take French) and no genuine career advice or guidance given. The combination of ignoring their need to build a secure cultural identity and sense of belonging with the low achievement expectations was a toxic one. Tuakana explains it this way:

> I observed that there were no strong Māori role models like there are today. There was no voice or they were in isolation if they were there. It was expected if you were Māori you'd be having kids as soon as you left school or if you were working it would be a low paid job. But that wasn't your priority, your priority was to go and

have a family or go on the benefit. 'Great' messages and very, very disheartening being a Māori woman at that time.

The beliefs and practices associated with the assimilation policies of the early 1900s were present in the stories of this whānau. The echoes of the belief that Māori were only good for manual labour that engendered those policies still very much in play. Even though the wording in the educational policies began to change following the Hunn Report (1961) these insidious beliefs continued on in school for each of the whānau members and impacted them negatively. The Hunn Report paved the way for education policy and school practice to focus on identifying barriers to learning for Māori. This set up the conditions in which deficit theorising about the causes of unequal outcomes for Māori were rife (Johnston, 1998; Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005) and able to be normalised.

The importance of te reo Māori

A major on-going impact on the whānau was the denial of their right to both of their languages. The policies of the coloniser to deliberately obliterate te reo Māori through education and schooling grew bitter fruit for them. Pop (Koro's father) believing the only way forward was to reject his own world and to embrace the new world, stopped all connections to his people, his language and his tikanga. Pop's drinking and violence could be taken as the expressions of the decadent and reactionary forces mentioned by Ngũgĩ (1981) at the beginning of this chapter. The internal violence created by his decision to turn his back on his world toxic and damaging to himself and those around him.

Another of the outcomes of Pop's rejection of te ao Māori was that his children grew up unable to learn te reo Māori at home or at school. Tuakana, Teina and Moko all expressed a desire to reclaim te reo Māori but none of them have found a successful pathway as yet. None of them were able to access te reo Māori at school in a way that was not going to open them up to attacks on their identity. Neither were they provided with access to effective learning and teaching of te reo Māori. As adults they still struggle to find ways to continue this journey that will be culturally safe and pedagogically sound for them as people of dual heritage.

The critical importance of language to the wellbeing of a people is now well understood (Holthaus, 2008; Ngũgĩ, 1991). Language is the carrier of knowing, of culture and identity. Agar (1994) describes this important interdependent relationship as 'languaculture'. Without it, a person who is being assimilated has a difficult if not an impossible road to knowing who they truly are as a cultural, connected being. This whakataukī also demonstrates the interconnectedness of language and culture:

Ko te pūtake o te Māoritanga, ko te reo. He taonga tuku iho nā te Atua.

The taproot of Māori culture is Māori language. A gift from God.

Without access to te reo Māori the cultural activities that were open to Tuakana, Teina and Moko were especially important. The relevance and significance of waiata and kapa haka (Māori song and dance) to them was evident through their stories. Whether it was at home or at school this seemed to be a strong point of connection for each of them. The few stories they shared of belonging and enjoyment centred around those times. And so the rejection experienced by them, in attempting to participate in these spaces as they grew older, are particularly poignant.

The impact of assimilation through education

When we consider the schooling experiences of this whānau as Māori they are in line with the research conducted by Bishop and Berryman (2006) where they found the Māori students believed they were unable to succeed as Māori because of the racism, the low expectations from their teachers and a curriculum that was designed to assimilate children into a European worldview at the expense of their own.

Under the Treaty of Waitangi both worldviews were promised and through the whakapapa of this whānau they had the right to be culturally safe and secure and to have access to both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā (Pākehā world). Instead they received an education that deliberately ignored te ao Māori and as they got older reduced te ao Pākehā to a basic curriculum of preparation for manual work. Their experiences highlight the many challenges of being both Māori and

Pākehā in these contexts, the difficulties of the double bind (Penetito, 2010) as it were. They were unable to succeed as Māori but neither were they able to succeed as Pākehā without compromising themselves. Teina spoke of pixelating her identity, carving her identity up into bits to fit in. I believe this phrase captures the mental and social distress that the state sanctioned schooling situation created for this whānau.

