Coming Home: Reclaiming My Māori Identity

By

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Abstract

Māori identity is complex and relational. It has been shaped by historical events and societal perceptions of what it means to identity as Māori. Through the colonisation process, based on assimilation of Māori, those of Māori ancestry were forced to abandon their Māori identity in order to be accepted in Pākehā society. These forces have had a significant impact on generations of Māori people, who have experienced confusion, guilt and uncertainty when they discover their Māori ancestry, and want to explore and learn about their Māori identity.

Using the principles of Kaupapa Māori research, together with narrative and autoethnographic research methods, I have explored these forces through my personal story, my family history, and the stories of others. Original narratives have offered a way to articulate how a person like me, who is Māori by whakapapa only, can fulfil professional obligations as a teacher whilst reclaiming Māori identity.

The journey towards identifying as Māori has always required a process of adaptation. Māori ethnicity is often assessed by physical characteristics, someone's name, and/or by the cultural knowledge a person holds. But these are not accurate characteristics of Māori identity, and exclude a significant portion of those who are Māori by ancestry. Negative depictions of Māori have been widely portrayed in social discourse and through the media. These negative images have deeply influenced the psyche of both Māori and Pākehā. These negative stereotypes of Māori inherently deprive a person of their birth right to identify as Māori, and to reclaim that identity, which has been lost as a result of denial by past generations, or the personal choice to abandon one's Māori ancestry.

The education system is currently making efforts to overcome the negative impact of those past racist practices for today's generations of Māori children. In this milieu, the work of reclaiming and learning about one's Māori identity is of particular relevance and importance for a teacher.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the Acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: *Date:* 11 October 2022

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Cushla Vague

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Ki te kotahi te kakaho ka whati. Ki te kāpuia e kore e whati.

Alone we can be broken. Standing together, we are invincible.

Chapter One: A Journey of Māori Identity

In my thirties, I began studying towards my Bachelor of Education degree at AUT to become an early childhood teacher. In my first year, one of my papers required me to present my pepeha, or mihi (cultural introduction – these two words were used interchangeably in that setting), to the class. I reached out to my cousins, who I considered the experts in knowing about our family's Māori heritage for our pepeha. This was the first opportunity I had to verbally speak my pepeha to other people and, in fact, to myself.

This experience was the turning point for me, and my connection to my Māori heritage and identity. The feeling this gave me was something like a spiritual experience. Suddenly, everything made sense, felt right and I had a burning desire to find out more. I remember a feeling of mana, speaking to and on behalf of my tīpuna. I felt Māori, I felt connected, I felt like I was coming home.

Documented struggles to identify as Māori

In recent times, many people of mixed Māori/Pākehā descent struggle to identify, connect or find refuge in either Māori or Pākehā identities in societies that continue to perceive hybrid or mixed ethnic identity as inferior and different (Webber, 2008). The following accounts of people's experiences in relation to trans-ethnic and suppressed Māori identity share themes of confusion, shame, guilt, sadness and lost identity. These are good examples of the attitudes and perceptions people hold for themselves and for others in regards to (debated) Māori identity, and what it means to be Māori.

Fiona Cram (1994) recalls her experiences growing up and describes being raised as Pākehā in a large working class family who all "looked" white, therefore she believed she was white. She recalls feeling confused when she saw her Māori cousins at a family event and questioning her Pākehā identity. Cram remembers a photo that sat on the mantlepiece of a beautiful Māori woman and a handsome Irish man, whom were apparently her father's parents, and how this photo was a bit of a shock to other family members. This promoted her to question whether her mother knew that she was marrying a Māori? Her father spoke some te reo Māori to an old Māori woman who came to buy plants and vegetables. Her father never spoke te reo in their

home and Cram described the language as 'foreign', where no explanation was given as to how or why he spoke the language. She recalls having a lot of questions for her father but being unsure whether his inability to answer was due to ignorance, or that he chose not to discuss the issue.

When Cram was required to fill out a school census, she questioned whether she could identify as Māori because she looked white and worried that the other children would laugh at her for identifying as an ethnicity that does not align with her physical appearance. Her younger sister however (who was stauncher and blonder than Cram) had no problem proudly claiming her heritage, even though no-one else in the family did. She talks about the Pākehā guilt she felt, where at a family reunion she saw a medal displayed that belonged to a Pākehā antecedent of hers (on her mother's side) who had 'proudly' fought in the land wars. One relative referred to the wars as the 'Māori wars', which irritated Cram, so she corrected her. She recalls how that experience made her feel; how she wanted to tell the family that she didn't consider the award to be a great achievement, and she questioned whether she wanted to even know these people (Cram, 1994).

As an adult, Cram proudly accepts the truth of being a 'born again' Māori, which she believes is meant as an insult. She acknowledges that there is work to be done on her whakapapa with a lot of questions to be answered. Cram feels "proud to be pinned down and to be of use, to lose the elusive whiteness that seemed too handy to give up" (p. 23). She has gone on to battle for Māori initiatives but still struggles in Māori contexts, feeling shy, red-faced and tongue-tied when doing her mihi, and feeling the need to explain that she is in fact Māori even though she looks Pākehā. She also battled with decisions regarding her own child, wanting him to attend kōhanga reo, but unsure if she would be any use as a parent/teacher if he did. She wanted her son to know that he was Māori, but felt cautious about how society would receive him when he grew up. There was an internal struggle happening for Cram: do what you know is the right thing to do in your heart, or be influenced by the anti-Māori messages prevalent in society and in everyday discourse.

Jon Warren (1994, p.28) also talks about feeling confused about her identity. "The truth was, I didn't know who I was. But there was always someone willing to tell me". Warren's mother was of Māori descent and she recalls her grandfather's feelings towards her grandmothers heritage. As an eight-year-old child, Warren asked her grandfather why he had married her grandmother, since he hated Māori so much, he replied that he had married his Māori princess.

A family member revealed to Warren that her grandfather had married her grandmother for her land, which displayed a large sign saying 'Maoris will be shot on sight!', leaving Warren to question whether that included his own children who had supplied free labour and assisted him to amass his wealth (Warren, 1994).

Makere Stewart-Harawira (1998) recounts how she questioned whether as a fair-skinned and blue-eyed person, who was unsure of her whakapapa, she had the right to claim being Māori, and speak as Māori. Her maternal great-grandfather had succumbed to changing his name in an effort to bury his Māori ancestry. There were no records of his wife but she was also believed to be Māori. Colonisation had succeeded in assimilating her forebearers into the European population, so consequently the connection to their Māori heritage was lost for future generations. Moreover, Stewart-Harawira has had her Māori ethnicity questioned, as rumours circulated in academic circles for many years, claiming her Māori identity was invented (Stewart-Harawira, 1998). One accuser of Stewart-Harawira's 'fake' identity claimed that in previous decades, Stewart-Harawira had 'presented' herself as Pākehā, and her parents were also 'known' as Pākehā, even though this would have been indicative of a family who had denied a Māori ancestor in previous generations (Stewart & Stewart-Harawira, 2020). Stewart-Harawira's journey to reclaim her Māori identity was difficult, where she had found it hard to survive in either world. But despite her siblings not wanting to acknowledge their Māori ancestry, her Pākehā upbringing and genetic determination, Stewart-Harawira followed her soul's cry and own inner sense of being Māori to quieten her struggle within and come to a place of peace.

Reina Whaitiri (1992) echoes this attitude towards identifying as Māori, as when she declared her Māori identity to friends she was scoffed at. It was argued that because her education, language, and history was Pākehā, she had no right to claim to be Māori. On the other hand, Whaitiri recalls her experiences at school where she was constantly picked on by her elocution teacher, expected to be able to pronounce her vowels correctly because she was Māori. Māori identity gave her the status of the 'token Māori' at her religious boarding school. She was often singled out and proudly used as the 'Māori face' to visitors. What being Māori meant to her fellow students who knew very little about Māori history, culture, language, and presumably the true histories of Aotearoa New Zealand, was related to Hone Heke. 'Hone Heke' was Whaitiri's nickname at school, used in a derogatory way to single her out and make fun of her,

which continued for many years until there was someone new, who was 'different,' for them to pick on.

Reina's birthname on her birth certificate is Reina Ann Waitiri-Lloyd. Her mother dropped the 'h' from their surname; it is unclear why, but presumably that Waitiri is easier to spell and pronounce. The hyphenated surname 'Waitiri-Lloyd' tells of a sad story. For many years during the depression, Reina's father had worked for, and lived with, a Pākehā family (the Lloyd family), who treated him cruelly. The tagging of their name onto his was the same tactic White Americans used with their slaves to identify their 'possessions' (Whaitiri, 1992).

Research question

The point of presenting the above testimonies is that families suppressing their Māori heritage has been exceedingly common in past generations in this country, to the point that losing knowledge of one's connections to one's Māori ancestors has been part and parcel of what it means to be Māori today.

This research is guided by the question: **How can a person who is Māori only by whakapapa reclaim a connection to their suppressed identity, and what are the implications when the person is a teacher?**

Inherent within this question are the following sub-questions:

- What does it mean to identify as Māori 'by whakapapa only'?
- What does it mean to reclaim the right to identify as Māori?
- Why is this a matter of concern for a person who is a teacher?

This research is 'auto-research' which means drawing on my own life and experience as one source of data for analysis. The identity of the researcher is always of relevance in Māori research, and this rule also applies in auto-research. The next two sections introduce me as the researcher, first in relation to my family history, and second in an account of my personal history as a Māori.

Losing and finding Māori identity in my family history

Inā kei te mōhio koe ko wai koe, i anga mai koe i hea

Kei te mōhio koe kei te anga atu ki hea

If you know who you are and where you are from

You will know where you are going

My grandmother, Emily Rose, was born just prior to the start of WWI in 1914, in the rural Taranaki town of Waitara in Aotearoa New Zealand. She was the youngest of five children born to parents Stella and William Rose. Waitara is the whenua of Emily's hapū, Ngāti Rahiri, which is nestled amongst the wider region of Taranaki, the whenua of her iwi, Te Āti Awa. William and Stella lived on fairly large dairy farm which William worked and Stella and the children helped where they could. William was of British descent, and Stella was from both Māori and Pākehā ancestry.

Figure 1: Family Photographs

Stella Stockman

Jeffrey Garland and Emily Rose

Stella's whakapapa goes back to Paoro, a chief of Te Āti Awa (who was her great, great, great Grandfather), the father of Te Waikau-Angarangi (Waikaungarangi). Te Waikau-Angarangi married Te Mahuta Ngāti Tahiti and had daughter Toumairangi Te Kakati (Emma) (b:1824). Toumairangi Te Kakati married Edward Stockman (b:1815) and they had three children, two daughters and a son. Their son Hori Tukimana te Mahota (George Stockman) (b:1839) actively advocated for the Government to compensate Māori for the unlawful confiscation of their land during the land wars in 1885 (see section below). Hori played an important role on behalf of the Crown during the land wars as a front line interpreter, risking his life on multiple occasions. He maintained that he and his hapū were treated unfairly during that time and wrote to the government to articulate his concerns. Hori Tukimana te Mahota married Jane Reddy (b:1839) and they went on to have seven children. Their son Edward Stockman (b:1859) married Emily George, and Stella was one of their children.

Sadly Stella passed away, either during childbirth or of tuberculosis around 1915 when Emily was a toddler, leaving William to raise their five children alone. The details around Stella's death is unclear as 'things like that' were not often talked about within the family back then (especially to children). This was not an easy time for the family, especially during the war, but William did his best to provide for his children and give them a good life. This resulted in Emily being co-raised by her maternal grandmother, also named Emily. Emily recalls doing the mail run with her grandmother as a young child and having to walk for miles each day to deliver letters to the rural community. William ended up returning to England with his eldest daughter to visit family after Stella's death. Emily and her siblings grew up knowing very little, or nothing, about their Māori heritage. They may have not even known that they whakapapa Māori. And with the passing of their mother who was the only living connection to their whakapapa, the lineage was lost. It is uncertain when Emily realised her Māori heritage, but it is assumed it was sometime in her adult years.

As a young adult, Emily met and married Jeffrey Garland, a vivacious, horse-mad, hardworking family man, who had a contagious belly laugh. Family was everything to Emily and Jeff. They met in Cambridge and went on to have five living children and one still-born baby. They moved from Cambridge to Waihi in the 1950s, where Jeffrey farmed for a living. Their children enjoyed their childhood living on the farm. They loved riding horses, helping Jeff and Emily out on the farm and having the freedom to explore in nature. Living on the farm was also hard

work and meant that the children were given responsibilities at a young age to ensure the household ran smoothly.

