

Decolonizing Youth Justice:

Assessing the mainstream education system and its role in the overrepresentation of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system.

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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.”

Abstract

This thesis explored the impact that the mainstream education system has had on the prevalence of anti-social and deviant behaviours within rangatahi Māori, and the consequent overrepresentation of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system. The euro-centric New Zealand school system has failed rangatahi Māori by neglecting cultural-specific components that prove vital to the success of rangatahi Māori when learning. Moreover, in recent times we have seen the benefits that te ao Māori and all its teachings can provide rangatahi Māori in their general well-being and development. Alternative education programs grounded within Kaupapa Māori theory have demonstrated significant progress with the engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori in their learning, sporting, and personal endeavours.

The aim of this study was to understand how and why these phenomena exist and the specifics of the mainstream school system and Kaupapa Māori-run programs from the eyes of rangatahi Māori themselves. In doing so, this research sought to extract the experience and realities of four rangatahi Māori who were currently participating in a Kaupapa Māori alternative education course in Ōtautahi, Christchurch. Korero highlighted vast disparities between the two systems and a wealth of knowledge was gathered which affirmed the original propositions of this study, that the mainstream education system fails to attend to the cultural-specific needs of Māori students. This research also employed the mātauranga of two kaumātua participants, who both contributed tremendous insight to the theoretical development of the research topic. The study followed a qualitative research approach that utilised personal face-to-face interviews that were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed by the primary researcher. and a kaupapa Māori methodological framework guided the entirety of this research.

This research found that western, mainstream education systems fail to provide rangatahi Māori with individualised, cultural-specific tools and processes of learning. This, in turn, hindered their capacity to achieve to the best of their ability. This research also identified that alternative education pathways that are grounded within te ao Māori encourage heightened enjoyment, engagement, and achievement amongst rangatahi Māori with their education. Concepts of whakawhānaungatanga, manaakitanga, Māoritanga and mana Motuhake were observed to validate these findings.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Overview of Research

This research explored the over-representation of Rangatahi (youth) Māori in New Zealand's criminal justice system and specifically, exposed the failures that the western system of education has had amongst rangatahi Māori. The criminal justice system has wreaked havoc amongst Māori communities since the initial colonial period of Aotearoa, and the effects of Māori being assimilated to live within euro-centric societal structures has had an overwhelming impact on their collective prosperity and well-being for much of the last two centuries.

For too long Pākehā led the academic conversations of te ao Māori and its affairs, directed solely upon western-colonial processes of research and understanding. Māori ontology and epistemology were blatantly neglected for well over a century and European colonial systems of knowledge became the sole basis of our understanding and functioning within Aotearoa. In the academic space, Māori whānau were only represented and mentioned only in passing, and the Indigenous experience was long dismissed in the theorisation and remediation of Māori issues. Consequently, theorisations such as the “warrior gene” emerged, claiming Māori criminality and over-representation was due to the increased prevalence of the monoamine oxidase A (MAO) gene, essentially arguing that Māori were biologically inclined to commit crime when compared to other ethnicities (Hook, 2009).

However, since the influx of Māori academics in the tertiary research space during the Māori renaissance period of the 1970's, Māori themselves have been able to lead discussions and integrate their first-hand experience to the conversation. One thing we have learnt from this Indigenous influx is that western systems of societal function do not work for Māori and instead, marginalise them. From education to health, employment to housing, social welfare to criminal justice, Māori are negatively portrayed throughout all social sectors in Aotearoa today.

This research specifically seeks to investigate the impact that the mainstream education system has had on rangatahi Māori, their well-being, their willingness to engage and achieve with their schoolwork, and ultimately, their ability to transform and deter from anti-social, deviant and/or criminal behaviours. A comparison will be drawn from the rangatahi's experiences within a school environment to their experiences within a Kaupapa Māori (Māori ideology) based intervention programme, and an in-depth comparative discussion will investigate their effectiveness through the eyes of rangatahi Māori themselves.

This research navigates through the current body of literature available in relation to rangatahi Māori and the criminal justice system, and provides an observation into the recurring discussions identified, namely around socio-economic deprivation, cultural disconnection, and societal assimilation, all underpinned within the theme of colonialism. Although over-representation in the criminal justice system is not an issue unique to rangatahi Māori, they are a very distinctive demographic when examined through a social science lens, and many specific factors entwine and emerge when compared to the general Māori or youth populations, which makes for a very complex notion to understand. However, this research aims to dissect credible literature and apply these teachings directly to discussions with rangatahi Māori to build a base of comprehension as to how and why rangatahi Māori are in the position they are today. This will provide insights as to how these inequalities can be addressed more effectively for a prosperous future.

A total of six participants took part in the research interviews. Firstly, four rangatahi Māori, who at the time were taking part in the Bros for Change alternative education programme in Ōtautahi, Christchurch, and two kaumātua who have had decades of experience within the youth justice and Iwi engagement sectors. The four rangatahi who were interviewed were all engaged from Bros for Change. Bros for Change is an alternative education programme which offers courses to rangatahi Māori living in Ōtautahi which are grounded upon the teachings and understanding of te ao Māori. These students are labelled “at risk youth” due to various reasons and are therefore selected by their school to partake in the Bros for Change programme.

Background

Rangatahi Māori comprise two of the most severely deprived demographics in Aotearoa, being both Māori and young peoples, and we see this deprivation at its forefront when analysing their past and current experiences within the justice system. Rangatahi Māori over-representation in the criminal justice system has been an issue since data was first obtained and published by the Ministry of Justice in 1992.

In fact, general youth criminality was identified as a national issue during the same period and a major response was initiated by the government of the time to confront the alarming statistics, including the introduction of the Child and Young Peoples Well-being Act 1989 (Connolly, 1994).

Interestingly, despite success among the general youth population and a positive decline in youth justice statistics since that time, rangatahi Māori have driven a deteriorating trend

within the same period, being the only categorised ethnicity within the youth population to do so in Aotearoa (Ministry of Justice, 2017).

For example, between 2009 and 2017, the youth court appearance rate decreased a substantial 38% amongst the general youth population (Ministry of Justice, 2017). However, in contrast, rangatahi Māori saw a 23% increase in court appearances over the same period (Ministry of Justice, 2017). Further, in 2018, rangatahi Māori accounted for just over a quarter of the general youth population at 27% yet made up 64% of youth charged in Aotearoa (Ministry of Justice, 2017). This shows that not only is the system failing to address the issues impacting rangatahi Māori, but it is also somewhat facilitating the exacerbation of these issues through its negligence.