Dual heritage

The whānau spoke of the many times when they were rejected for not being Māori enough or Pākehā enough as children in school. The sense of not being acceptable the way they were, forced them into making choices about who they would be in each encounter to get by. They also acknowledged the on-going impact of this on their ways of being today. Teina for example said: *'I change. The person I project is different; the person I choose to share is specific depending on the players and onlookers. The metaphor of a stage I think is right. I often feel like I'm acting.'*

The sense of not belonging was evident throughout the interviews, not only when they were at school but as adults navigating their way through personal and work-related relationships. Each of them making decisions on how to best cope with the world that was inevitably going to challenge who they were.

Their schooling experiences suggest that each of them was often defined in destructive ways as either Māori or Pākehā or both. School became the place where their identity was defined and redefined for them depending on the circumstances. At intermediate and secondary school they experienced rejection by Pākehā for being too Māori and they also experienced rejection by Māori as being too Pākehā. This was a lose-lose situation. They had no place where they felt accepted or where they felt they belonged without having to compromise who they were. How can a child be expected to thrive and enjoy learning and succeed while their very identity is constantly under attack? Teina describes it this way:

It was really confusing. I didn't understand why I had to choose to be one thing or another. The teachers had expectations that I had to behave a certain way, be more Māori or be better and be more Pākehā. Friends made me choose, either hang with us and not with those other girls. One group was Māori and the other group was Pākehā. We had all grown up together and been friends then all of a sudden there was a split by perceived shade of colour. I was too Māori for the white group and too Pākehā for the Māori group. It meant that I had to start pretending. I had to no longer be me.

Grenell-Hawke and Tudor (2018) posit that the binary positioning of Māori and Pākehā was necessary for Māori to counter the effects of colonisation. They also suggest that Pākehā benefited from that positioning as well by maintaining Māori as the 'other' in their own land. *'However in such binary construction, those who have both Māori and Pākehā ancestry may be or become invisible and deny their experiences or have them denied'* (p. 1530). They present their findings as a positive and exciting new opportunity to *'strengthen the primacy of tangata whenua, the first peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand'* (p. 1543). This may be the case but I would suggest based on the experiences of this whānau that the negative ramifications of dual heritage for children in schools have been present in New Zealand for quite some time and have yet to be acknowledged or addressed. As Teina clearly articulates, the impact of this cultural dichotomy is for her, not positive in any way, shape or form.

The research from the United Kingdom, concerned with the educational experience of mixed heritage children (Lewis, 2016; Phillips et al., 2008; Tikly, 2007) suggest the impacts are negative for this group as well. They propose that racism and a lack of understanding of the specific challenges of mixed heritage children create contexts where children's successful learning and achievement is compromised.

As a society we have inherited a colonised worldview and according to the experiences of this whānau it seems that the associated behaviours of reducing people to binary constructs to be both harmful and unnecessary. There is some literature about the challenges of dual heritage in New Zealand to date but I wonder if the relatively small amount of this is a direct result of the binary

construct at work. Those who confidently identify as Māori can now write and speak as Māori under the mantle of kaupapa Māori and those who are Pākehā have a long history of being able to speak and write about their experiences from a culturally located position. For those of dual heritage however, do they remain silent believing their duality as a voice has no merit or validity within the current essentialist framing of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Intergenerational impact

School as a site of assimilation has played a major role in perpetuating the defining and redefining of iwi cultural identity as Māori and in deficit terms. The impact is on-going and the effect across generations is stark. Within this whānau they have experienced this first hand. Koro did not encourage his children to do well at school, as his father before him had not done for him. When one considers that school was the place where Koro experienced beatings, verbal abuse and racism, one can see why. Instead of school being a place where he could learn about who he was and acquire the knowledge and skills required to succeed in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā he was treated to abuse and strong messages of not being worthy or belonging. His sense of school was that it was not a place for learning and success as Māori but something that must be suffered in silence. This certainly explains his lack of enthusiasm and general interest in schooling for his children.

Tuakana, Teina and Moko also experienced being defined in destructive ways by both Māori and Pākehā. They felt the pressure to conform just like their grandfather before them by abandoning their cultural identity (Cummins, 2001) and so although they were not beaten, and it could be said they achieved more than their father or grandfather at school, at what cost? None of them spoke highly of their educational journey and none of them believed they had been set up for success. All of them spoke of the on-going impact of those negative experiences.