Eventually Emily and Jeff moved to Whitianga to help their son on his dairy farm. Together with their other grandchildren, I have fond memories of this place, where we spent many Christmases, school holidays and weekends with our grandparents over the years. The farm house was quaint and homely, while the property provided unlimited opportunities for us to explore and play in nature. The old hay barn was a favourite spot for us cousins to meet and play. Both Emily and Jeff were passionate gardeners; Jeff had an impressive vege patch which he tended to on a daily basis. He was very proud of his crop, which always supplied an abundance of vegetables to feed themselves and any visiting whānau. Emily and Jeff's grandchildren have wonderful memories of their grandparents' gardens; the vege patch was a peaceful place where many conversations, laughter, story telling and learning took place. Their grandchildren loved to help harvest the vegetables in the garden which would be prepared for their dinner that evening. Emily was passionate about her roses and other species of flowers. She looked after them with consistent love and care, much like she did with her family, therefore there were always beautiful flowers surrounding the farm house which we grandchildren admired.

Emily was a beautiful woman, strong, resilient, kind and caring with a wonderful sense of humour. Emily had a strong connection to the whenua (land) and nature. Working and living on the whenua was in her DNA; it was a primal, innate calling and where she felt her happiest. This connection meant that Emily was self-sufficient, hard working and a problem solver. She was honest, even if honesty meant you didn't always hear what you wanted to! Although she could 'pass' as Pākehā, her brown eyes, dark hair, soft, unlined olive skin reflected her Māori heritage. But Emily never openly spoke about the fact that she was Māori.

Emily's children (my mother and her siblings) recall teasing one of their brothers by calling him 'Māori boy' (because he looked Māori) and being scolded by Emily to 'stop that nonsense'. Another memory they have is when they lived near a marae, they could hear the wailing of the women grieving at a tangi (funeral). They recall Emily scoffing and saying it was 'unnecessary'. Emily also received financial dividends for iwi land in Taranaki. She thought that was 'silly' and didn't appear to understand the significance of the compensation. Emily's children grew up knowing nothing of their whakapapa and were adults themselves

before they were told about their 'underground' heritage. When Emily's youngest child found out that she was of Māori descent, she asked her then-husband if he would 'still love her?'

The reconnection with their whakapapa and tīpuna came about in the next generation (that is, my generation), when some of Emily's grandchildren wanted to embrace their Māori heritage and learn more about their iwi/hapū and where they had come from. For different reasons that were personal to each individual, some of her grandchildren researched their whakapapa, learned te reo Māori, educated their children through Māori immersion schools, self-identified as Māori and lived within te ao Māori, with a Māori worldview. Some of us have made connections with our hapū, and have visited them in Taranaki, in hopes of repairing and reclaiming their lost Māori lineage. This journey has been an emotional rollercoaster, in which individuals have experienced feelings of mana, connection, guilt, isolation and questioning whether they are Māori enough. Emily didn't say much about what she thought of the family's Māori identity renaissance, but if Emily didn't say anything, she must have felt okay about it.

Emily passed away in 2006 at 94 years of age. Her body was returned to her eldest daughter's home, where her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren gathered and mourned her, just like at a tangi. Around Emily's body, our family laughed, cried and reminisced about her life and their life with her. We all stayed together, like in a marae, until it was time to bury Emily with her beloved husband Jeffrey who had passed away in 1993. Since Emily's passing, myself and two of her other granddaughters have embarked on research at Masters and doctoral level, exploring Māori topics related to our own fields of study. Another granddaughter has spent much of her adult life working in Māori theatre to tell our stories and is now an Editor in Chief of a New Zealand magazine that promotes aspects of te ao Māori.

Hori Tukimana te Mahota's letter

My great, great, great grandfather Hori Tukimana te Mahota (George Stockman) wrote a letter on the 31st August 1885 to the New Zealand government, addressing his concerns (and the concerns of others) about the condescending treatment and inadequate compensation offered by the government for the unconsented land confiscated from Ngāti Rahiri during the New Zealand land wars. A re-typed version of this letter is shown below in Figure 2 (on page 14). Hori's mana was demonstrated through his protest and fight to have the injury and loss that was experienced by himself, and our people acknowledged. To this day, grievances still exist

around land loss and the loss of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination/sovereignty) over hapū affairs and all things considered taonga by Ngāti Rahiri and other iwi/hapū across Aotearoa New Zealand.

In his letter, Hori wrote about how the land confiscation had forced him and our people to leave homesteads, gardens, orchards and cultivations so the military could occupy the land for the purpose of fighting 'rebel natives'. This would have been incredibly traumatic, especially from a te ao Māori perspective, as the people and the whenua are inter-connected. Hori articulated how he had fought on the frontline on behalf of the government, that he was an ally of the government and acted as an interpreter, putting his life at risk many times. These efforts appeared to go under-appreciated, and the agreement about the lease of the land was breached by (in his words) a tyrannical government. Hori also challenged the government's agenda by questioning whether the people of Ngāti Rahiri were considered British subjects, as he felt they were treated as aliens and bad people, who were taken advantage of at every opportunity.

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Ko tōu reo, ko tōku reo,

Te tuakiri tangata,

Tīhei uriuri,

Tīhei nakonako

Your voice and my voice

are expressions of identity

May our descendants live on,

And our hopes be fulfilled.

</div>

My Journey

Some say there is great significance in the period you were born, in relation to the purpose of your existence, your life work and lessons to be learned in this lifetime. I was born in Waihi, a small rural town located in the Hauraki District in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The year was 1975, which was a pivotal time in history both domestically and globally. 1975 saw the end of the Vietnam war. The land hīkoi took place, where protestors marched from Cape Reinga to Wellington, and the Waitangi Tribunal was established. I believe in the

significance of what was happening in the world at the time I was born in the context of my own life journey.

I was the seventh child born into a Pākehā, middle class blended family of eight children. My father was a jack of all trades, he was innovative, great with his hands and loved cars (racing and fixing them) and every sport imaginable. My mother also had a variety of jobs ranging from a sales clerk at our local pharmacy to a bar maid at the Waihi RSA. Mum sewed most of our clothes, cooked a great roast on Sunday for dinner and always picked us up from school when she could. As a child, I felt like my mum was around for us kids; she was my netball coach and all-round supporter of my extra curricular activities (which were many!) Although there were eight siblings, I grew up with only three siblings at home. My four older sisters had all left home by the time I reached an age of self-awareness, with two of them living overseas for most of my life.

Growing up in the 1970s and 1980s was an interesting time in the context of race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. I have no recollection of segregation, but I do remember the way in which Māori were portrayed in mainstream society. I remember lots of Māori families living in state houses in my area, who appeared to not be as well off as we were. I remember anti Māori messages being casually tossed around in the form of jokes, metaphoric sayings (such as "that's a Māori job", or "having a Māori day off" etc) and in general societal discourse. Billy T. James was a prominent public figure at the time, the humour in his comedy show almost reinforced those negative national stereotypes of Māori, and condoned this type of thinking. I remember hearing comments along the lines of "if they take the mickey out of themselves (meaning Māori), then who cares who does?" As a child, I recall that collectively those messages that I received, placed Māori in a negative and inferior position in relation to Pākehā.

I can't remember exactly how old I was when I discovered that I was of Māori descent, but I would say around eight years of age. I was quite proud of this fact and of course the burning question for me and for others, what was my blood quantum, how much Māori blood did I have in me? After some 'loose' research, (which involved identifying the 'real' Māori in our family and then working our way back down the lineage) the answer appeared to be....not much at all! In fact, the amount of Māori blood that I 'had in me' seemed insignificant, because our society said so. Everyone was concerned with the percentage of Māori blood one claimed to have, in

relation to how valid their claim to this identity as Māori was. I recall feeling like my Māori heritage was 'just a fact', there was no connection to who I was and my Māori heritage.

Me: I have Māori blood in me.

Friend: How much do you have in you?

Me: My great grandma was half-caste.

Friend: That means that you don't have much then, so you're not really Māori.

  - *Yeah, they are right. I'm not really Māori.*

In my early adult years, around nineteen years of age, I began observing my cousins embracing te ao Māori, te reo Māori and acknowledging our whakapapa. Some of them went on to learn te reo Māori and sent their children to Māori immersion early childhood centres and schools. I admired, what seemed at the time, their courage to embrace this culture, our culture, that we were raised knowing nothing about. It was around this time that I learned about our iwi and our hapū. Suddenly it felt as though there was some substance and legitimacy to my Māori identity.

It was not only the opportunity to present my pepeha that impacted my personal identity journey, through my education, I learned about the marginalisation of Māori, the suppression of culture, language and ways of knowing and being through colonisation. I also learned about how many Māori families abandoned their Māori heritage, to take on the persona of being Pākehā and how those accounts and experiences had directly impacted my whānau/whakapapa and our loss of Māori identity. This is where my concerns for Māori issues developed and my passion to create change began. Through my experience as a teacher, I have also become aware of the way in which educational policies depict Māori learners. In my opinion, these policies are based on outdated Eurocentric ideologies that continue to perpetuate Māori as deficient and still refer to Māori as the 'other' in the context of educational outcomes. My responsibility as a teacher, a mother and now a grandmother, in relation to my own identity came into question.

Realising, accepting and pursuing to identify as Māori has not been an easy road. Not only has it been a challenging journey within myself in regards to me feeling confident to identify as Māori, it has also been a challenge in the way that society views my identity. I have blue eyes, blonde hair and fair skin, so I don't have the physical characteristics that are usually associated with being Māori. Because I was not raised as Māori, those who have known me throughout my life have known me as Pākehā, and I'm sure many would be surprised that I self-identify

as Māori. This is not to say that I have left behind my Pākehā identity, I whakapapa as both, it is who I am and where I come from.

I have also had some interesting and uncomfortable experiences in relation to my identity with people who have met me more recently. For example, during an appointment with a specialist Doctor at hospital, my Māori identity was questioned.

Doctor: Just having a look at your personal information … it says here on your ethnicity status that you are Māori?

Me: Yes, that's right?

Doctor: But you have blue eyes, blonde hair and fair skin? How can that be?

- *I feel uncomfortable. I feel as though I have to explain myself. What am I going to say? I feel like an imposter.*

Me: Well, you know how genetics work right? If you saw my mother, it would make sense to you.

Doctor: I would never have known by just looking at you.

- *Why do I have to explain my ethnicity to my doctor? I always feel like I have to explain my identity to people.*

Another example is from a postgraduate class setting:

Lecturer: "Class, please confirm your research topics with me so I can approve them. Please ensure they are an area of interest to you; the topic is narrowed down and that there is enough literature available on your chosen subject."

Me: "I would like to explore the topic of Māori identity, particularly around suppressed and trans-ethnic Māori identity."

Lecturer: "Hmmm, you may have to do this research through a Pākehā lens, you have to be very careful not to be seen as researching Māori."

- *Although I don't look Māori, I whakapapa and identify as Māori, is that not enough?*

Me: "I don't want to be culturally insensitive, but although I was raised in a Pākehā world, I am a descendent of Te Āti Awa. I consider myself to be Māori as I whakapapa as Māori. But I question whether I am Māori enough?"

Lecturer: "You are wise to be wary and sensitive about your topic."

- *I don't feel my identity is validated. Will I be viewed as an imposter? Am I stepping over the line? I just need someone to tell me it is ok for me to say I am Māori!*

Me: "I would really like to take the Pākehā lens out of the research and do it through a Māori lens. I am not just Pākehā, I am Māori too"

Lecturer: "This is very controversial work; you have to be prepared for that"

- *They don't see me as Māori. I am out of my depth. Do I have the right to undertake this kind of research? What business does a blue eyed, blonde and fair skinned woman have identifying as Māori? I wasn't raised as Māori, I'm an imposter.*

The above sections have introduced my quest to learn about and reclaim my personal identity as Māori, which became the question that guides this research. In what follows, I will continue to pursue this question through close readings of relevant literature, as well as through narrative writing. To complete this chapter, the section below gives a brief overview of the dissertation chapters.

Dissertation chapter overview

This chapter has introduced the reader to the researcher, the research and something of the social and educational milieu. Chapter Two explains the methodology used to complete the research. Chapter Three presents the results of investigating this research question through the literature. Chapter Four turns to narrative writing to explain how being Māori comes into my role as an educator in a Kindergarten. Chapter Five brings together all of the information to reflect on and answer the research question, and Chapter Six reflects on the significance of this work.