As stated, this research specifically seeks to investigate the impact that the western education system has on these inequities in the criminal justice system for rangatahi Māori. Education statistics are just as grim for rangatahi Māori, and it seems there can be no denying a correlation between the two. In 2020, just 40.3% of Māori students attained NCEA level 3, or University Entrance standard, making them the most poorly achieving ethnicity in the country at a graduating level (Ministry of Education, 2020). Benton (2019) further contends that schools stand-down and suspend more Māori students than any other ethnic group, meaning Māori are not only achieving at a poorer rate than all other ethnicities, but they are being excluded and alienated at a higher rate as well. So where do these inequalities stem from? How have rangatahi Māori become so poorly represented in education outcomes in Aotearoa? Well, Māori academics have an answer. The system.

It is argued that current educational policies were developed within a framework of colonialism and as a result, to this day, continue to serve the interests of the colonisers (Rata, 2012). New Zealand's education system was initially built with the purpose to assimilate Māori and facilitate the dispossession and destruction of Māori ontology and yet we still allow these principles to guide our national curriculum today (Walker, 2016). The euro-centric basis of our education system marginalises Māori, critiquing their intuition on such a minor fragment of their true ability (Rata, 2012). We simply measure the worth and intelligence of our rangatahi strictly based on how well they can read, write, and regurgitate information onto a piece of paper.

The current education system leaves little-to-no room for rangatahi to explore alternative, more pragmatic forms of academic accomplishment. The formation of individualised course options that cater to the needs, strengths, and aspirations of rangatahi who are academically

challenged are unheard of in the mainstream education system. Struggling students are given limited subject options and are set up to fail, destroying their self-esteem and motivation to achieve, simply because their strengths lie outside the realm of traditional education modules.

This research seeks to explore the truth of this systematic failure of the mainstream education system and demonstrate how this correlates directly to the poor outcomes rangatahi Māori face in the criminal justice system. These abhorrent statistics do not simply fall from the sky, there are complex causes to these disparities which this research endeavours to dissect.

Research Sub-questions

In addressing the issues for rangatahi and their education journeys this study will be led further by three research sub-questions. The first will identify the current mainstream framework to identify the presence of te ao Māori in their learning. The following question will investigate the effect on rangatahi when this is absent in their education process. The final question will explore the benefits of education grounded in te ao Māori. Collectively these research sub-questions will provide a succinct pathway to address the primary research question. A full summation of the sub questions is as follows;

1. Does the western, mainstream education system provide rangatahi Māori with individualised, cultural-specific tools and processes of learning?

The current framework which guides our mainstream national curriculum is deeply rooted within the colonial construct of education (Walker, 2016). As with all other social institutions, education is known to fail in reflecting Māori values, processes, and objectives (McGuinness Institute, 2016). Success tends to be measured merely by a young person's ability to read and write and leaves restricted alternatives in their quest for accomplishment. This research will examine these ideas through korero with rangatahi, exploring their experience of these notions and understanding how they feel their Māoritanga is, or isn't, embraced in their individual school environments.

2. What are the repercussions to rangatahi when Māoritanga is not present in their learning environment?

Māori leaders have long argued against the effectiveness of our current education system and its curriculum for rangatahi Māori. This study will investigate whether the neglect of Māori values and processes within their education has a negative impact on rangatahi Māori,

specifically on their ability to achieve and their motivation to engage with their mahi (work). Further korero with rangatahi will discuss if and why they struggle with certain aspects of school, what makes it challenging, and perhaps even why they feel the need to leave school early. It is imperative to this research that the cultural-specific elements of their struggles are examined in addition to the general issues they face at school.

3. Do alternative-education pathways grounded within te ao Māori benefit Rangatahi Māori in ways that main-stream education does not allow for? If so, how?

We need only look at the success of the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement to understand just how valuable the integration of Māori principles and processes can be for rangatahi Māori. In saying that, we cannot rely solely on Kura Kaupapa to employ these teachings alone. In Aotearoa we currently have 72 Kura Kaupapa Māori, and a further 45 designated charter schools which offer Māori immersion pathways (Figure NZ, 2022). We also have an estimated 204,000 Māori students currently enrolled in school in New Zealand (Education Counts, 2022). Therefore, if all Māori students in the country were to enrol within one of the 117 institutions, each would have to facilitate 1750 students, an impracticable ask of a system already struggling with resourcing and accessibility.

This research will analyse if and how principles of te ao Māori can positively assist rangatahi Māori in their experience in school. Rangatahi will be asked to share their perspective on Māoritanga, its relevance to their schooling, and its ability, or inability, to support their journeys through high school. This study also seeks to identify what specific elements of te ao Māori rangatahi find most valuable to their learning, and ways in which these elements can be better utilised in their schools.

Research objectives

The primary objective of this research is to understand how the mainstream education system fails to accommodate the cultural-specific needs of rangatahi Māori, and how this failure hinders both rangatahi Māori's achievement in, and enjoyment of, school. To achieve this, research collaborators or participants were given an opportunity to share their experiences of school and voice both their appreciations and concerns of the system for which they are confined for up to six hours a day, five days a week. Responses helped address the external influences which had an impact on the achievement of rangatahi Māori and ultimately, apply the theories identified within the academic literature directly to the korero of rangatahi Māori themselves.

Further objectives of this research are to identify the specific aspects of western education that rangatahi find most challenging and highlight what steps could be taken at a systematic level to increase rangatahi engagement with their schooling. Finally, this research aims to contribute to the Indigenous literature by sharing knowledge and experiences directly from the mouths of rangatahi themselves.

These objectives were addressed by asking rangatahi Māori to provide a narrative in an interview setting on four specific topics. The first focusing on their experience in school, what elements they appreciated, what they found most challenging, and how their education had affected them, both positively and negatively. The second topic explored their experience within Bros for Change. Rangatahi were asked a similar grouping of questions to illustrate their overall experience of the Māori-centric alternative education programme. The third topic opted to investigate a comparative reflection between the two, asking rangatahi which system they preferred from different lenses, and why they thought they may have found one more beneficial, enjoyable, or effective than the other. The final topic focuses on their Māoritanga and explores their personal connection to their culture, and how that connection was either embraced or neglected in both environments. Further, rangatahi were asked how these cultural factors impacted on their achievement, satisfaction and overall well-being whilst being in school.