Research questions

How did the schooling experiences influence identity, language and culture of one whānau across three generations?

The schooling experiences of the members of this whānau interviewed were highly influential in the development of their identities and their cultural disconnection. With the racism and cultural-denial a regular feature of their schooling experiences, they developed strategies to manage their day-to-day lives in school; strategies such as resisting, avoiding, assimilating, masking and becoming invisible. The cost of these strategies has had lifelong implications where the whānau continue to struggle with identity issues and a reluctance to put themselves into culturally unsafe situations, even before the gathering of these stories, with each other.

None of the whānau had genuine access to learning te reo Māori and the quality of English teaching mentioned was poor. This has impacted on each of the whānau in different ways. Although Koro no longer aspires to learn te reo Māori, the rest of the whānau do. The difficulty in finding suitable ways of doing that was mentioned by each of them. Teina spoke about how the poor quality of English teaching she experienced had a direct impact on her as she left school to enter into the business world and found her language skills lacking in that context. She also saw the connection between her difficulties in learning te reo Māori as an adult arising in part from the lack of knowledge of the structure of the English language brought about through the poor quality of education she received. Is this one of the results of the second-class curriculum in action?

How did this whānau understand identity within the education they received?

The stories of the whānau graphically portray the angst and confusion they experienced at school. They received clear messages of not belonging from both Māori contexts and non-Māori contexts. They understood to get through school they had to change who they were and try to present the acceptable identity to the teacher, their peers, the kapa haka group, and so on. They all tried hard to meet the competing criteria set, but often without success. Koro believed as a

child there was something wrong with him and specifically something wrong with being Māori. Tuakana and Teina both knew there was nothing wrong with their intellect but through the relationships with the teachers and the systems and structures of the school they struggled to succeed or find their place. Moko lacked the confidence to ask for help and in the face of disinterest and a lack of care left school without any real guidance or support for her future. Although their experiences were different the outcome is similar. Had their schooling valued and respected their identity they may have left school better prepared for success in the wider world.

What impact did the educational policies have on the educational experiences of one whānau?

The impact of the early educational policies on the experiences of this whānau are evident throughout their stories. The assimilation policies of 1847, 1867, and 1915 all contributed to their schooling experiences of rejection, low achievement expectations from many of their teachers and a curriculum that did not have any meaning or relevance to them.

The banning of te reo in schools through the Native schools Act in 1867 and again in 1903 was a major factor in the loss of te reo Maōri to this whānau, unable to learn it at home or at school there was no chance of learning te reo Māori. As the literature shows (Agar, 1994; Durie, 2006; Hawaikirangi-Pere, 2013; Holthaus, Ngũgĩ, 1991) language is one of the key carriers of cultural identity. This whānau needed te reo Māori at school to ensure their developing identity was supported and safe. The deliberate policies to remove te reo Māori from children and school has had lasting consequences on this whānau, their sense of identity and self worth.

The government policies of the 1980s and 1990s reflected the attitude of the day that it was socio-economic factors that were causing the underachievement of Māori thereby confirming that the problems lay with the students and whānau and not the teacher or the system (OAG, 2012). This deficit theorising is certainly present within the schooling stories of this whānau. Interestingly, this whānau

were left untouched and did not experience any of the benefits of the gains made by and for Māori through the establishment of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori.

What were the intergenerational impacts of schooling on one whānau?

There were three key beliefs that impacted on this whānau across the generations. The first was the belief that being Māori was a problem. Koro in particular learned that there was no benefit to being Māori and indeed much of his suffering seemed to him to stem from being Māori. He internalised this and rejected being Māori completely. This denial had an impact on his children and grandchildren. They all spoke of their lack of confidence in their 'Māoriness'. This also explains the belief that Māori centred solutions such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa were never considered as options. With the assimilatory discourse firmly embedded in the psyche of this whānau, success was only possible within te ao Pākehā.

The second belief was that school is not valuable and will not be of benefit to them as Māori. As school was not an enjoyable or learning rich place for them the beliefs about school were not around the value to the whānau but rather something they had to do to get through and out into a job. Koro did not encourage or participate in supporting his children to do well at school. Neither of the children nor his grandchild remembers Koro ever speaking positively about school.