Figure 2: Copy of the letter written by Hori Tukimana Te Mahota in 1885

Letter from Tukimana Te Mahota to the Government

In 1885 Hori Tukimana te Mahota (George Stockman) wrote to the Government. His letter exemplifies the fact that Ngati Rahiri has never been treated in a fair, just and legal manner when it came to issues with our land. He asks by what authority the management of their lands was taken from them. What he wrote is as follows:

*NOTE: it is as written

'Waihi Waitara
Aug 31st 1885

Sir

Mr Rennel Govt Agent here is calling for tenders for 2000 chains of fencing on the Waihi block near Waitara. And the newspaper states that the expense is to come out of a sum of £4000 offered by the Govt as compensation for land taken for military purposes at Tikorangi. I state for your information that, I, on the part of myself and others concerned protested and still protest against accepting any such amount as we consider it to be very insufficient to compensate us all for the injury and loss we have suffered from the land being taken from us, and the length of time we have been unjustly kept out our lands.

And even now we are being treated as mere children in not being permitted to lease and manage our own affairs, but must be saddled with an Agent who has leased the land for 30 years where as our Crown Grant states that it will not be leased for more than 21 years. Is the Crown Grant waste paper or a legal document.

The land was taken without our consent, and no adequate compensation offered. We were compelled in 1863 to leave homesteads, gardens, orchards, cultivations and that the military might occupy them for movement against the rebel natives and against whom we were allies of the Govt. I fought on the part of the Govt all through the war and when our services were deemed of great consequence. For my own part I was at the front the whole time as interpreter to the forces and risked my life repeatedly. But it appears to myself and friends that we should have been much better treated with every consideration. Whilst we are domineered over in a tyrannical fashion. I often ask myself and now I ask you, are we British subjects or are we not – if we are, then why are we not treated as such, but as Aliens and bad people whom it is just and proper to maltreat and rob in every way and upon every occasion.

We have had a meeting and have determined if justice is not to be obtained from Govt, either by arbitration or otherwise that we shall appeal to the Supreme Court to test the power of the Govt to do as they like with our property – And give us any small claim the may choose as compensation for robbing us of our lands in a way most disgraceful to be boasted honor and justice of the English laws.

We are prepared to leave the matter of Compensation to Arbitration, But it must be settled soon or we will expose to the world in a Supreme Court and if necessary by an Appeal to the Queen of England the nefarious proceedings of the New Zealand Govts.

During the war when Sir George Grey was the Governor he issued proclamations and orders in Council, promising that all land taken for Military purposes, should be fairly paid for but this has never been done.

I am requested to ask you by what authority the management of our lands is taken from us. And of what fund is the money coming to pay for the purpose of fencing. I wish you to understand, that even if the amount of compensation was finally settled, that, all the

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members of the Ngatirahiri tribe are not entitled to a portion of it. As they did not all have land taken from them. And this the Govt do not enquire into, and therefore act unjustly to those who have sustained a loss of land by treating all alike.

It is as though you had received £1000 for some loss purely your own, but some Wiseacre determines without consulting you that you must share with your relatives – how would you like that – and if you estimated your loss fairly at £10,000 a govt without asking you, arbitrarily fixed upon £1000. Would you be aggrieved and consider you had been unjustly dealt with. OR would you think it was pure English justice and fair play – Well that is our Case. Only you never fought and endangered your life, in fighting in their hour of need for the people who now feel it is meting out even handed justice, to in the most heartless and shameless manner rob these very people of their lands, and give them any paltry sum they like after more than 20 years delay. The above is only part of our land grievances – there are other matters that must come to the surface before long. We wish you to enlighten us as to the power of the Govt re the Waihi block…

Hoping you will excuse this long letter.
I am yours truly,

(signed) George Stockman'

Chapter Two: Methodology

Methodology for educational research sets out the methods used for collecting and analysing data and the theoretical basis on which those methods can enable new insights to be gained about the educational questions being asked (Newby, 2014). Educational research methodology has developed forms that are not restricted to collecting data through quantitative methods involving measurement and statistics. Education is concerned with human growth and flourishing, which depends on a person's understanding of themselves and their experiences. In relation to the aims of this research project, I have chosen to use Kaupapa Māori theories and post-qualitative methods, including auto-research and writing, as explained in the sections below.

Research Framework

Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) methodology aligns with my worldview and places Māori interests at the centre of the research. KMR is informed by critical theory perspectives as one of its antecedents (Jackson, 2015; Smith, 2017) and both KMR and critical theory aim through research to transform the lives of people in oppressed sections of society. Both KMR and critical theory perspectives provide innovative ways of understanding how education can be transformed to improve outcomes for marginalised groups (Smith, 2017). KMR was developed as part of a wider Māori movement that challenged Western ideologies of culture, knowledge and research (Walker et al., 2006), therefore KMR challenges the ideology that social science research is 'neutral' as an analytical approach that deals with objective facts. KMR challenges Eurocentrism and universalism in education through pursuing research that not only explains phenomena, but also seeks to create positive change for Māori (Newby, 2014; Stewart, 2021c).

KMR can be expressed through three principles, the first of which is that Kaupapa Māori is about being Māori. This principle normalises identifying as Māori, so Māori are no longer the 'other' (Stewart, 2017). The second principle values Māori language (te reo), Māori knowledge (mātauranga) and Māori perspectives (tirohanga Māori). Moreover, "this principle resists and counters Eurocentric ideologies about language and knowledge that exert invisible influence in schools, professions, and the academy" (Stewart, 2017, p. 114). The third principle involves the Māori struggle for autonomy over their/our own cultural well-being (Jackson, 2015; Smith,

2012). These three principles provide a simple but robust framework for my research on the impact of colonisation on Māori identity, which was designed to assimilate the colonised indigenous peoples through systematic and brutal processes of denying Māori culture, language, and ways of knowing and being (Smith, 2012). These processes have influenced the way Māori identity has changed over time, leading to loss of heritage and connection to culture and self-identity. Therefore, the inclusion of Kaupapa Māori theory is essential for Māori to realise their full potential as Māori and to support ongoing transformation of Māori identity.

Use of te reo Māori in this dissertation

Te reo Māori (the Māori language) is an important dimension of Māori identity, and in this research I have incorporated Māori text in two forms. Firstly, it would be nearly impossible to write this dissertation without the use of Māori words. I have chosen to place Māori words in normal text to signal that te reo Māori is normal and accepted, and not foreign or different. Māori words are explained or translated in brackets on first appearance, and are also included in the Glossary at the end of the final chapter (on page 54). I have also included several whakataukī, or proverbial Māori sayings, at key points in the narrative. I have used whakataukī that are available in online and other general sources, choosing ones that are relevant to the information being shared, to bring Māori wisdom forward more strongly in my writing.

Research Methods

My overall research approach can be described as a Māori lens on 'writing as a method of inquiry' as described by Stewart (2021c), which is a useful way to learn about myself and my research topic (Richardson & St Pierre, 2008). I have incorporated a range of non-empirical qualitative data sources to help me focus and reflect on the phenomena of supressed and trans-ethnic Māori identities, drawing on existing research, my personal experiences, and my observations of the experiences of others and the society in which I live (Dan, 2018; Stewart, 2020).

Poststructuralism connects subjectivity, language, power and social organisation. Moreover, language is understood as the medium that generates social reality and *produces* meaning, rather than *reflecting* social reality (Richardson & St Pierre, 2008). Therefore, the aim of this research is to use language to reclaim power, construct knowledge and gain deeper understanding of Māori identity, which constructs one's subjectivity, using a method that is

locally and historically specific. The use of the methods above will help to allow the voices of those who whakapapa Māori to be heard, and empower people to reclaim their suppressed Māori identity. Drawing on poststructuralist concepts and post-qualitative inquiry, I have combined two main approaches: critical literature review, and narrative research.

Critical Literature Review

While research often privileges scientific methods of data collection (quantitative), this research challenges this typical view of research methods, and advocates that a literature review is a valid form of research. This research is motivated by a strong interest in the philosophy and theory of Māori identity, therefore a body of research texts have been collected and used to advance the understanding of Māori identity through critical reading and analysis of a body of literature (Stewart, 2021c). This method of research illustrated the research milieu, and comprehensively investigated the research question through the reviewed literature.

There is a multitude of research relating to Māori identity and the complex issues associated with colonisation that have, and continue to, impact this phenomenon, including those references used in this dissertation. My research question raises the issues related to the complexities of Māori identity and challenges how the propagation of misinformation around our national histories, education and 'who can' identify as Māori has affected the construction of Māori identity.

Autoethnographic Narratives

In addition to a critical literature review, I have included autoethnographic narratives as a component of non-empirical qualitative data. Language and writing is an organic force, that creates a particular view of self and reality (Richardson & St Pierre, 2008). These narratives tell my truth, how I understand myself and my identity based on my life experiences and the experiences of others in my family. The way in which others view my identity are included and how assumptions of others affect my self-perception. The narratives include accounts of how a person who identifies as Māori, who is Māori by whakapapa only, can include their identity within a professional capacity and how this is significant on a personal and professional level. This genre of research allows voices to be heard; my voice, and the voices of Māori communities that have been oppressed and distorted through research conducted within a Eurocentric paradigm (Stewart, 2021c).

The autoethnographic genre of research and writing presents numerous levels of consciousness that connects the individual to culture (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). This method of data gathering applies Kaupapa Māori principles by acknowledging the uniqueness of Māori identity, and places Māori issues at the centre of the research. Autoethnography is a self-study method that explores one's self in relation to others and their environment. This is important in relation to my research, as the way in which one perceives and feels about identifying as Māori is significantly based on life experiences, society and the contact and relationships with others.

Whakawhanaungatanga, which is the process of establishing relationships, is fundamental to te ao Māori. Autoethnographic narratives provide a unique opportunity for the reader to experience the position of the writer in a way that analytical writing cannot achieve. The reader is able to establish a sense of being able to relate to the writer, through an up close and personal experience provided in the narratives. Ellis & Bochner (2000) states that "the mode of storytelling is akin to the novel or biography and thus fractures the boundaries that normally separate social science from literature" (p. 744). Therefore, the reader becomes a co-participant in the narratives and is taken on the researcher's journey. This creates an emotional connection between the researcher and the reader via narratives "that create the effect of reality, showing characters embedded in the complexities of lived moments of struggle resisting the intrusions of chaos, disconnection, fragmentation, marginalization, and incoherence" (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 744).

Ethical considerations

Relational ethics is applicable to my research project. Relational ethics recognises the connectedness between the researcher and the researched (Ellis, 2007). Relational ethical considerations has been relevant while writing about my life and others in my stories, staying true to my character and being responsible for my actions and the consequences on others as I write my truth. As a researcher, I am bound to ethically act from my heart and mind, and to acknowledge and nurture the personal bonds I have with others. This was adhered to and respected throughout my research.

To prove the authenticity of research, autoethnographic writing as non-empirical method has its limitations, which is also applicable to KMR (Hoskins & Jones, 2017). This research intends to challenge these assumptions by adhering to the methods and methodology outlined in the research framework. This is to guarantee a high level of integrity, trustworthiness and fairness

throughout my research. A key element of Kaupapa Māori is the significance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and philosophies). This reflects the importance of legitimising and validating being Māori, ensuring the survival and revival of te reo Māori and Māori culture and giving Māori rangatiratanga (self-determination) over Māori cultural well-being. In a nutshell, KMR normalises being Māori, and creates space for Māori realities to exist within mainstream society.

This philosophical foundation underpins KMR and guides me to ensure that my research is tika, meaning to be true, correct, accurate, fair and just from the commencement of my research, right through to its completion. Māori researchers are obliged to authentically engage in research that encompasses traditional standards of ethics, of which are embedded in KMR. This research has been guided by the following Māori values that have been developed by Māori researchers; (Pipi et al., 2004)

- aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
- kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
- titiro, whakarongo … korero (look, listen … speak)
- manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- kia tūpato (be cautious)
- kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
- kia ngākau mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge) (p. 144).

Māori researchers carry with them, the responsibility of lifting and holding the mana of Māori. These seven KMR practices ensure that as a Māori researcher I am steered in the right direction to ensure I meet my responsibilities.