A personal objective of this research is to ensure that this contribution is beneficial to rangatahi Māori and iwi, hapū, and whānau across the motu. Being a Māori researcher is an immense privilege and consequently, comes with great responsibility. To seek to alleviate the pressures and disadvantages of our people by creating our own narrative is vital. Therefore, this study will be grounded within the Kaupapa Māori Research methodology, asserting the centrality and legitimacy of te reo, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori (Rangahau, 1990).

Justification for research

This research holds value for many reasons, with the most important being that it will provide insight and a voice to an issue that continues to cause a great degree of harm to Māori whānau throughout Aotearoa. Although there has been a great elevation of Māori academics contributing critical research to the academic space, there is still much work to be done.

This research will also provide value to the literature due to its specificity and modernity. Addressing an area which is insubstantial in terms of the available literature, and with the

ability to encompass more contemporary data and philosophies within this long-standing discussion.

Value is also found in the participation of rangatahi Māori themselves. It is imperative that rangatahi Māori have a voice on issues affecting them and are not instead being spoken on behalf of. There are incredibly valuable learnings we can take from korero with rangatahi and they must form part of the discussion if we are to make true and effective change in the education space. As human beings we have shown a strong tendency to exclude children in decision-making processes. We feel that the inherent sense of control and the slanted power-dynamic between adult and child allows us to know what is best for young people and therefore, act accordingly. This is no different in the academic research space. As Māori, we have first-hand experience that exclusion in academic research and policy reform is contemptable, for it was only forty years ago that we were facing the same struggles as a culture. Colonial-superiority forging the same mind set upon us and keeping Māori voiceless and vulnerable in positions of power form a great part of our colonial history. The inclusion of Māori youth was imperative to this research and will serve to provide an authentic voice for rangatahi Māori across Aotearoa.

Ultimately, it is intended that the discussions and findings of this research will also contribute to the facilitation and development of initiatives aimed to remediate the inequities rangatahi Māori face in education and criminal justice. This would be the paramount objective, to broaden our understanding of the issue and improve outcomes for rangatahi Māori, their experience in school and their prevalence in the criminal justice system.

Thesis outline

This thesis is organised according to the following outline:

Chapter one or the current chapter, introduces the research, providing a general overview to the thesis and highlighting the background, objectives, and justification of this study. This chapter also pays acknowledgments to core influences and contributors to the research and identifies any amendments made throughout the undertaking of this thesis.

Chapter two presents a review of the literature that relates to the topics and themes of this study. The review is grouped into ten core sections, all underpinned by the concept of colonialism. The aim of the literature review is to illustrate the current state of knowledge concerning the research question and to highlight key theoretical perspectives and arguments from previous research that can be built upon in these discussions. The review contextualises

the current research within discussions related to rangatahi Māori's education and involvement with the criminal justice system.

Chapter three explains the research methods, discussing the Kaupapa Māori research methodology and its significance to this study. Data collection and data analysis are also discussed, alongside timeframes, ethical considerations and challenges encountered throughout the undertaking of this research.

Chapter four presents the results accumulated from this research, including the narratives offered by the participants from the interviews. There are also verbatim quotes included within this chapter.

Chapter five is the discussion section and provides an analysis of the key themes identified from this research. This chapter also aims to dissect key factors influencing the findings and concludes with recommendations, and the importance of further research in this area.

Chapter six is a summary of findings which discusses the success of this research in terms of meeting the intended research objectives. This chapter also concludes with a brief overview of the research experience and journey over the course of this thesis.

Research amendments

Amendments were made to this research throughout the course of its undertaking. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, was the scope of this study. Initially, this research intended to explore how the blatant dismissal of Māori systems of knowledge and theories of origins in Aotearoa's colonial history had directly resulted in the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system, in all socio-facets. This research originally intended to examine how the euro-centric basis of Aotearoa society had alienated Māori and in turn, made rangatahi Māori more vulnerable to criminal and deviant behaviours. As progression was made through the literature review it became apparent that the scope of that hypothesis was too broad for a thesis of this size. As the interview process neared, it was decided that this study will focus more so on the experiences and effects of the western, mainstream education system. This would allow for much greater depth within the writing of this thesis, as opposed to simply brushing over multiple different topics with no real detail or clarity.

The participation population was also amended during this study. When the PGR1 was first processed, it was planned that eight participants would be recruited for the interviews, four rangatahi Māori, and four kaumātua. This was amended to six participants, being four

rangatahi and two kaumātua. This amendment was made simply based on the abundance of content and information gathered from the first two interviews with kaumātua, who shared a wealth of knowledge on the discussed topics.

Summary

It is hoped that this research can unravel layers of complexity of rangatahi Māori in the justice system by examining their experiences within the mainstream education system. By integrating philosophies of the literature with the korero of rangatahi Māori themselves, we hope this leads to a better understanding of the issue at hand. Once this is established, it is intended that the information gathered will be able to contribute to improving the experience of rangatahi Māori for future generations.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

The literature within this review was drawn predominantly from New Zealand sources of research relevant to the topic. International research was not particularly pertinent, with the exception of Indigenous perspectives from research in America, Canada, and Australia, which are included.

The scope of literature utilised within the review ranges from 1974 to 2022. Whilst it would be standard practice to explore only the last ten years of literature this would not be realistic in this instance, primarily for two reasons. Firstly, there is an abundance of literature available from earlier than this time frame which simply could not be omitted due to the significant contribution that these authors provided. Secondly, had the timeline been reduced there would not have been enough literature to provide a comprehensive review.

The search strategy adopted was to explore literature available from the Auckland University of Technology, Unitec, and Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiārangi library catalogues, including books, e-journals, databases, and thesis. Alongside this was browsing Google Scholar and surveying literature from within national organizations, and official statistics.

Terms searched were “rangatahi Māori”, “rangatahi Māori education”, “rangatahi Māori criminal justice system”, “rangatahi Māori offending”, “rangatahi Māori rehabilitation”, “Māori and criminal justice system”, “Māori and education”, “traditional Māori criminal justice”, “Māori approaches to harm”, “kaupapa Māori theory”, “New Zealand criminal justice system”, “New Zealand prison system and Māori”, “Overrepresentation of Māori in criminal justice/prisons”, “Ethnic discrimination and New Zealand Police”, “Racism in New Zealand police”, “Māori and Police/Prisons”.