The third belief was and I believe is still in effect for this whānau. School is a place where one has to conform to be successful. The whānau as children were faced everyday with making choices about how they would engage with school. Either conform and compromise their identity and dual cultural heritages or resist and face the consequences.

The impact of these beliefs can be seen in the outcomes for the whānau in education. None of them were able to excel at school while they were there. Although Tuakana, Teina and Moko have gone on to have successful careers, they all felt that they had achieved this in spite of school not because of it. In

regards to their identity and their dual cultural heritage, they continue to struggle to find their place in their community and wider society without compromising themselves.

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented a discussion of the research findings in relation to the literature review in Chapter Two. The impact of schooling on this whānau has been far-reaching and profound. School was a major site of assimilation for each of them. They all experienced racism, rejection, low expectations and cultural disconnection while at school and this is across the three generations from the 1930s until the 1990s. These experiences are in line with what the literature says about the impact of schooling on Māori (Berry & Candis, 2013; Berryman & Macfarlane, 2017; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Houkamau, 2007; Sullivan, 1994).

There are now many whānau in Aotearoa, New Zealand, who have both Māori and Pākehā whakapapa. We have a population of people who traverse the breadth of the continuum from completely living in te ao Māori to living in te ao Pākehā. The assimilative policies of the coloniser has created conditions where large proportions of this population feel they do not belong fully in either of these worlds. Many whānau are increasingly indistinguishable from Pākehā because of inter-marriage. By talking about and engaging with Māori or Pākehā as either one or the other, we are in danger of continuing a false dichotomy, taking an essentialist view of who are Māori and who are not. There is a risk of perpetuating hegemonic practices if we frame people as lacking in some way in regards to their identity (Borell, 2005). What will the cost be to Aotearoa, New Zealand if we continue to support a system of education that does not genuinely understand and value our diverse and unique perspectives and therein the untapped potential of our people?

CHAPTER SIX – LAST REFLECTIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to find out how the schooling experiences of one whānau influenced their identity, language and culture across three generations. The intention was to contribute to the growing body of work of Māori whānau and their experiences through their eyes. What has been captured through their stories has allowed us to consider and perhaps come to understand, the lived reality of the impact of the colonising education policies and practices. What has been revealed through the telling of these stories is a horrifying picture of prejudice, discrimination and state sanctioned racist educational policies over generations.

Limitations

The limitations of this study are to do with size and scope of the research. Four participants were interviewed of a much larger whānau and so therefore may not be representative of the overall experiences of the whānau. The two children and grandchild who were interviewed are all female and this could have influenced the sorts of themes that came through as well. The focus of the study was aimed at the impact of schooling on identity, language and culture and even though other aspects of the participants' lives were shared and have been touched on within the findings it was not within the scope of this study to cover them.

Further study

Due to three of the four participants of this study being female it would be interesting to interview the males of the whānau through the three generations to see if there are any different or gender specific themes that arise from their experiences.

The overwhelmingly negative impact of the schooling experience on the dual heritage identity of this whānau became a major theme in this research. Taking this research wider to other whānau to test the ideas that arose from this study

around the impact of schooling on dual heritage identity would appear to be a logical next step for further study.

The history of education and policy in New Zealand together with the stories of the whānau point to an on-going, systemic and deeply entrenched racism caused by the education system itself, this would be an important line of inquiry to follow up on as well.

Final reflections

Our education system through the *New Zealand Curriculum* (2007) articulates a vision of *'…our young people as lifelong learners who are confident and creative, connected, and actively involved'* (p. 4). Ka Hikitia (2013) extols *'the role of education is to nurture every child's potential and to support their educational success'* (p. 4). Ten years on since the first Māori Education Strategy, Ka Hikitia was introduced, the promise of a step change, a rapid improvement in outcomes for Māori has not materialised.

The recent review of Tomorrows Schools *Our Schooling Futures: Stronger Together* (2018) highlights the continuing disadvantage and marginalisation experienced in schools by some children. *'Students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to succeed particularly those who are also Māori, Pacific, new migrants, refugees, or who have additional learning needs.* (p. 28). And even though educational researchers such as Bishop & Glynn (1999), Alton-Lee, Nuthall and Patrick (1987) and Johnston (1998) to name a few, have clearly identified the on-going racism supported by an embedded colonial system from as long as 30 years ago, the unequal outcomes continue. Clearly, the assimilation policies of the past are still in operation today as well as, one could argue, a two-tiered education system based on the native schooling policies of the past.