The next chapter presents the results of the Critical Literature Review strand of this research.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the research question concerning establishing connections to one's Māori identity through close readings of relevant educational research and policy literature. Each of the six sections below focuses on a different aspect of the Māori struggle to retain and reclaim their own identity as distinct from Pākehā. The first section investigates how the British settlers used the policy of assimilation to advance their colonising agenda against Māori. The next section focuses on how education and criminalisation were used as two important vehicles in colonisation. The third section examines the key role played by the Māori Battalion in WWII in helping Māori to become more accepted by Pākehā in the developing overall society of Aotearoa New Zealand, followed by a section looking at post-WWII Māori urban migration. The fifth section gives an account of Māori renaissance through education, and the final section focuses on recent recovery of once-lost Māori identities.

Colonial Ideologies and Fantasies of Assimilation

Since the 19th century British settlement and creation of New Zealand in Aotearoa, the relationship between Māori and Pākehā has been one based on power and subordination. The notion that Māori should be converted into what has been called 'Brown Britons' - British citizens - was key to assimilation policy (Thompson, 1963). Assimilation is founded on the false assumption that European culture is superior to that of Māori, and has been the driving force behind assimilating Māori into European ways of knowing and being. Eurocentric ideologies that prevailed at the time of British settlement during the 19th century were fundamentally constructed on a belief system around civilisation and race. Most of Europe at that time understood race in hierarchical terms that ranged from savage to civilised and inferior to superior (Simon, 1998). The British, in particular, regarded themselves as 'superior' citizens of civilisation and perceived that civilisation and Christianity were interconnected. Christian missionaries came to civilise Māori, which helped prepare the way for establishing British law in the fledgling colony. These core Eurocentric principles had an inevitable impact on Māori and Pākehā relationships and the construction of Māori identity during and after the annexation of Aotearoa and creation of New Zealand.

The history of Māori education reveals its value as an assimilation tool, a method of indoctrination in colonial Christian faith and as an mechanism of domestication of Indigenous Peoples (Pihama, 2019). The establishment of the Native Schools system in 1867 encouraged the abandonment of Māori language and cultural values in favour of colonial ideologies (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Simon & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2012). Fundamentally, the key principle behind an assimilationist paradigm is that it is educationally 'beneficial' for minority groups to be immersed into the dominant culture (Sullivan, 1994). This notion reinforces the ignorant view of cultural superiority held by the British settlers, and assumes that assimilation of Māori would necessitate the destruction of Māoritanga (Māori way of life) and groups where Māori identity was sustained (Thompson, 1963).

Gaps in cultural perspectives exist between Māori and Pākehā in modern day Aotearoa New Zealand. A foundation of these misunderstandings has derived from inaccurate accounts of social and historical reality, which have been circulated throughout schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand and in the media. These messages of propaganda have been used to create questionable ideas about Māori that have been swallowed and accepted as common-sense truths by Pākehā in a country that is considered to be racially harmonious, equitable and proudly regarded by many New Zealanders as having "the best race relations in the world" (Human Rights Commission, 2017). These anti-Māori statements embody the main ideas that reinforce a materialised hierarchical social binary, which is still projected in social discourse and in current national media (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2013; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019).

Colonial fantasies of assimilating Māori drew on the doctrines of Social Darwinism, which wrongly applied Darwin's then-new biological theory about species formation to homo sapiens to predict that Māori would 'die off' before the superior British. When it became apparent in the 1900s that Māori weren't dying off as expected, the argument was formed that inter-ethnic liaisons between Māori and Pākehā had 'saved' Māori, which meant that no full-blooded Māori existed anymore, therefore there is no distinctive or 'authentic' Māori population. This argument was designed to disestablish the grounds for Māori policy and in fact has reinforced the argument that Māori equity policies establish conditions for 'Māori privilege' that are unfair to Pākehā and other ethnic groups.

This idea has created powerful and contentious political arguments upheld by prominent political figures and leaders in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as Don Brash and his infamous

2004 speech at the Orewa Rotary Club (Stewart, 2020; Stewart, 2021b). Moreover, the power of 'fractions' or 'blood quantum' as a definition of being Māori, objectifies a person who does not physically 'look Māori' as they are often challenged when they identify as Māori (Stewart-Harawira, 1998). This is a colonial strategy to control indigenous populations and takes away a person's fundamental human right to self-identify their own ethnicity group of belonging.

In 2022 it would appear that the residues of colonial ideologies that were believed to be factual in the 19th century still linger. One might hope that over 30 years of critique by educational researchers of a colonial, patriarchal schooling system would have resulted in Māori education and philosophy based on Kaupapa Māori being recognised as legitimate and valid. Robust research exists that supports the claim that Kaupapa Māori education enhances Māori achievement and success. Yet there are academics who reinforce the Eurocentric idea that Māori language, culture, history and knowledge has no place in the New Zealand education system, and that Mātauranga Māori is putting areas of the curriculum such as science at risk (Pihama, 2019; Stewart, 2021a; Stewart & Devine, 2019).

Implied in the colonising discourses of assimilation is the notion that Māori were lucky to be colonised by the British and should be grateful, which also implies that Māori 'need' Pākehā. The assumption is that an 'inferior' race should feel lucky when a more 'superior' imparts their ways of thinking and being. This notion has been around since colonisation began, when the British settlers saw their sharing of knowledge as an act of enlightened generosity for which Māori should be thankful (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). This idea has taken on a life of its own in the psyche of Pākehā, in seeing themselves as superior to Māori. Although it is not 'politically correct' to refer to Māori as being biologically inferior to Pākehā, dominant social discourse and 'tongue in cheek' humour reveal that this way of thinking is still alive and well in Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, sayings such as a 'Māori job' to refer to a inadequate job, or 'Māori time' for poor time management and 'Māori day off' to mean an unwarranted absence, reinforce the idea that Māori need to look to Pākehā to see how to live a respectable and productive life (Stewart, 2020).

Widespread explanations of current inequalities draw on an Egalitarian ideology of equitable social relations, that focuses on individual responsibility for life experiences and choices (Borell et al., 2009). The idea that 'Māori have only themselves to blame for their poverty' is rife throughout national media sources. One famous example is a cartoon published in

Christchurch paper *The Press* in 2013, which illustrates a Māori whānau sitting around a table, littered with beer cans, cigarettes/matches and lotto tickets. The speech bubble reads 'Free school food is great! Eases our poverty, and puts something in the kids' bellies!' (Stewart, 2021b, p. 45). This powerful image reflects and perpetuates negative stereotypes and messages about Māori. Māori are apparently 'to blame' for their socio-economic position - the reason why it can be tough to provide food and liveable housing for their whānau is because they spend money on alcohol, cigarettes and gambling. These anti-Māori images and media messages uphold negative Eurocentric ideas about Māori that were born out of colonisation.

One could argue that poverty and crime are habitually connected, they go hand in hand. Māori are often considered 'the face' of crime in Aotearoa New Zealand, stereotypes that are reinforced by negative depictions of Māori in national news sources (television news items, newspaper articles etc) and popular television programmes such as Police Ten 7. These negative depictions portray Māori as violent, unambitious, angry, untrustworthy, bludgers and savages (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). The media influences the social construction of Māori identity, which directly impacts Māori and Pākehā relationships. It also unfairly targets and profiles an entire group of people based on ethnicity; it assumes that 'all' Māori are either active criminals or have the potential to engage in criminal activities.

Education and Prison: The 'carrot and stick' of colonising Māori

Education in the form of schooling and criminalisation in the form of imprisonment have been used as mechanisms of Māori colonisation, as described below.

The Carrot: Education

Prior to the arrival of British in Aotearoa, Māori had a functional, sophisticated education system. Complex oral tradition, powerful knowledge bases and a vigorous ability to respond to new challenges and adapt to changing needs underpinned Māori education (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Simon, 1998). After the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 and the establishment of the New Zealand Parliament from 1852, an Act of Parliament established the Native Schools system in 1867. Native Schools were part of the assimilationist policies introduced by the British settlers, designed to be a vehicle to assimilate Māori children into the ways of Pākehā (Simon, 1998; Webb, 2017). Education was seen as a way to civilise 'savage' Māori, and provide Māori with opportunities to live a better life.

The Native Schools system encouraged the abandonment of Māori language, customs and traditional cultural values in favour of the European versions (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Simon & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2012). Lessons were taught in English 'as far as practicable' and the desire to distance Māori children from their culture saw them being physically punished for speaking te reo Māori, their home language, at school (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Schooling policies narrowed academic opportunities for Māori, and training for manual work was encouraged. This was based on the theory that Māori were 'unsuitable' for mental work (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bull, 2004). Access to a limited curriculum, the suppression of culture and language, and limiting possibilities for employment and higher education were all part of the assimilationist agenda. These policies were effective in marginalising the mostly rural Māori population from being able to participate equally in the political and economic mainstream (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

The Hunn Report on the Department of Māori Affairs (1961) had vast implications for Māori social and educational policy. This was the first government report to explicitly expose the underachievement of Māori students. It maintained that the hardships Māori faced to succeed in a Eurocentric education system and society were essentially due to the socio-economic disparities between Māori and Pākehā.

The Hunn report claimed the results were not a direct result of assimilationist and racist colonial policies, the alienation of Māori from their economic bases, or the racist attitudes policies, but instead were related to the way that Māori lived (Hetaraka, 2019). The proposed solution was to relocate Māori into urban areas, to better assimilate Māori into a Pākehā world. It was believed that this would be the answer to establishing equity between Māori and Pākehā in all aspects of life (Hetaraka, 2019). By all accounts Hunn had a negative attitude towards cultural differences. The report showcases his opinions about Māori being 'complacent living a backward life' and of their 'reluctance to fall into line.' According to the report, 'evolution' meant the accelerated integration of Māori and Pākehā, where the process would be 'well-nigh complete' in only two generations (Biggs, 1961). The release of the Hunn Report marked the commencement of the public policy of integration (Simon & Smith, 2001), which was criticised as a Eurocentric policy that inevitably required Māori to do all the adjusting (Hetaraka, 2019).

Education has always been fundamental to the upkeep of colonial knowledge, language and culture. Physical discipline is also a strategy designed to reproduce colonial narratives. This type of governance is intended to destroy alternative ways of knowing and being, to annihilate collective memories and identities, and enforce a new order (Smith, 2012; Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). In New Zealand, these colonising actions and truths have had an impact from the beginnings of British settlement to the present day.

The Stick: Prison

New Zealand has always had a high incarceration rate, but the proportion of prisoners who are Māori prisoners has gradually increased over time (McIntosh & Workman, 2017). Compared with New Zealanders of other ethnicities, Māori are more likely to be held in custody, to re-offend and be re-imprisoned within a five-year period after release (Department of Corrections, 2015). Recent statistics show that Māori make up 53.4% of the total prison population while being only about 15% of the total national population (Department of Corrections, 2022). The over-representation of Māori in crime and incarceration statistics has been normalised in White New Zealand. The colonial history of suppression, violence and incarceration of Māori by British settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand continues to be mostly ignored, and the effects of neo-colonial damage neutralised (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018).

The effects of neo-colonialism have marginalised Māori culturally, socially and economically, which increases the likelihood for Māori to experience unquestionably harmful prison conditions and treatments. National monitoring bodies have recorded substantial concerns regarding the state of New Zealand prisons, with significant numbers of prisoner assaults, inhumane treatment of inmates, solitary confinement, and strategic lengthy lockdowns (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). The process of colonisation has always been subject to the construction of ignorance around language, belief systems, culture and the 'othering ' of minority groups. The success of colonial power is seen in the normalisation of Māori being over-represented in prisons as part of life in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Managing knowledge is essential in colonial processes, such as the 'civilisation of the natives' constructed as being 'for their own good' (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). Since the first encounters between Māori and Pākehā, Māori have been seen through a deficit colonial lens as being of inferior intelligence and culturally deprived (Harris, 2008; Sullivan, 1994). These are subtle

effects of the power that dominant groups hold over less powerful and subordinate peoples (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Harris, 2008), also known as societal or institutional racism. Deficit theory perpetuates a lack of awareness or knowledge of the imbalance in socio-political power, whereby the ignorance of dominant culture is fundamental to the workings of White privilege (Stewart, 2016).

The cause of disproportional representation in the justice system is a complex issue, however, there are claims that high Māori offending is a consequence of particular developmental pathways, which include the characteristics listed above. The statistical gap between Pākehā and Māori occurs within the broader context of colonisation, the urbanisation of Māori, confiscation of land, and the imposition of cultural assimilation, Eurocentric law and the dismissive attitude towards tikanga and traditional methods of social control. This experience for Māori is shared with Indigenous peoples in other settler nations, where state policies and practices have callously marginalised Indigenous groups, and in turn, they are overrepresented in prison statistics (McIntosh & Workman, 2017).