This review begins by analysing youth justice in New Zealand and draws closer to the objectives of this study by then exploring Māori overrepresentation in general. A specific section then assesses rangatahi Māori over-representation and following this, begins the review of theories aimed to explain these notions. These explanations include colonisation, intergenerational trauma, socio-economic deprivation, land confiscation, and state-dependency. This review then looks specifically to the explanations of rangatahi overrepresentation being rangatahi socio-economic deprivation and disconnect to Māoritanga. Finally, this review analyses the exclusion of mātauranga Māori, Pākehā and Māori notions of justice, and the euro-centric basis of the mainstream education system.

Youth Justice in Aotearoa

The general realm of criminal justice has long been weaponized by politicians as a tool to induce fear into society, with hopes that this fear will amass the public into their political nest of “public order and prosperity” (Walters & Bradley, 2019). For youth justice in Aotearoa, this notion has been vastly accelerated. Coincidentally, every three years the justice system, and youth offending particularly, becomes the centre of political debate.

Various parties from across the political spectrum begin regurgitating policy reform and legislative proposals which will combat the apparent “growing danger” of youth offending. Even in the current climate we still witness this in relation to youth crime and ram raids. Due to this political significance, popularity of the criminal justice system has seemed to overwhelm social scientists over the last few decades.

As a result, a firm body of academic literature and research has been left in its wake, seeking to either validate or reject political propositions, or to simply shed light upon the notions of youth justice and adolescent offending. This literature review aims to analyse and compact the available literature of youth offending exclusively in Aotearoa, with the exception of introducing comparisons to other settler-colonial demographics such as Australia, Canada, and the United States of America.

One core philosophy of youth justice is the school to prison pipeline theory. Lambie and Gluckman (2018) explain the school to prison pipeline as a conceptual pathway for youth offenders entering the justice system. This theory proposes that anti-social behaviour in school, and disengagement from the education system are correlating risk factors which vastly increase the likelihood of future criminal offending for young peoples (Rocque & Snellings, 2018). Schiff (2018) further conveys that a young person’s negative experience within a school climate and poor student achievement, resulting from social exclusion and behavioural or cognitive impairments, directly influences the likelihood of that young person becoming non-responsive and ultimately, disconnected, suspended, or expelled. It is further argued that this dismissal further diminishes a young person’s willingness to actively engage in society, and as a result, there is a greater sense of contentment grown with deviant behaviour and criminal offending in the future. Essentially, the essence of the school to prison pipeline theory explains that the disengagement of youth in the school system, and the consequent rejection or expulsion from that system, creates a literal pipeline that transfers young people directly from school yards to prison yards (Weeks, 2018).

Instability in the family household is also argued to explain the criminality and future offending amongst young people (Lambie & Gluckman, 2018). “Instability in the family household” encompasses a range of whānau constructions. Mainly, this topic speaks to young people with divorced parents, one parent households, and/or incarcerated parent/s (Shepherd & Ilalio, 2016).

It is evident in the literature of both Kukutai et al. (2020) and Lambie & Gluckman (2018) that the inherited dysfunction of divorced-parent environments, and the stress experienced within one parent households, has a severe impact on both the psychological and emotional development of young people. In a government report released in 2010, it was noted that single-parent households presented far poorer outcomes in chronic illness, unemployment, and poverty, all asserted as significant risk-factors of criminal offending amongst youth (New Zealand Ministry of Social Development, 2010).

Lim, Lambie, and Toledo (2019) discuss this further and state that parental divorce increases the risk of anti-social behaviour and social disengagement, both of which are also actively identified as correlating influences of future criminal offending. It is also argued that the dysfunction imposed on young people with divorced parents, and the consequent constant movement between homes, family, and agency placements, creates a disrupted development environment that establishes conditions for the progression of these anti-social behaviours (Tauri & Morris, 1997).

Furthermore, children of incarcerated parents have been shown to be amongst the most disadvantaged youth in society, being ten times more likely to become prisoners themselves when compared to children of non-prisoners (Lambie & Gluckman, 2018). In an American-based study Turney (2018) introduces the concept of adverse childhood experiences (ACE), which gauge a child’s experience of stress and trauma, and argues that these are telling risk factors for future criminal offending and incarceration. In turn, Turney and Goodsell (2018) claim that children of incarcerated parents are exposed to five times as many adverse childhood experiences (ACE), as compared to children of non-prisoners, representing a significant disparity for children of an incarcerated parents.

We see the truth of these theories reflected within the data in Aotearoa. For example, in a report released in 2011, Te Puni Kokiri found that within their research participant pool of three hundred and thirty-nine prisoners, 27% had parents who had been incarcerated when they were children. Interestingly, 44% of participants also had a close family member (brother, uncle, or cousin) imprisoned whilst they were children. This makes it somewhat irrefutable

that the imprisonment of parents (or other close adult relatives) has an immense impact on their children and the likelihood of them entering the justice system themselves (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011).

The theory of intergenerational trauma can be utilised to understand this notion further. In relation to the criminal justice system, it is understood that the incarceration of an individual is directly associated with a manifestation of poor outcomes in education, higher levels of unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse, and an increased prevalence of violence and aggression (Waretini-Karena, D. 2012). These are all encapsulated by an intense sense of trauma imposed on the individual and their family. When this trauma is inflicted upon a parent or parents through means of incarceration, it is argued that these hardships and trauma are also inflicted upon their children (Rawiri, 2015), making them vulnerable to falling victim to adverse childhood experiences which ultimately heightens their exposure to socio-economic drivers of crime (Craig & Malvaso, 2021).

Deckert (2020) states that intergenerational trauma theory explains that with each generation, a new layer of trauma compounds with the trauma experienced by the preceding generation. This accumulates over time to create an atrocious amount of trauma affixed to the succeeding generation. She continues to assert that this intergenerational compounding consequently leads to historical trauma responses such as heightened substance abuse, alcoholism, maladaptive behavioural patterns, depression, and of course, criminal offending. Essentially, this theory contends that as a generation is incarcerated and trauma is inflicted upon the individual, the succeeding generation (children) then inherit the trauma of their parent/s, significantly amplifying the deprivation and trauma of that child and ultimately, leading them down a homogenous life pathway to that of their parent/s (Pihama et al.,2014).