The common deficit discourses that are used to explain the unequal outcomes for children in schools, masks the embedded racism and very real traumatic impacts on children's developing identities delivered via the education system. The racial divide or binary positioning of Māori and Pākehā I believe perpetuates the problem as well where the issues of unequal outcomes are framed in

competition with each other. Te reo Māori is critical for the development and wellbeing of Māori children and their identity. It should be a given that all children in New Zealand schools are able to learn te reo Māori but particularly for children of dual cultural heritage it is a must.

Focussing solely on the symptoms of an education system that is delivering unequal outcomes for its people will never successfully address the underlying causes once and for all. Entertaining the expressions of deficit theorising of whānau and their children who are not experiencing success at school, causes the systemic racism to remain active and the cumulative impact of this system to remain unaddressed. The masking of the impact of the cultural bomb is possible because of the silence of the children and whānau of dual cultural heritage as they struggle to make the best of their individual experiences without knowing it is not their fault. Dual cultural heritage children are currently invisible and unheard; if they speak at all it appears that they must choose one voice, Māori or Pākehā.

The intergenerational impact and trauma of these historical policies remain unaddressed even though our education system is now awash with rhetoric and good intentions. A systemic response is required that addresses the embedded racism and hegemonic beliefs of Pākehā superiority. Through the state sanctioned and legally enforced education of Māori children in English medium schools, children and their whānau have experienced on-going marginalisation, cultural and language denial and abuse. They have also experienced deliberate exclusion from positive identity experiences and genuine pathways to success. That this is still a feature of our education system in 2018 is not acceptable.

Conclusion

This research has been both immensely rewarding and incredibly challenging from a personal point of view. When I first conceived of this topic I was focused on capturing the lived realities and experiences of one whānau. I believed the stories would be interesting and might shed some light on the impact of school on identity. What I was not prepared for was the evidence of the devastation of

the cultural bomb (Ngũgĩ, 1981) that lay within these stories. The common themes of prejudice, discrimination, racism, and identity abuse, cultural and language denial supported by educational policy and enacted in schools laid out in a mosaic of trauma and intergenerational tragedy. This research was carried out to shine a light onto the historical and cultural realities and complexities of this whānau who have experienced marginalisation through education. The trauma of shame and loneliness that these hidden experiences had created have begun to be released with the telling. My own schooling stories share many similarities with the stories of this whānau and so I have also experienced understanding and healing through participating in this study.

My hope for my mokopuna and for all of our children in Aotearoa, New Zealand is that they can experience an education that is filled with joy and happiness, learning and growth, where they receive the education that is promised to them on the foundation of the Treaty of Waitangi as honourable Treaty Partners and where their beautiful, complex and nuanced identities are celebrated and valued.

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Appendix A

Information sheet for participants

Through the Eyes of Whānau: School and Identity in Aotearoa, New Zealand

I am interested in exploring the significance and scope of the impact of schooling on Māori from the perspective of a whānau. I'm also interested in exploring the on-going impact over generations that the schooling experiences can have on a whānau and on the way they view themselves. With this in mind I propose to investigate the question - How did the schooling experiences influence identity, language and culture of one whānau over three generations?

This project is part of a Masters thesis being undertaken in the School of Education at the University of Waikato. This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education.

Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not you wish to participate in this research.

I would like to interview you relating to your childhood and schooling experiences and the impact these had on your identity, language and culture. If you are willing, I would like to digitally record these conversations to ensure that your stories are accurately reflected in the writing of them. I anticipate the interview would take up to an hour and a half. My intention is for this process to be flexible and responsive to you, so it may be shorter or longer depending on how you are feeling.

When not in use, the digital recording and any written material relevant to the recordings will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at my house or in my laptop which is password protected. As a research participant you will be provided with a copy of the recording. My supervisor will also have access to the recording. When the research project is completed, the recordings will either be destroyed or archived, depending on what you would like to happen.