Elizabeth Stanley and Riki Mihaere (2018) discuss how penal capture is further reinforced by a mix of ideological, structural and institutional forms of agnosis (denial of knowledge). For example, the construct of Māori offending by media and political commentors is framed in terms of social pathology or deficit. Secondly, state institutions have created programmes and strategies towards Māori that reinforce hegemonic power, while dismantling Māori culture at the same time. Lastly, the state ricochets responsibility for both state-institutionalised violence and structural disadvantages, and prejudiced treatment that Māori have suffered throughout generations. Combined, these ignorant strategies have ensured that the responsibility for the over-representation of Māori in prison is firmly placed back on Māori, who are considered 'deficient'. In this way, the state deflects responsibility away from itself for the cultural, economic, political and social damage caused by generations of penal capture.

The arrest and incarceration of Māori began to increase when Māori challenged the legislation that supported the colonisers' quest to obtain Māori land. Māori had their own methods of social control. Māori spiritual beliefs and social structures ascertain what is believed to be hara (wrongdoing) (Webb, 2017), therefore Māori didn't see the need to conform to colonial systems of justice (Bull, 2004). Between 1850 and 1920, the number of Māori prisoners stayed fairly static, between 50 - 200. However, there were particular periods when these numbers

increased dramatically. The criminalisation of Māori began when Māori rebelled against and resisted Pākehā theft of land and imposition of cultural demands (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018; Webb, 2017).

The Māori Battalion in WWII – Progress towards acceptance

The Māori War Effort was established by the Labour Government early in WWII to assist with the recruitment of Māori for war service. As there was no Māori electoral roll, finding eligible Māori males to recruit for battle was a difficult task. Paraire Paikea, a Ratana Labour MP, was eager to see Māori gain greater self-determination over their affairs, and agreed to make a list of single Māori people aged between 18-45 years, and all Māori males with between one to three dependants, in partnership with army area officers. This was a pivotal shift away from the Native Department to the establishment of the largest Māori organisation of its time. In 1943 Paikea declared:

> In the minds of the Māori people, the establishment of the Māori War Organization is the greatest thing that has happened in the history of the Māori people, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. They feel that in the organization lies the future prosperity, development and happiness of their people. It is submitted that the Organization should be carefully nursed, encouraged and developed to the full, not only on account of the people's war effort, but also that it may play a worthwhile and practical part in the after-war reconstruction and . . . rehabilitation. (Orange, 1987, p. 162)

However, Claudia Orange (1987) argues that the history and demise of the Māori War Effort is just another example of efforts by the government that have failed to give Māori the opportunity to exercise autonomy, with complete freedom to develop Māori resources, as promised in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The 28th Māori Battalion was a frontline infantry unit that was part of the 2nd New Zealand Division Expeditionary Force (2NZEF) during WWII (1939-1945). Despite some strong objections to Māori going to battle overseas, Māori were considered British subjects and many believed that the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) meant that Māori were obligated to support the British Empire. The loyalty and citizenship of Māori was never

questioned and there was much respect and admiration for the all-volunteer Māori Battalion who fought in Southern Europe and North Africa. Māori leaders, such as Sir Apirana Ngata, argued that the Māori Battalion's participation in combat was 'the price of citizenship' for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2022; Poyer, 2017). By the end of WWII in 1945, the Māori Battalion was the most decorated and celebrated unit in the New Zealand armed forces (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2020). Although discrimination towards Māori would continue, there was no argument made by the majority of the New Zealand population, and by Māori themselves, as to the worth of their engagement in war (Poyer, 2017).

The post-WWII Māori urban migration

Post World War II globally was a significant era in regards to the reorganisation of international political order and race relations between indigenous peoples and their nation states. Wartime experiences promoted post war developments, specifically the interactions that took place during wartime between state and colonial orders and marginalised groups, transformed the way these groups were treated by state organisations and how they perceived themselves (Poyer, 2017).

The period following WWII saw most of the Māori population migrate from rural to urban areas around the country (Metge, 1964; Paringatai, 2014; Walker, 1989). Ranginui Walker (1975) argues that urban migration of Māori post WWII did not lead to the assimilation of Māori. The purpose of this mass migration is what Metge (1964) described as the 'big three' - money, pleasure and work. The migration of the Māori population was significant into Auckland suburbs such as Freemans Bay and Ponsonby, where Māori were able to establish social and cultural continuity in the urban milieu. Māori adjusted to living in cities and were able to continue with cultural traditions such as using state houses as makeshift marae for hosting tangi (Walker, 1975). A small but noteworthy number of Māori found their way into management jobs, teaching and clerical work since the 1950s, which reflects the considerable shift in the acceptance of Māori in mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand (Webster, 1993).

Effects of urbanisation on Māori identity
Identity is a construct that in generally used by a person to articulate how they perceive themselves in the context of their social world. Identity is not automatically assigned at birth

to a person: it is a fluid, multifaceted and dynamic phenomenon that constantly changes. "It begins in infancy, is reformulated during adolescence and modified in adulthood" (Paringatai, 2010, p. 47). Therefore, as it is continually being developed, there is an 'active' component to identity that can't be denied or ignored. It is not a 'thing' or 'just there' - it must constantly be created (Paringatai, 2014).

The social, political and economic push-pull influences implicated in the migration flow of Māori post WWII has been researched, mainly in North Island locations such as Auckland. The movement of Māori from the North to the South Island has been less documented but duly noted. Historically, the Māori population in the South Island has been small, but the migration of Māori during the mid-20th century saw this increase considerably. The locations that people were migrating from were agriculturally-based communities, where a large proportion of the population was of Māori descent. In contrast, the South Island's social and cultural demographic was the opposite, where the population was dominated by Pākehā, of whom many were descendants of early British settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand. Many Māori who migrated to the South Island chose to stay there permanently to raise their children. Such decisions to live outside tribal areas had significant effects on the disconnection of their children from their Māori identity.

Karyn Paringatai (2014) discusses her experience as a descendent of Ngāti Porou, a kin group name of a North Island iwi from the famed East Coast, who was born and raised in the South Island. Her worldview was informed by a Pākehā-dominated environment and community of upbringing in which her Māori identity was not actively fostered. Paringatai is proud of both her Pākehā and Māori ancestry, but found, growing up, that she was defined solely by her Māori ethnicity, because of her Maori name and because she 'looked Māori.' This label was frustrating and scary for Paringatai and for a long time she didn't understand what 'being Māori' meant. She avoided conversations about her whakapapa, whānau and Māori culture in general, out of fear of being judged, and having her authenticity as a Māori person questioned by others.

The experiences of Paringatai were echoed by her research participants, all of whom are from bicultural backgrounds, with one parent who affiliates with a North Island iwi, and one Pākehā parent from either Southland or Otago, therefore coming from two distinct cultural backgrounds of dominant and minority cultures. The participants shared their experiences of

being raised largely as Pākehā (which was reflective of the Southland environment) and the expectations placed on them by others about what it means to be Māori in relation to a national image and stereotypes. These stereotypes of what it means to be Māori include, you should be able to sing, play a guitar, speak te reo and know all about Māori legends etc. And when the participants didn't meet the expectations of these national images, they felt as though they were 'not really' Māori.

There is no doubt that during the migration of Māori to the cities where the dominant culture was practiced in so many areas of life, would have been difficult. This would have been new terrain to navigate, where there were feelings of loneliness, disconnection, not feeling welcome and existing in a world that they were not accustomed to. Some iwi managed to retain some of their 'Māoriness' in the cities and believed in the importance of young Māori knowing their own people. The formation of tribal societies in the city was key in the attempt of gathering young people together to see their own people from home, migrating into their new environments. Another important issue of migration is that each hapū have their own practices, customs and ways of doing things. In order to preserve these important aspects of traditional tribal culture, it was important for young Māori to return home. This gets more difficult over generations, as over the years many may have never experienced living in rural areas, therefore the urge to go home diminishes (Rangihau, 1975).

Webber's research (2012) conducted on young Māori adolescents in five Auckland multi-cultural high schools, reiterates that ethnic identity matters to Māori adolescent's as it shapes who they are, their aspirations for achievement and impacts their sense of belonging. With the advancements in acceptance of Māori culture and identity in mainstream contexts, a large percentage of adolescents reported that they have been able to enjoy their culture through participation in kapa haka, cultural traditions and having autonomy to do things their way. This has fostered a positive view of Māori identity and Māori membership is a positive experience through the support of friends and whānau. Yet some participants relayed that they are highly aware of unjust generalisations and stereotypical constructions of Māori identity with include connections to crime and gangs, intellectual inferiority and that Māori are less likely to experience and enjoy educational success. These perceived views of Māori result in low engagement and achievement at school. As some participants stated (p. 23) "when you hear stuff like that often enough it is more likely to come true" (Webber, 2012).

Durie (1994) recognises Māori cultural heterogeneity and identified three Māori sub-groups;
1. Culturally Māori - one understands whakapapa and is familiar with tikanga and te reo Māori.
2. Bicultural – one identifies as Māori but is also able to function successfully amid Pākehā.
3. Marginalised – one finds it difficult to relate to Māori or Pākehā effectively (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010).These typologies emphasise that there are various ways of being Māori and that Māori identity in multidimensional. Research conducted by Houkamau & Sibley (2010) MMM-ICE (Multi-Dimension Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement) supports this notion through a six-dimensional structure using the following six factors; (1) Group Membership Evaluation, (2) Socio-political Consciousness, (3) Cultural Efficacy, (4) Spirituality, (5) Interdependent Self-Concept and (6) Authenticity Beliefs. These six factors provide a good foundation to conceptualise and define Māori identity, and makes space to create a spectrum to consider and validate where people who identify as Māori are on their journey.

The way in which Māori identity is characterised and thought about has changed significantly over the decades. Being Māori was considered socially backward by earlier generations, however, this trend appears to have shifted towards promoting and encouraging Māori to embrace their distinctive identity through the acknowledgement of whakapapa, learning about their language and their culture. Although progress has been made in education and the presence of positive Māori role models in the media, there are still cases where Māori find it challenging to perceive Māori membership as a positive identity. This is due to Māori remaining marginalised in social, economic, and political contexts, through personal negative experiences of racism and discrimination and the way in which the media negatively depicts Māori (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010).

Although progress had been made after the war in regards to Pākehā and Māori relationships and the way in which Māori were perceived in general by society, some things did not change. Ex-members of the Māori Battalion recall returning home and still feeling like second class citizens in a country that they had fought hard for. Māori were still unable to enjoy the freedoms that other New Zealand citizens were able to enjoy, such as being able to purchase alcohol or book a hotel room. John Rangihau (1975), recalls his hopes during the immediate post war years, where the relationships forged between Māori and Pākehā soldiers during the war would continue on their return home. Rangihau (1975) talks of the comradery he experienced, which he describes as the "price for total citizenship in New Zealand" (p. 172), and how those

experiences during the war would result in Māori being accepted in Aotearoa New Zealand, not as noble savages, but as people with rights and privileges that they had fought for (Rangihau, 1975).

Māori Renaissance: Te Reo Māori and Kaupapa Māori education

Despite the agreements made in te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) that guaranteed Māori rangatiratanga (sovereignty) over taonga (everything that is important to Māori), neo-colonial dominance in educational and social research continues. Researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand (the majority of whom are non-Māori) have created research that perpetuates Eurocentric values regarding cultural knowledge which undermines, devalues and dismantles Māori knowledge, processes and practices in favour of colonial paradigms. A social pathology research method has developed in Aotearoa New Zealand that infers the incapacity of Māori culture to address human issues and implies cultural inferiority in human terms, to that of the colonisers. Moreover, traditional research has distorted Māori ways of knowing and being by gathering, reducing and commodifying Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) for colonial consumption. Consequently, these processes have misconstrued experiences for Māori, therefore denying Māori a voice and authenticity of culture and identity. This has raised deep concerns for Māori and has impacted and shaped the way Māori feel towards research (Bishop, 1998; Smith, 2012).