Instability in the family household also induces a prevalence of drug and alcohol abuse, and violence. In a study focused on female youth offenders, Lin, Lambie and Van Toledo (2018) reported that among adolescent offenders, at least a third (33%) had parents who had reported a history of drug and alcohol abuse. It is also evident that drug abuse and alcoholism amongst parents tends to be an immediate causation of child maltreatment, neglect, and abuse (Herrenkohl et al., 1983).

An example to validate this is provided by Lambie and Gluckman (2018) who state that in the period between 2016-2017, 87% of all young offenders aged between 14 and 16 years old had prior reports of care-and-protection concerns made to Oranga Tamariki.

Exposure to family violence is known to have a substantial impact on adolescents due to the negative effects it has on the nervous, immune, and metabolic systems, resulting in a heightened infliction of trauma upon a young person (Lambie & Gerrard, 2018).

They further argue that this exposure to trauma, and the persisting experiences of abuse, violence, and neglect within unstable households, creates a volatile environment that heightens the risk of young people being exposed to the key drivers of crime. Following the review of literature, it becomes clear that these instabilities imposed on households cause catastrophic implications on the cognitive and emotional development of children, ultimately exacerbating that child's exposure to drivers of crime.

Concerns in police culture have also been investigated to explain the causes of youth offending. In a piece of research specifically exploring youth justice in Aotearoa, Latu and Lucas (2008) express that early intervention processes with at-risk youth offenders is not considered *sexy work* by the police and is therefore overlooked by police officers.

They further argue that the justice system provides disincentives for police to work within "less formal" engagements such as youth justice, and that they are seen as "revolving door" systems, viewed by frontline police officers as soft, eternal career pathways. It must be stated that it is unlikely that this perception exists across the entire New Zealand police organisation. However, to think there is any form of quantum existence within the New Zealand police that relegates youth justice work to the lowermost is concerning to say the least.

Over Representation of Māori in the New Zealand criminal justice system.

From the inception of New Zealand's criminal justice system, the rate of Māori overrepresentation has since surged to colossal measures (Carrington et al., 2018). Māori have been excessively injected into the criminal justice cycle, generation after generation, largely owed to cultural-specific rationales. For example, in 1936, Māori consisted of an estimated 18% of the national population and only accounted for 11% of New Zealand's prison population (Mcintosh & Workman, 2017). However, just ten years proceeding, with Māori then accounting for a reduced 16% of the national population, Māori had surged to 26.4% of the national prison population (Workman, 2016).

Over the last seven decades this trend has continued to snowball and today, although only accounting for a scarce 15% of New Zealand's demographic, Māori account for a astonishing 54% of the national prison population (Marie, 2010).

Aotearoa's inadequacies of incarceration worsen when focusing on wāhine Māori, who make up just 16% of the general national women's population, yet comprise 64% of the national women's prison population, putting Māori women amongst the most incarcerated dual demographics in the world (Mcintosh & Workman, 2017).

By no means are these criminal justice inequities limited to incarceration. In a 2009 report provided by the Ministry of Justice, statistics show that between 1997 and 2006, police apprehensions rose just 4% for the general public. However, in the same period, apprehensions of Māori grew 10%, and in 2006, Māori had accounted for 43% of all police apprehensions nationally (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Supporting data published by Elers (2012) revealed a consistent trend, finding that Māori were 3.3 times more likely to be apprehended, 3.8 times more likely to be prosecuted, and 3.9 times more likely to be convicted of an offence, when compared to non-Māori.

Recent research undertaken by Cunneen (2014) indicates a waning trend in stating that Māori are four to five times more likely to be apprehended, prosecuted, and convicted for a criminal offence, eleven times more likely to be remanded in custody, and seven times more likely to be sentenced to imprisonment, when compared to non-Māori in New Zealand. Regardless of which year or source of information is analysed, the significant disparities of Māori within all facets of the criminal justice system are well documented.

Over Representation of Rangatahi Māori

Thus far, youth over representation and Māori over representation have been analysed separately and both have identified alarming trends within the data. However, when both demographics are combined and we look specifically to rangatahi Māori, we find these notions dramatically amplified. For example, data retrieved from the Child and Youth Prosecution Statistics revealed that although only amounting to 27% of the general youth population (under 17 years old), rangatahi Māori represented 64% of all youth charged in Aotearoa in 2018 (Stats NZ, 2018). Additional supporting statistics published by the government in the same year indicated that 51% of rangatahi Māori who had offended and subsequently entered the youth justice system, led to a FCG (family group conference) or Court action, compared to just 29% of Pākehā youth (Beehive, 2018).

This demonstrates that not only are rangatahi Māori more likely to be apprehended, convicted, and prosecuted, but they are prone to harsher punishment and consequences when compared to other ethnicities, particularly Pākehā.

It is also vital to recognize the consistent, increasing trends within youth justice to understand that this is a deteriorating situation for Rangatahi Māori in Aotearoa.

For example, in 2017, a Ministry of Justice report identified that from 2009 to 2017 the general youth court appearance rate decreased a substantial 38% for the general youth population. However, the same report found the rangatahi Māori rate of court appearances increased 23% in the same period, being the only categorised ethnicity in the report to heighten from the year 2009 to 2017 (Ministry of Justice, 2017).

The mass overrepresentation of rangatahi Māori is alarming, and the following theorisations aim to understand the underlying factors that influence these inequities.

Colonisation

Perhaps the most accepted notion employed to understand Māori over representation in the justice system in this day is colonisation (Perrett, 1999). Tauri (2005) argues that for much of New Zealand's colonial history, colonisation had been largely ignored by social science academics and the criminological academy. This was until Dr Moana Jackson published his 1987 report "He Whaipaanga Hou" (Jackson, 1987). In this publication, Jackson noted that the monocultural basis of Pākehā research into Māori offending has prevented a recognition of socio-cultural dynamics and the appropriate mechanisms needed to understand them. Essentially, Jackson contends that the impoverishment, immiseration and marginalisation of Māori people did not simply fall from the sky and that we had to look to our past in order to find a way forward. Cunneen and Tauri (2019) concur stating this cannot be sufficiently explained by individual proclivity. Colonisation has been identified, and well justified, as a core component to decipher Māori over-representation in the justice system, alongside the dire societal situation that Māori finds themselves in today (Webb, 2017).