As a research participant, you may wish to remain anonymous. If this is the case I will ensure all references within the writing, that could reveal your identity, be removed or changed.

My intention is to use the information collected during this research as the central data for my Masters thesis.

The interview will take place at a venue of your choosing. It is preferable to have a quiet space where we will be uninterrupted during the interview.

I hope that the interview will provide you with an enjoyable opportunity to share your stories and reflections with me of your childhood and schooling. I will provide you with some questions prior to the interview to help focus your thoughts, however the direction of the interview is in your hands. My intention is to ensure you feel as comfortable as possible while we talk. You are free to refuse to answer any questions that I may ask during the interview that you do not wish to answer. You are most welcome to have a support person with you during the interview if you would like.

During the interview there may be ideas or questions raised that we could explore further. We may decide to have a further meeting, if you feel that you would like to do this, but you are not obliged in any way to do this if you don't want to.

If you agree to participate in this research, you have the following rights:

-to terminate the process at any time

-to request clarification or ask questions of the researcher and/or supervisor at any time

-to remain anonymous if you wish

- to rely on the University of Waikato's school of Education Human Research Ethics Committee (Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, 3204, soe-ethics@waikato.ac.nz) to handle any complaints or concerns that you may have.

I will contact you in the next couple of weeks to see if you might be willing to participate in this research. If so, we can then discuss the next steps in detail. In the meantime, if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me- raewyn.ngaamo@waikato.ac.nz 02102914954

Appendix B

Consent form

81 Windridge Lane

RD4 Katikati

Please sign this form to protect your privacy and interests

NAME OF PROJECT:

Through the Eyes of Whānau: School and Identity in Aotearoa, New Zealand

FULL NAME OF INTERVIEWEE:

_____

ADDRESS OF INTERVIEWEE:

_____

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

_____

INTERVIEWER: Raewyn Ngaamo

1. PLACEMENT

I, _____ of _____ born on _____ agree that the digital recording of my interview and accompanying material will be held in a locked filing cabinet in the home of the interviewer, Raewyn Ngaamo, during the course of the project. On completion of the project I require that the recording be archived, or destroyed, subject to the conditions I have indicated in

section 4 of this consent form.

2. ACCESS

I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be made available to the researchers, and will be archived in the following location, 81 Windridge Lane RD4 Katikati, subject to the conditions I have indicated in section 4 of this consent form.

3. PUBLICATION

I agree that the recording of my interview and accompanying material may be quoted or shown in full or in part in published work and/or broadcasts, subject to the conditions I have indicated in section 4 of this form.

4. RESTRICTIONS

a) No access is allowed to the recording/s of my interview and the recording/s are not to be quoted in full or in part, without my prior written permission.

YES NO (Please circle your choice)

b) I wish to remain anonymous and any information that may identify me be excluded from any published work and/or broadcast resulting from the interview.

YES NO (Please circle your choice)

If the answer to 4 b) was YES: It has been explained to me that it may not be possible to guarantee my anonymity and I am satisfied with the interviewer's explanation of what she will do to try and secure my confidentiality.

YES NO (Please circle your choice) I require that the interview recording be archived at the archive of my choosing (identified in section 2) on completion of the project.

YES NO (Please circle your choice)

I require that the interview recording and copies be destroyed on completion of the project.

YES NO (Please circle your choice)

5. PRIVACY ACT

I understand that under the terms of the Privacy Act 1993 I may have access to this interview and request amendment of any information about me contained within it.

6. COPYRIGHT

Copyright in recordings and accompanying material generated by this project is held jointly by the research participants.

7. COMMENTS

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Interviewee: ---------------------------------------Date: --------------------

Interviewer:_____ Date: _____

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Committee, postal address: Human Research Ethics Committee, School of Education, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, 3240.

Appendix C

Proposed interview questions

- How did the schooling experiences influence identity, language and culture of one whānau through three generations?
- What is identity and what does it have to do with education?
- What impact did the educational policies have on the educational experiences of one whānau?
- What are the intergenerational impacts of schooling on one whānau?

The focus questions I propose to ask the participants will be:

- How would you describe your identity? Your language? Your culture?
- How did school impact on your growing sense of identity, language and culture?
- What did your whānau believe about school?
- What key messages did you receive from them about education?