Kaupapa Māori

Out of these concerns and the dissatisfaction with traditional Eurocentric research, Kaupapa Māori Research emerged. So what happens to research when the researched becomes the researcher? (Smith, 2012). Kaupapa Māori theory is an inspiring movement which has revived opportunities to use Māori approaches and knowledge to learning and the re-think of workplace practices and academic convention. The principles of Kaupapa Māori theory acts as a pushback against Eurocentrism that infiltrates the academy, education and research and has laid the grounds for momentous transformations (Bishop, 1998; Durie, 2017; Stewart, 2021b). Kaupapa Māori is about being Māori, it removes the pathology or difference of identifying as Māori, therefore 'normalising' the identity, Māori. Moreover, Kaupapa Māori is concerned with Māori having autonomy over Māori initiatives and their own cultural well-being (Stewart, 2017).

Kaupapa Māori transpired out of a lengthy and difficult struggle to revitalise Māori language (te reo Māori) and Māori immersion education (Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori). Māori language and education revitalisation was a crucial aspect of the Kaupapa Māori revolution, but they were the outward signs of a greater transformative outcome. The real revolution occurred when there was a shift in the mindset of many Māori, from being passive bystanders and waiting for things to be done for or to them, to actively developing solutions for self-development. This shift in mindset corresponded with, and was built upon, a revolutionary rise in Māori political consciousness that called for tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and sovereignty, shifting discourse away from de-colonisation (placing the coloniser in the centre) to discussions around conscientisation or a rise in consciousness (which prioritizes Māori interests) (Smith, 2017).

During the 1970s and 1980s, protests challenged the state's history of neglecting Māori political authority, and the annihilation of tribal economic foundation through whenua (land) confiscation and the alienation of Māori culture via assimilation policies. The states inability to address social problems in communities was questioned by Māori, and significant national summits, such as the 1984 Hui Taumata Māori Economic Summit, advocated for tino rangatiratanga or Māori self-determination, in developing and controlling Indigenous solutions (Webb, 2017).

In the wake of critical awareness, Māori have become conscious of the fact that the colonisation process is not only an external force, it has also been perpetuated by Māori, against Māori. This significant insight developed from the work of Antonio Gramsci (an Italian Marxist philosopher). Gramsci wanted to explain the phenomenon, 'hegemonic thinking', whereby marginalised groups buy into and take on dominant ideas as common sense despite the fact that these ideas are not in their best interests and contribute to their own exploitation and oppression. Hegemonic thinking is an effective method of colonisation where marginalised groups colonise themselves. To counter-act hegemony requires marginalised groups to become critically conscientized and develop critical thinking that prioritises their aspirations and needs. This counter-hegemonic movement necessitates liberation in thinking that has been suppressed by colonisation and is a critical aspect of Kaupapa Māori within education where Māori have the freedom to reclaim and reimagine their future (Smith, 2017).

Te Reo Māori

Language is the lifeline and sustenance of a culture.

  Rose Pere, 1991, cited in Skerrett & Ritchie (2021, p. 250).

The survival of a language fundamentally relies on there being living speakers of the language, therefore the death of a language occurs when the last speaker of the language dies. However, in effect, when a language ceases to be spoken within a community of speakers, the language has already succumbed (May, 2012). The near extinction of te reo Māori was a consequence of language suppression, which was part of an assimilationist agenda that has been overseen by successive governments since colonisation (Stewart & Tocker, 2021). Education was the perfect vehicle to perpetrate forced abandonment of Māori language, and the establishment of the Native schools in 1867 was intended to do just that. Te reo Māori was only spoken in the junior school to induct new entrant children, thereafter, the English language replaced te reo Māori in educational lessons.

Te reo Māori was banned altogether within school grounds after 1900, and excessively eager teachers suppressed the language via corporal punishment. Within a sixty year period, the number of children that spoke te reo Māori plummeted from 90 to 26 per cent. The assault on Māori language infiltrated the very heart of Māori culture and identity, and although the administration of corporal punishment ceased in the 1950's, the fundamental concept of cultural superiority and ethnocentrism that drove it continued (Rameka & Stag Peterson, 2021; Walker, 1989).

Te reo Māori is not only the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, it embodies Māori identity, is a fundamental aspect of te ao Māori and is regarded as taonga (highly valued) by Māori. Te reo Māori is sacred, a gift from the gods to Māori ancestors, it has a life force and a wairua (spirit). The language is not only a form of communication, it is also a way to transmit beliefs, customs, skills and knowledge from person to person and generation to generation. Te reo Māori reflects the values te ao Māori, a means to express identity and is a source of power. Therefore, the ability to speak te reo Māori, to hold knowledge of cultural protocols, histories and values can effect one's experience of acceptance, belonging and identity (Rameka & Stag Peterson, 2021).

Article II of te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi), signed in 1840, promised Māori sovereignty over resources, land, homes and anything that was considered of high value to Māori (Skerrett & Ritchie, 2021). However, this promise was not upheld. Discourse in relation to the tussle endured for te reo Māori to have official recognition in the country of its origin is well documented. Te reo Māori was finally acknowledged by the Waitangi Tribunal (established in 1975) as being taonga in 1985, consequently obliging the state to protect the language under te Tiriti o Waitangi, and by 1987, te reo Māori had become an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021).

A report written by Richard Benton (1978) concluded that there were only a few native speakers of te reo Māori remaining, and very few children were able to speak the language. The fate of the language was in a dire situation and drastic action needed to be taken to ensure its survival. The report raised awareness about the endangered language among Māori, which prompted Māori to advocate for te reo Māori to be recognised in law and education. Out of this period of activism, a rise in Māori immersion education emerged: Kōhanga Reo (early childhood education) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary schooling). The aspirations for these Māori immersion education facilities, was to protect and revitalize te reo Māori, Māori culture, and to provide Māori education that acknowledges and validates Mātauranga Māori, te ao Māori and tikanga Māori. Moreover, the movements resists the positioning of Māori in a deficit educational paradigm (Rameka & Stag Peterson, 2021; Stewart & Tocker, 2021).

Māori Immersion Education – Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori

Schools and education are significant sites of struggle, as traditionally they have been key facilities in propagating the continuing colonisation of Māori. Schooling and education have devalued and disassembled Māori language, ways of knowing and being, however, they can also potentially be transformed into facilities that advocate for, and redeem Māori aspirations (Smith, 2017). Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests), were founded as a strategy to nurture and revitalise te reo Māori, Māori traditions, culture, improve life opportunities and rectify power imbalances that exist between Māori and Pākehā (Pihama et al., 2004). In April 1982, the first Kōhanga Reo was opened, with the number of centres expanding to over 50 by the end of that year. These numbers continued to grow rapidly, and by the 11th year since the first Kōhanga Reo had been established, the numbers had soared to 809 (Rameka & Stag Peterson, 2021).

Kura Kaupapa Māori are Māori medium state schools that function within a Kaupapa Māori framework, where the curriculum is delivered in te reo Māori. The aspirations for Kura Kaupapa education is to deliver an education system that immerses children in Māori culture and language, so that children can live as Māori. This unique learning environment fosters the educational advancement of bilingual and bicultural children and aims to create adults who are ambitious to achieve academically, whilst embracing Māori knowledge and language. Moreover, it is crucial for Māori children to be educated in a way that sets them up for success as adaptive, contributing citizens, both here in Aotearoa New Zealand and with a global context (Stewart & Tocker, 2021).

Many valuable lessons were learned through the emergence of Māori immersion education, where quintessential insights were imparted by critical educators working internationally. Kaupapa Māori theory and practice was informed by critical theory. Firstly, critical theory perspectives offered the thinking strategies to unpack and understand the structural and cultural obstacles for Māori in the education system. Secondly, critical theory imparted innovative understandings, to the way in which schooling and education might be transformed to benefit marginalised groups, including Māori students. The development of Kaupapa Māori posed a question, can mainstream and traditional education be reformed so that it is inclusive for all students, or does the focus need to veer away from changing the current education system, to a focus on developing alternative educational pathways? The central focus of Kaupapa Māori is to provide alternative opportunities outside of mainstream education. However, funding and support of a hegemonic system still remains, and alternative education opportunities are under-funded, under-resources and marginalised through state policy (Smith, 2017).

Contemporary Trans-ethnicity: Recovering Māori identities

The prominence of Māori identity in the political arena emphasises the continuing significance of varying Māori aspirations within Aotearoa New Zealand society and illuminates how the political, social, cultural and historical processes have impacted the construction of identity over time. Research has exposed that there is a connection between macro-societal issues and one's personal experience of what is means to be Māori (Houkamau, 2010). Identity is a construct which is commonly used to define how an individual perceives themselves and their place within the social world. It is a complex, fluid and dynamic concept and is continually changing when one encounters new people and experiences new things (Paringatai, 2014).

Ethnic identity can be described as being formulated through the contribution and observance of a shared belief system, geographical locality, information of ancestry and connected history. The notion of ethnicity is relational, which assumes that ethnicity exists through the interaction between two or more cultures. So, for example, the ethnic identity of 'Māori' only came into being post-contact with European. This point clarifies the difference between 'ethnicity' and 'culture' (found in autonomous iwi/hapū traditions). Moreover, the ethnicity concept consists of two distinct facets, primordial (heritage/ancestry) and situational (behaviours/choices) (Stewart & Stewart-Harawira, 2020). Māori ethnic identity formed in response to the arrival of British settlers and began to be used as an ethnicity label in around 1850, adding to the already existing Indigenous cultural identities of iwi/hapū (Rameka, 2017; Stewart, 2021b). To be able to comprehend contemporary Māori identity, it is vital to understand the difference between those two key concepts (ethnicity and culture) which are used interchangeably in everyday settings such as schools.

To identify as, or claim to be Māori, one must be able to whakapapa Māori. This means being able to identify with one or more Māori ancestors. To fabricate whakapapa is considered a serious misdemeanour by Māori (Grennell-Hawke & Tudor, 2018; Stewart & Stewart-Harawira, 2020). When a person identifies as Māori or of Māori descent, there is often an expectation or assumption (by self or others) that one would have experience, and the knowledge of living within a Māori paradigm in relation to te ao Māori, tikanga Māori and te reo Māori (Paringatai, 2014). This however is not always the case. The way a person is raised, the location in which they live and the community they are a part of may not be conducive to the attainment of such knowledge.

From their earliest meeting, liaisons between Māori and Pākehā including marriages/relationships, have been a common and socially accepted norm in Aotearoa New Zealand (Stewart & Stewart-Harawira, 2020; Webber, 2008). As with other nations that are formed on relationships between indigenous and settler peoples, the mostly harmonious existence between Māori and Pākehā has been affected by Eurocentrism and colonialism. In earlier times, children from Māori/Pākehā marriages were required to make a harsh binary choice regarding their identity, or have the choice made for them: live as either Māori or Pākehā. Colonial families were often encouraged to deny their Māori ancestry and 'become' European, therefore the memory of a Māori ancestor was often deliberately suppressed;

therefore children and descendants were denied access to their culture (Stewart & Stewart-Harawira, 2020). These assimilatory practices make a form of Māori-to-European trans-ethnicity.

Official methods of classifying Māori fundamentally reflect the political priorities of the time. Methods that were developed in an environment that assimilated Māori, had a tendency to emphasise racial imperatives and the capacity to provide evidence of a particular amount of Māori blood. The blood quantum method was founded on the idea that identity and culture are formed by biology. The concept of blood quantum is still an influential indicator of Māori identity where phrases such as 'a drop of Māori blood', 'half-caste' and 'full-blooded' are still used in everyday discourse. An alternative and common method to identify someone as Māori is through Māori ancestral descent. Using an ancestry classification system considers the idea of whakapapa and the corresponding constitutional rights. This is a legitimate and popular method for those who identify as Māori, but don't meet the 'blood quantum' requirements for inclusion (Borell, 2005).

These ideas of identity construct are evident in a research project about racial ethnic identity and Māori students, conducted in eight Auckland schools by Melinda Webber (2012). The paper discussed the experience of a female student developing her Māori identity alongside her mother. The student stated that she enjoyed visiting her marae where she was able to catch up with whānau and was keen to research their Māori ancestry, learn about their tribes and their ethnic roots. Both the student and her mother had experienced exclusion in the past within Māori contexts, as according to some they 'didn't look Māori enough'. The student expressed how both herself and her mother were called 'plastic' and told they were not the right colour, which motivated them to explore their ancestry. A key finding in the research was the importance of knowing 'how' one is Māori - knowing where they are from and about their whakapapa (Webber, 2012).

The next chapter uses narrative genres, both story and auto-ethnography, to explore how being Māori affects my work as a teacher.