Settler-colonialism is defined as a foreign state forcefully subjecting particular groups of people with pre-existing links to land and resources, who had independent cultural and political processes, to the control and way of life of their peoples, usually by method of warfare, genocide and/or structural societal sanction (Cunneen & Tauri, 2019). Mutu (2019) states colonisation saw an attempt to transpose select parts of British culture and to this, they added their colonising mythologies which they enacted as laws. These illegitimate laws claimed that the British and their establishments were absolutely and unquestionably supreme (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2018). Colonisation has also been described as a form of domination, defined as the forcible takeover of the land of Indigenous peoples (Griffiths et al., 2016).

These authors insist that the colonial experience of Indigenous peoples in settler-colonial states is critical to understanding the severe inequities present in the criminal justice system. Henry (2015) also advocates that to understand the situation of Māori today, it is pivotal to look back to the colonial history of Aotearoa.

Prior to colonisation, traditional Māori communities were known to live in accordance with a complex system of customary law, grounded within the Māori concepts of Mana (status), Tapu (sacred prohibition), Utu (Repayment/Karma) and Rahui (restriction on sources based on tapu) (Te Ara, 2021). As Europeans began settling in Aotearoa, colonisation brought forth a ruthless implementation of western societal processes and a subsequent forced assimilation of Māori whānau into euro-centric lifestyles (Kawharu, 1975). These processes attacked every part of traditional Māori existence (Blakemore, 2019), consequently inflicting devastating disruption to the civilization of pre-existing Māori communities (Cunneen & Tauri, 2019).

Through means of land confiscation, political exclusion, economic impoverishment, mass settler immigration, warfare, cultural oppression, forced social assimilation and multi-level hegemonic racism, Pakeha, and the colonial-grounded social systems which came with them have continuously deprived Māori from any genuine chance of collective prosperity (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Benton (2019) concurs and states that the process of colonisation in Aotearoa, specifically the depopulation of Māori peoples and suppression of te reo me ōna tikanga (Māori language and culture), has dislocated the cultural fabric of traditional Māori communities. He further explains that colonialism, the practice of colonisation, is an ongoing process and should therefore be seen as contemporary. This is supported by Kirkwood (2005) who states that as opposed to a historic notion, colonisation continues to negatively impact the life experience of tangata whenua in the current day. These ideas affirm the significance to which Jackson (1987) spoke of, that Māori experiences are central to understanding Māori issues and the brutal colonial history of Aotearoa must stand as the primary underlying factor when seeking explanation to the ethno-specific criminal justice dilemma that Māori face today.

There is a certain element of colonialism identified within the literature which is directly concerted to the criminal justice system. Cunneen (2007) argues that following initial colonial processes such as warfare and genocide, the colonizing state placed its reliance on to the criminal justice system to uphold the active process of oppression upon Māori communities.

He continues to state that since its inception, the criminal justice system has been utilised as a tool of oppression by the colonising forces of Aotearoa, much like other settler-colonial territories such as Australia, Canada, and the United States. An example of this is demonstrated when colonialists turned to structural discriminatory practices through legislation, which was enacted to exclusively target and incarcerate Māori peoples (Cunneen & Tauri, 2019). These included the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, outlawing traditional Māori healing practices (New Zealand Legal Information Institute, 1907), the Native lands Act 1862 (New Zealand Legal Information Institute, 1862) and Natives Reserves Act 1856 (New Zealand Legal Information Institute, 1856), aimed to dispossess Māori of their ancestral lands, and finally, the Native Schools Act 1867 (New Zealand Legal Information Institute, 1867), provoking the assimilation of Rangatahi Māori into euro-centric education systems and subsequently suppressing traditional Māori ontology and epistemology (Waretini-Karena, 2012).

These structural processes accommodated the successful process of colonial oppression as “defiant” Indigenous peoples could then be arrested under discriminatory legislation, who were acting completely within their rights as per He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene (1835) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) (Cunneen & Tauri, 2019). Once Māori were arrested and incarcerated, it forced them and their whānau to desperate circumstances, leaving them impoverished and powerless to the crown and ultimately, making it much easier for the colonial state to enforce their agenda of oppression and assimilation (Waretini-Karena, 2013).

Intergenerational trauma

Structural colonisation processes such as these have proven to be devastating for the Māori experience of colonisation, as they have had severe inter-generational impacts on Māori people, compounding over 181 years of confiscation, marginalisation, and deprivation (Webb, 2017). The theory of intergenerational trauma has been previously analysed within the scope of youth justice in this review, however, the centrality of this theory is elevated when understanding the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system. As previously stated, intergenerational trauma theory explains that with each generation, a new layer of trauma compounds with the trauma experienced and passed on by the proceeding generation, accumulating over time to create an atrocious amount of trauma (Deckert, 2020).

In relevance to Māori in the justice system, this theory explains that as one generation is incarcerated, and the trauma associated with incarceration is imposed on that individual, their whānau inherit this trauma.

Webb (2017) states as another generation succeeds the previous, the trauma continues to exacerbate, forcing uri (descendants) to be born into a marginalised life which steers them towards a life experience alike that of their parents and/or grandparents, if not worse. Webb (2017) argues that until the psychological and emotional harm accumulated within this trauma is recognised, no healing or resolution can transpire. However, due to the wider social deprivations that incarceration foists upon Māori, the ability to achieve this within whānau proves difficult, leaving Māori whānau trapped within the vicious cycle of criminal justice.

When we implement this intergenerational trauma theory and look back to how the criminal justice system was utilised as a tool to oppress Māori people, it not only explains how Māori are over-represented in the criminal justice system as of today, but also provides light as to the consistent growth of Māori over-representation in the justice system, particularly throughout the twentieth century. Māori have been constantly targeted by the criminal justice system through means of legislation, and the impact one's incarceration has upon a wider whānau is clearly detailed in the Māori experience of said system, making tamariki (children) far more disadvantaged and confining them to the brutal cycle of New Zealand's criminal justice system.