Chapter Four: Narratives of Māori Identity

He aha te mea nui o te ao?

He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

What is the most important thing in the world?

It is the people, it is the people, it is the people.

This chapter has two sections: the first is a fictionalised story about a typical occasion when Māori identity, language and customs are incorporated in the everyday life of my workplace. This is followed by a personal reflection on the significance of sharing my Māori identity as a teacher in early childhood.

The Welcome (a story)

The Hosseini family had fled their home country of Iran to escape the unsafe conditions caused by political unrest, and begin a new life in Aotearoa New Zealand. They hoped the move would provide them an abundance of opportunities and a peaceful and safe place to raise their family. Finally, they had settled in Whangaparaoa and were so relieved to have a home in a community that felt safe. Dilara (Grandmother) still checked that the doors and windows were locked before she could relax at night. Ahmad (Father) and Alizeh (Mother) reassured Dilara that they were now safe, and in time things got better as the new country began to feel like home.

The two older children, Nasrin and Alya, had started at the local primary school and were clearly enjoying themselves. Rostam was now 3 years old and needing to socialise with other children, so Alizeh visited the local kindergarten to enrol him. Eventually a letter arrived from the kindergarten to invite the Hosseini family to a welcome ceremony on Rostam's first day, which was called a 'Mihi Whakatau'. They had never heard of such a ceremony, and thought it was strange that the entire family was invited into the kindergarten for the welcome. They did some research and discovered a Mihi Whakatau is an informal traditional Māori welcome. Ahmad and Alizeh knew that Māori were the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, but they knew very little about Māori culture. They felt curious and apprehensive all at once as they were not exactly sure what to expect.

On the day, the family dressed carefully in their best clothes and made their way along to the kindergarten. On arrival, they were greeted by a teacher who introduced herself as Jayne and were told about the ceremony protocol. Jayne informed them they would be welcomed and introduced to the kindergarten whānau in te reo (Māori language) followed by a waiata (song) sung by the teachers, children and any other kindergarten whānau present. It would then be the Hosseini family's turn to respond by introducing themselves and telling the kindergarten whānau a bit about their family and sing a waiata too. Jayne assured them that everyone would join in and sing along, much to the relief of the family.

Once everyone had gathered together, Jayne commenced the ceremony by welcoming the Hosseini family to the kindergarten followed by her own mihi. Although none of them could understand the language, Alizeh was mesmerised and thought the language was poetic and spiritual. Dilara had goosebumps, she was moved by the coming together of two cultures and had an overwhelming feeling of acceptance and hope in her new home country. When it was their turn to stand and introduce themselves, Ahmad took the lead. He introduced his family members to the group, said how grateful he and his family were for being in Aotearoa New Zealand. He explained that although they missed aspect of Iran, they were sure the move across the world was the right one for them. Alizeh spoke about what they enjoyed doing together as a family and that Rostam was excited to be at kindergarten so he can make some new friends.

Once the formalities were over, the staff, children, kindergarten whānau and the Hosseini family, were invited to eat kai together. Jayne came over to check how they were feeling. Ahmad responded "we have never experienced anything like that before and we have never felt so welcomed". Alizeh and Dilara thanked Jayne and the kindergarten for such a beautiful welcome and said they were so happy to be here. Ahmad relayed to Jayne how nervous they had felt before the ceremony, but were so pleased that it had been such a lovely experience. Jayne recalled a previous Mihi Whakatau, where a dad from Tonga had felt so nervous that he wanted to run for the gate before the ceremony started. He too expressed his gratitude for being part of something so special once the ceremony was over. Jayne explained that they entered today as manuhiri (visitors) but they would leave as whānau, the kindergarten was now their place too.

Te Mana o te Mihi (a commentary)

Our kindergarten encompasses aspect of te ao Māori, te reo Māori and tikanga in our practice, our philosophy and within the culture of our kindergarten. It embodies who we are as a community and reflects our values and what is important to us. Welcoming new whānau to our centre is a significant event. We like to welcome them with mihi whakatau, a traditional Māori welcome, to indicate and acknowledge the significance of arriving as manuhiri (visitors) and leaving as whānau. Relationships are at the heart of our work, therefore the foundation of the growing relationship between the teachers, whānau and community must be strong and robust. We believe a mihi whakatau creates a strong basis for these developing relationships to grow into strong, meaningful and reciprocal relationships. Being part of a mihi whakatau means different things to different people, and the feelings that are experienced during the ceremony differ between the participants and those that are facilitating the welcome alike. For me, it is always a meaningful, moving, special and spiritual experience.

Introducing yourself is an important aspect of te ao Māori, so when I am the speaker at the welcome, I present my pepeha. This gives me the opportunity to verbalise my connection to my whakapapa, connect with my tīpuna and acknowledge my Māori heritage as part of my identity, and to share these connections to the people and places that are important to me with the listeners. I love the opportunity to speak te reo, the language is spiritual and allows me to connect with those whom I am welcoming, as well as connecting me to my true self. Being able to speak my pepeha has been an integral part of my journey to learn about who I am and realise my identity, as for a long time I saw my pepeha as the only legitimate connection to my Māori ancestry. When I say my pepeha, it makes me feel grounded, empowered, proud and self-assured of who I am and where I come from.

Facilitating a mihi whakatau is not only significant in a personal level, as a professional teacher I am obligated to honour the promises outlined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I believe a mihi whakatau acknowledges Māori as tangata whenua and encompasses true aspects of biculturalism, where Māori and Pākehā (and other tangata Tiriti) are able to exist comfortably within the two cultural contexts. As a teacher, it is important for me to advocate for te ao Māori and model the natural nature of including te ao/tikanga Māori in my everyday practice. Moreover, te reo Māori is naturally spoken to the children, therefore it is seen as a natural way to communicate, as natural as speaking English.

Ngā tamariki (the children) at our kindergarten love to take part in this experience. Their first experience of our mihi whakatau is as manuhiri (visitors), where they are welcomed into our kindergarten. Then they experience our mihi as tangata whenua (the people of this place) as they welcome other whānau into our kindergarten community. The more the children are involved in the mihi whakatau process, the more familiar, comfortable and natural it becomes. Particularly with the older children who have experienced this many times, an abundance of mana (pride) and confidence is demonstrated when they sing our special kaitiaki waiata to our new whānau. Reciting our kindergarten pepeha grounds the children in this space/place as a member of our kindergarten whānau and acknowledges the landmarks and special places that are important to us, that we visit together and which connect us to our community. A mihi whakatau reiterates that our kindergarten is everyone's place, it's their hapū (sub tribe), and an extension of their own whānau/iwi.

Whānau who have been part of this experience have told us what a unique and moving experience it was, how honoured they felt to be a part of it and how the mihi allowed them to feel a sense of belonging and connected to the kindergarten from the start. It develops a unique connection between all the people that take part in the welcome and realises our hopes for creating a strong foundation for these new relationships to grow. The mihi is the perfect way to ground our own individual identities within the identity of our kindergarten community.

Chapter Five: Discussion

My research has linked me anew to my tīpuna, Hori Tukimana te Mahota. The letter that Hori wrote to the government, when he was of a similar age to what I am now, shows how he fought and spoke up for our people, trying to hold on to our whenua and identity, and challenging the government to be accountable for their actions. He was likely one of the first generations in my whakapapa to learn to read and write in English. He used the tools of literacy to take ethical action, doing what he felt was the right thing for him to do, just as I have done, on my journey to reclaim knowledge of my Māori identity and family history. If I could speak to Hori, he might agree that such a process can feel confusing, illegitimate, painful and traumatic, often raising more questions than it answers. But when we act according to what we think is right and fair, the challenges we face allow us to experience the personal value of each specific lesson, which is empowering, invigorating, inspiring and fulfilling.

Māori identity in the contemporary world is a multi-faceted and complex issue. Identity is a concept that is fluid, ever changing and created through new experiences and interactions with new people (Paringatai, 2014). Māori identity involves the learning and consolidation of knowledge, both existing and new, understanding how colonisation impacts on Māori identity, and what all this means in relation to our own identity and how we sees ourselves in the world. Identifying as Māori is a journey of constant adaptation. Since the first meetings between Māori and Pākehā, Māori have had to adapt to societal pressures, expectations and have had to fight for the right to live within a Māori paradigm. Since the arrival of British settlers, the colonisation process and assimilation of Māori into a Pākehā world, some Māori have been forced to 'let go' of their Māori identity and take on a Pākehā persona. The pressure to surrender and forget cultural knowledge, Māori language, and Māori ways of knowing, in order to be accepted in Pākehā society, has robbed generations of people of the opportunity to access their cultural heritage. These events continue to impact and affect Māori identity in today's world, causing pain and sadness for many people.

Chapter Three presented an historical account of the way in which Māori identity has changed over time, starting with the ideologies and fantasies of assimilation, the use of education and prison to assimilate Māori, and the way anti-Māori messages have infiltrated society through

the media. Chapter One and Chapter Four presented personal histories and fictionalised stories of losing and rediscovering Māori identities. Researching the histories and stories of Māori-Pākehā relationships and the struggle to retain and reclaim Māori identity has exposed three major themes:

1. The forced abandonment of Māori language, culture and knowledge of whakapapa has caused personal trauma for generations of Māori people.

2. To be Māori only by whakapapa causes a dilemma and the confusion of not 'feeling' Māori enough.

3. A person who is Māori by whakapapa only can connect with and reclaim their heritage through their work as a teacher.

The following sections expand on these themes, addressing in turn each of the three research sub-questions presented in Chapter One.

What does it mean to identify as Māori 'by whakapapa only'?

Policies of Māori assimilation and processes of urban migration have significantly disrupted iwi cultural connections. Over time, the traditional way that Māori lived in rural areas became lost, as younger generations of Māori found it more difficult to return home (Rangihau, 1975). Iwi and hapū connections became fractured, and with the passing of time, so did cultural knowledge and language. Children of Māori-Pākehā unions were obliged to identify as either Māori or Pākehā, and to live within the paradigm of the 'chosen' identity. Since being Pākehā was considered more favourable and acceptable, the qualities of the person that pertained to being Māori were often left behind. With the loss of these crucial cultural values that embody what it means to be Māori, for some all that was left of their Māori identity was their whakapapa, their ancestry, their birth right to identify as Māori. When knowledge of whakapapa is lost, Māori people become completely cut off from important aspects of themselves.

It is often presumed that Māori identity is equated with physical characteristics such as brown skin, brown eyes, dark hair and that distinctive flat 'Māori nose'. There is also an assumption (by self and/or by others) that if a person identifies as Māori, they have had access to and possess Māori cultural knowledge (Paringatai, 2014). So what does it mean for a person who has Māori ancestry (who is Māori by whakapapa), but lacks the physical characteristics and cultural knowledge associated with being Māori?

Colonisation has been responsible for the forced displacement of Māori people and the abandonment of Māori language, culture and knowledge, causing generations of Māori people to either deny their Māori ancestry, or know little to nothing about their whakapapa. Negative depictions of Māori are found in everyday social discourse and media sources, and these contribute to Māori people wanting to push their Māori identity and ancestry underground. Feeling of confusion, shame and sadness are evident. It is difficult for a person when their identity is challenged by self, society, and even one's own friends and whānau. It is common for some family members to want to embrace their reclaimed Māori ancestry, and for others to choose to leave it buried in the past. Identifying as two different cultures within the same family can add to the feeling of confusion about whether one's identity is authentic and validated. This can cause a dilemma: it can be equally as confusing to know about one's Māori heritage as it is not to know.

For me personally, as a mother, a grandmother and a teacher, I feel sad and impoverished that I have not been able to enjoy Māori language, culture and traditions in my life growing up, and that I am not able to impart Māori cultural knowledge to my children, grandchildren and the children that I teach. Of course I have had exposure to Māori culture as a person raised in Aotearoa New Zealand, but I am referring to the rich embodiment of knowledge and experiences that can only be created through full access to Māori language, tikanga and ways of knowing and being, traditionally passed down in families through generations.

But I consider myself one of the lucky ones. My story and the stories of those shared in this research are not uncommon. Nor is it uncommon for people with Māori ancestry to never have the opportunity to know about their heritage. I was given this opportunity, which I have grabbed with both hands and hold dear to my heart. I am grateful that I have access to my whakapapa, my iwi, my hapū, and all the non-human entities that tell our story of who we are and where we are from. Relatively speaking, the knowledge that I hold about my family history is rich, compared to others with very similar stories.

What does it mean to reclaim the right to identify as Māori?

The achievements of the Māori Battalion and the Māori Renaissance have paved the way for Māori to once again proudly identify as Māori. Being Māori has become much more accepted in mainstream society, and many of those who have lost cultural connections are now claiming

the right to explore and re-discover their ancestry. To reclaim the right to identify as Māori is a process that can take a very long time, in fact, it can be a lifetime journey. It is a commitment to one's self, a commitment to the past, the present and future generations. It requires energy to stand true and firm in place, accepting oneself as Māori by ancestry, as someone who is seeking to learn more about themselves and their whakapapa, when not everyone understands or supports you. Energy is required to constantly explain oneself to others, and the reasons why one is on this journey. Energy is required to push through one's own self doubt and discouraging thoughts, such as 'Am I Māori enough?' 'It is not your place!' 'What does it even matter?' and 'Why are you doing this?'.

Like my family's story, loss of cultural connections has also affected even those who are closer to the original Māori bloodlines. Māori identity is based on many assumptions and is like a double-edged sword. On one hand, those who 'look' Māori and/or have a Māori name are expected to know everything about what it means to be and live as Māori, yet in many cases they don't. So while myself, and others who share my kind of story, may question whether they have the right to reclaim their Māori identity, those who are identified as Māori because of their name and/or appearance, struggle with how and why they lack cultural connection. There is confusion, guilt and feelings of uncertainty in both situations.

Why is this a matter of concern for a person who is a teacher?

The education system is currently reckoning with its Eurocentric past and how it has supported assimilation and loss of Māori identity, language and culture through its creation of institutions designed by Pākehā, for Pākehā. State education accepts its partial responsibility to ensure the survival and revival of te reo Māori, Māori knowledge and identity, and takes seriously the challenge of reducing inequalities between Māori and Pākehā in relation to educational outcomes (Berryman & Eley, 2017).

While this research has not been focused on education policies, two key policy documents (*Ka Hikitia* and the *Professional Codes and Standards*) are introduced below, with commentary connecting to the research in the previous chapters.

Our Codes our Standards is a document that sets out the expectations for ethical teacher behaviour, and describes effective teaching practice for all practitioners teaching at any level in Aotearoa New Zealand (Teaching Council, 2019). The standard called Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Partnership states that teachers will demonstrate commitment to tangata whenuatanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand. This standard holds teachers responsible to:

- Understand and recognise the unique status of tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Understand and acknowledge the histories, heritages, languages and cultures of partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
- Practise and develop the use of te reo and tikanga Māori (p. 18).

This implies that teachers are responsible for learning te reo Māori and being culturally competent within their practice. *Ka Hikitia* is the state's strategy for Māori education and has existed for over 10 years in various iterations. Educational policies such as *Ka Hikitia* have been part of the state's answer to counteract and address Māori underachievement. *Ka Hikitia* contains five outcome domains to support excellent outcomes for Māori learners and their whānau. One of those domains, Te Tuakiritanga, states:

- Identity, language and culture matter for Māori learners.
- Our education services will support the growth and development of the Māori language.
- We will support the identity, language and culture of Māori learners and their whānau to strengthen belonging, engagement and achievement as Māori so the Māori learners can actively participate in te ao Māori, Aotearoa and the wider world (Ministry of Education, 2021). PAGE - WEBSITE

Policy for Māori education is based on the concept of cultural responsiveness, which asserts that racism and injustice experienced by Māori occur because of lack of awareness of cultural differences (Berryman & Eley, 2017). The process of developing cultural competency is a personal journey, requiring a profound awareness of one's self, identity, reflection of individual biases, prejudices and privilege, all while obtaining an understanding and developing knowledge of cultures which are not one's own (Raymond, 2020).

It is ironic, however, that education policies place an immense amount of responsibility on teachers to reinstate Māori identity and 'undo' colonial damage that has pervaded New Zealand education. After all, the purpose of education historically has been to disrupt the access of

Māori people to Māori culture, language and identity (Hetaraka, 2019). Another paradox is the expectation for me (as a teacher) to implement aspects of my heritage in my teaching practice, when my ancestors were forced to assimilate and leave behind their language, culture and identity.

Policy documents imply that there is a simple answer to addressing these issues, with little apparent compassion and consideration for the trauma imposed on generations of Māori people, who have been obliged to leave their identity behind, in the pre-colonial past. There is little recognition of the personal costs of the journey to reclaim one's identity. Nevertheless, for me personally, the journey has been tough but absolutely worth it. The efforts made by the state to support Māori identity being normalised in education is a step in the right direction, and could be viewed as a positive opportunity for teachers who are Māori by whakapapa to explore their own family histories.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

As part of my professional duties as a teacher, I am obligated to honour the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and to implement a culturally responsive pedagogy in my practice. These obligations catalysed the emergence of my curiosity to explore my family history and my own Māori identity. This exploration became a passion, and as I learned more I began speaking out in my studies and in social situations about the oppression and marginalisation of Māori, in the hope of contributing to change. Presenting my pepeha in my workplace has been enlightening: a means to heal, and a way of stepping forward into my Māori identity. This journey has also been a challenging one and I have felt confusion, self-doubt and sadness, as I experience how other people view my identity in contrast with how I identify myself.

My story, my family history, and the experiences of others who have struggled with Māori identity are all unique, but share commonalities. The common themes of confusion, hurt and feeling misunderstood when choosing to identify as Māori, result from traumatic historical events and forces that have affected the constructs of Māori identity and the fracturing of iwi and hapū connections. These processes have entailed the loss over generations of Māori identity, language, cultural knowledge and knowledge of whakapapa. There has been a growing Pākehā acceptance of the rights of Māori following WWII, which, combined with the Māori Renaissance and the birth of Kaupapa Māori, have to some extent normalised being Māori today, thereby opening the doors for those of Māori ancestry to reclaim their identity.

The road to reclaiming one's lost identity as Māori is not an easy one. It takes time, effort and energy to do the work: to research, to make the connections, to learn about what has been lost in previous generations of one's family. It requires the ability to encounter adversity and develop resilience to keep going. It is a deeply personal journey that could possibly continue for a lifetime. It is a process of coming to understand the detailed history and true nature of colonisation; how one's whānau was affected, and the way in which the ideas of colonisation influence one's perception of one's own identity.

This research has limitations because it is a very small study using non-empirical and auto-research methods. It is my unique story, which includes my family history and how that history has shaped my family's and my own Māori identity. My story is not exceptional. There are many, many people who are Māori only by ancestry, with a family history somewhat like mine.

This research project has shared some of these stories, but there are many more to tell, and many that will never be told. Māori identity is a vast topic that incorporates multiple layers, and the strength of this study is that it has been able to explore this big topic on a small scale. This topic has potential to be explored further in future research and practice. This study is particularly pertinent to teachers like myself, who could use their obligations as a teacher as inspiration to explore and research their Māori ancestry for personal and professional gains.

In a te ao Māori worldview, whanaungatanga (relationships and connections) are central to Māori well-being and belonging. Whanaungatanga encompasses the notion that no one ever exists alone; we are surrounded by our past, present and future whānau. My tīpuna (ancestors), my tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren) are at the heart of my research; they are fundamental to who I am, my inspiration, and a huge part of why this work is important to me. For my tamariki, I hope that whanaungatanga holds them in good stead for their own journeys ahead and that they know they will never walk alone. For my moko, and any future mokopuna waiting to enter this world, my aspiration for them as Māori is to inhabit a world and society where they feel accepted with understanding and hope, as they navigate their own discovery of their birth right to Māori identity.

Figure 3: My Whānau

Left to right - Jacob, Cushla (me), Remi, Olivia, Mark, Courtney

Figure 4: My Pepeha

Ko Tokomaru te waka

Ko Taranaki te maunga,

Ko Waitara te awa,

Ko Te Āti Awa te iwi

Ko Ngāti Rahiri te hapū,

I te taha o taku matua, ko Cyril taku koroua, ko May taku kuia

I te taha o taku whaea, ko Jeffrey taku koroua, ko Emily taku kuia

Ko Rex taku matua

Ko Elizabeth taku whaea

Ko Karen rātou ko Vicki, ko Jenny, ko Sandra, ko Jodie taku tuakana
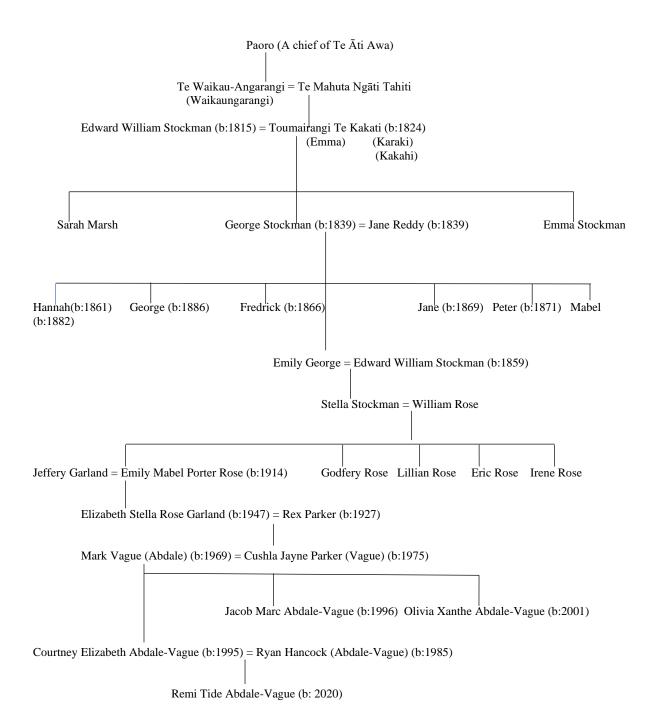
Ko Tony rāua ko Matthew aku tungāne

Ko Courtney rātou ko Jacob, ko Olivia aku tamariki

Ko Remi taku mokopuna

Ko Mark taku hoa tāne

Ko Cushla taku ingoa

Figure 5: My Whakapapa

Paoro (A chief of Te Āti Awa)

Te Waikau-Angarangi = Te Mahuta Ngāti Tahiti
(Waikaungarangi)

Edward William Stockman (b:1815) = Toumairangi Te Kakati (b:1824)
(Emma)   (Karaki)
(Kakahi)

Sarah Marsh   George Stockman (b:1839) = Jane Reddy (b:1839)   Emma Stockman

Hannah(b:1861)   George (b:1886)   Fredrick (b:1866)   Jane (b:1869) Peter (b:1871) Mabel
(b:1882)

Emily George = Edward William Stockman (b:1859)

Stella Stockman = William Rose

Jeffery Garland = Emily Mabel Porter Rose (b:1914)   Godfery Rose Lillian Rose   Eric Rose   Irene Rose

Elizabeth Stella Rose Garland (b:1947) = Rex Parker (b:1927)

Mark Vague (Abdale) (b:1969) = Cushla Jayne Parker (Vague) (b:1975)

Jacob Marc Abdale-Vague (b:1996) Olivia Xanthe Abdale-Vague (b:2001)

Courtney Elizabeth Abdale-Vague (b:1995) = Ryan Hancock (Abdale-Vague) (b:1985)

Remi Tide Abdale-Vague (b: 2020)

Glossary of Māori Words

aroha	love, compassion, humaneness
hapū	smaller kin group
iwi	larger kin group
kai	food; to eat
kaitiaki	guardian
kanohi kitea	familiar face
Kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy
kōhanga reo	language nest
kōrero	speak, utterance
kura kaupapa Māori	Kaupapa Māori schools
mana	personal power, authority
manaaki	care and hospitality
manuhiri	guests
Māori	Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa
marae	Māori community centre
matauranga	knowledge, education
mihi	greeting, speech of introduction
mihi whakatau	welcoming ceremony
mokopuna	grandchild(ren)
ngā	the (plural)
ngākau mahaki	humility
Pākehā	White New Zealander
pepeha	personal introduction
takahia	trample
tamariki	children
tangata	person, people
tangata whenua	traditional owners, hosts
tangi	funeral
taonga	valuable, treasure

te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo	the (Māori) language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
tikanga	customs, correct procedures
tino rangatiratanga	autonomy, political sovereignty
tīpuna	ancestors
tirohanga	viewpoint
titiro	to look
tūpato	careful, cautious
waiata	sing, song
whakapapa	genealogy
whakarongo	listen
whakawhanaungatanga	introduction process
whānau	family, members of an ECE (staff, children and families)
whenua	land

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