Socio-Economic Deprivation

Perhaps the most significant component of intergenerational trauma theory discussed within the literature is the succession of acute socio-economic deprivation. As addressed, most theoretical analyses of the western criminological academy have failed to consider the Māori experience of colonisation and thus, assumed that Māori offending could be explained in the same manner as offending by other groups (Webb, 2017). However, proceeding a dark history of colonialism, the Māori experience in society vastly differs from that of non-Māori, (Webb, 2017). Today, all available reports indicate that Māori are far more likely to have experienced poorer outcomes in education, health, employment, and poverty, are more likely to suffer from cognitive disorders and antisocial behavioural patterns, and are less likely to have access to technology, transport, and stable housing (Webb, 2017) (Quince, 2017). Within the social science academy, these phenomena are encompassed by the term socio-economic deprivation, and it is important to note that this term should not be viewed synonymously to poverty.

Poverty focuses solely on the current financial situation of an individual or whānau, whereas socio-economic deprivations entwine numerous impoverishments through the wider social context.

As of 2014, statistics provided by the Ministry of Health (2021) exposes just how significant the socio-economic inequities are for Māori whānau. This report concluded that Māori were negatively portrayed in every single one of its indicators, those being unemployment (6.4% higher), total income less than \$10,000 (5.7% higher), receiving income support (16.6% higher) and living in a household without access to telecommunications (2.1% more), internet (14.8% more) and a motor vehicle (4.3% more) (Ministry of Health, 2021). In addition, health indicators found that when compared to non-Māori, Māori displayed negative prevalence in cigarette smoking (19.9% higher), obesity (15.5% higher), suicide rates (6.3% higher) and ultimately, life expectancy (8.5 years lower) (Marriot & Sim, 2014). Moreover, the New Zealand Treasury calculates deprivation using identical indicators, encompassing income, employment, access to communication, transport, education, home ownership and quality of housing as their factors of deprivation. In alignment to that of the Ministry of Health, the Treasury found that Māori were negatively represented throughout all facets of their investigation (Mare, Mawson & Timmins, 2001).

O'Malley (2018) states it is clear that the socio-economic deprivation of Māori is a significant issue for iwi and hapū across Aotearoa, and all evidence available points to the same conclusion, Māori being severely disadvantaged in the wider-social context when compared to non-Māori. Webb (2017) argues that these undeniable socio-economic disparities are yet again a result of the brutal colonising processes of New Zealand's history. He explains that Māori deprivation factors had arisen from a history of social and political policies created to disadvantage and marginalise Māori whānau purposefully, concluding that these policies and processes had actively sought to suppress Māori culture and their economic and political autonomy.

Land Confiscation

With Māori and their distinct experience of colonisation, these socio-economic inequalities can be concomitant to the relentless confiscation of land by the state and the consequent mass incarceration of Māori peoples, resulting in significant socio-economic marginalisation of Māori whānau (Webb, 2017).

For traditional Māori whānau, the whenua (land) was essentially the economic base of hapū and whānau (Harmsworth and Awatere, 2013), as it provided the necessities for their collective functioning and prosperity. Whenua is also considered a connector from the past to the future for Māori and continues to be a spiritual source which allows Māori to forge connections with those that have passed, and those yet to come (Moewaka et al., 2018). In turn, Māori have sculptured an intimate relationship with the whenua whereby it is viewed as both a spiritual and physical being, beyond that of humans, and regarded as a lifeforce critical to the well-being of all peoples (Mark et al., 2022)

Prior to European settlement Māori owned 100% of all the lands throughout Aotearoa. However, just twenty years preceding the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1860, Māori had lost almost 20% of the lands. By 1940 Māori land ownership in Aotearoa had dropped dramatically to 9%, and as the new century dawned in 1999, Māori owned as little as 4% of land in Aotearoa (New Zealand History, 2021). Some of this drastic plummet of land ownership can be simply put to mutual sale, however, a large majority of the blame falls solely on discriminatory legislation and colonial enforced policy which alienated Māori from their ancestral lands (Durie, 1997). Read (2021) says the relentless confiscation of land, and the constant alienation of Māori from their whenua and economic platform over 180 years, has had an immensely negative impact on their collective development. This whakaaro is supported by Benton (2019) who states this process stripped Māori of their economic autonomy and pressured whānau into a life whereby they were reliant on the state and ultimately, leaving them hopeless to a system designed to marginalise them.

State Dependency

State-dependency is often identified by Māori academics as another effect of colonisation, which argues that the colonial state has forcefully coerced Māori whānau out of their economic autonomy (Sissons, 1993) and according to Poatu- Smith (2013) this has caused Māori whānau to become reliant and dependent on the state to merely survive. Poatu- Smith (2013) continues to explain how high rates of state dependency amongst Māori has increased their vulnerability to socio drivers of crime and ultimately, pushed Māori whānau into the mass over-representation we see in the criminal justice system today.

Additionally, Quince (2017) provides great insight to these discussions when introducing the social exclusion theory. This theory links a combination of factors such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, and family breakdown, to an independent relationship between poverty, disrupted cultural identity and ongoing capability deprivation.

Benton (2019) also signifies the importance of socio-economic deprivation by declaring that if the justification for Māori over-representation was simply a Māori issue, then we would expect to see Māori being arrested and incarcerated from across the social classes.

He asserts however that this is not the case, and that the overwhelming majority of Māori prisoners come from whānau beleaguered by impoverishment and communities that live under conditions of scarcity and deprivation, illuminating how significant this element is to understanding this issue. Quince (2017) contends that the complex relationship between these factors has severely damaged the Māori experience within society, and that in order to effectively address these issues, a directive approach by the government must be undertaken to unleash state-dependency and build individual/whānau capability, addressing the problem at its core, as opposed to band-aid, quick fix interventions.

Rangatahi Socio-economic Deprivation

It is also notable that this deprivation of Māori whānau filters down to their rangatahi. According to Dale (2017) the wellbeing of tamariki Māori is inextricable from the wellbeing of their whānau, which proves accurate upon further examination of the available data. For example, a report from Te Puni Kokiri (2012) revealed that rangatahi Māori were 24.9% less likely to formally finish secondary school, 27% less likely to leave school with University Entrance, 9.9% less likely to shift into tertiary education within three years of finishing high school, and 14.6% less likely to complete their tertiary education qualification. Additionally, rangatahi Māori had a higher rate of unemployment (11.5% higher) and lower average weekly income (\$26 lower) (Te Puni Kokiri, 2012). Further information provided by Stats NZ (2021) shows that in 2020, one in five (21.1%) Māori children were reported as living in material hardship, a term used to explain a state of living whereby you do not have access to the goods or services deemed minimally necessary for decent human functioning. This was compared to just 11.3% of the general youth population, signifying another crippling disparity between Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa (Stats NZ, 2021)

In relation to youth justice, Lambie and Gluckman (2018) explain how early-life poverty related factors have a harmful impact on the development of youth in many domains. They state that research shows economically deprived environments increase the prevalence of challenging behaviour amongst youth and again, exposes rangatahi to key drivers of crime.

Benton (2019) also determined in his research that Māori rangatahi that live in socio-economic deprivation are amongst the most at-risk of criminal offending and incarceration, being Māori, socio-deprived and youth, they face all the vulnerabilities of three severely marginalised demographics. Essentially, rangatahi Māori are literally being born into poverty, putting them well behind the starting line of building a prosperous lifestyle and pushing them towards a life of deprivation, tension, and criminality (Webb, 2017).

Rangatahi Disconnect to Māoritanga

An additional factor which is often discussed within the literature is rangatahi disconnection to their culture. Marie, Fergusson, and Boden (2009) make a useful association, connecting the adversities of poverty and educational underachievement as discussed, to a negative effect on Māori youth's sense of self-importance and identity. Muriwai, Houkamau and Sibley (2015) explain that the negative portrayal and stereotypes of Māori culture has a detrimental effect on rangatahi Māori sense of self and identity, as they correlate their culture to being bad and inferior to that of others. This can stem from either negative role-models and life experience within their own households or from total disengagement to their Māoritanga (Māori culture), perhaps built up over generations (Marie, Fergusson, Boden, 2009).

This inter-generational disconnect can be explained by the phenomena known as the urban drift. Following the end of the second world war, New Zealand society witnessed a mass internal migration of Māori communities, now known as the urban drift (Te Ara, 2021). At the end of World War two just 26% of Māori lived in towns or cities outside of their ancestral lands (Collette & O'Malley, 1974). However, due to a growing demand for labour within the cities, and a collective realisation among Māori of the limitations of rural lifestyle in a post-war world (Hill, 2012), Māori quickly began migrating into cities in the hope of greater futures filled with opportunity, financial prosperity and whānau advancement (Ongley & Pearson, 2018). By 1966, an estimated 66% of Māori now lived within urban cities and towns and within just twenty years this number increased dramatically to 80%, leaving just 20% of the Māori population still occupying their traditional lands in 1986 (Te Ara, 2021).

The result of this urban drift was a whole generation of Māori born and living away from their ancestral homelands and consequently, disconnected from the teachings, knowledge, and way of life of their hapū (Nikora et al., 2004). Mikaere (2015) describes urban migration as a cultural conquest that lead to cultural inauthenticity, resulting in Māori beginning to respond to the values, standards and goals of the colonisers.

Although this has not been the case for all Māori, there has certainly been a struggle for most in upholding and expressing their Māoritanga in an urban environment. According to Henry and Pene (2001), Māori are known to be an oratory people, who specialised in preserving their culture through oral methods such as haka, waiata, mōteatea and korero. Due primarily to the fact that for Māori, there was no written language within Māoridom hence whānau relied on these methods to preserve their culture.

According to Mikaere (2015), when Māori migrated from their homelands to the towns and cities, there was then a physical separation between the traditional knowledge holders, or tohunga, and rangatahi. Alongside this, Alansari et al. (2020) state that the discriminatory policies of the colonial government of rejecting and expelling mātauranga Māori from the mainstream education framework, made for a catastrophic situation that Māori faced through the mid twentieth century. Anaru (2011) says te reo and tikanga Māori were nearing extinction in their new urban settings and rangatahi were being raised in environments deprived of their cultural practices and knowledge. Williams (2006) states the Māori renaissance period of the 1970's was truly the saving grace for Māoritanga as the kaupapa Māori movement from this period made a monumental impact on the revitalisation of te reo and tikanga Māori. However, we still have a large population of rangatahi Māori who have little-to-no connection to their culture.

When reviewing criminal offending and the justice system, academics have argued that this disconnect of rangatahi to their culture has had a negative impact on their over representation in the criminal justice system (Marie, Fergusson, Boden, 2009). In turn, these authors contend that the introduction and immersion of cultural identity for Māori can benefit their well-being and decrease their likelihood of offending. In their study, they explain that a level of participation in Māori domains, such as language, beliefs, and values, has a positive impact on the self-worth and belief among Māori. This correlated to an increased prevalence of prosocial behaviours and therefore, can be theorised as a proxy measure of their likelihood to offend or offend. Hohepa & McIntosh (2017) explain that Māori culture can provide rangatahi Māori with a safety net of support to aid positive development. For rangatahi, connection to their Māori culture also encourages a positive sense of self identity (Kingi, Russell & Ashby, 2017). Muriwai, Houkamau & Sibley (2015) also explain that a positive connection between rangatahi and their Māoritanga can protect rangatahi from psychological distress and inspire empowerment and purpose towards an optimistic future.

Traditional Māori Notions of Justice

Given the positive effects of Māoritanga, we can look further to the traditional Māori notions of justice to understand how they operated, both the negatives and positives of their processes, and evaluate their potential influence in today's society. Tauri and Morris (1997) explain that traditional Māori justice processes were centred on a collective responsibility and that redress was due not only to the victim, but also their whānau.

This is due to their collective whakaaro that criminal or antisocial behaviours did not lie with an individual but was instead due to an imbalance in the offender's social and family environment (Love, 1999). Therefore, the causes of these imbalances had to be addressed collectively and the imbalance between the offender, the victim, and their whānau, had to be restored.

Te whare tapa whā is a more contemporary model (Rochford, 2004) used by Māori academics that can be used to understand this notion of imbalance further. Quince (2017) describes te whare tapa whā as a metaphorical four-sided house, where each wall represents a dimension of someone's well-being. These dimensions being taha whānau (social well-being), taha hinengaro (mental well-being), taha tinana (physical well-being) and taha wairua (spiritual well-being). This concept explains that in order to enhance your general well-being, all dimensions must be upheld. Without one, your well-being will deteriorate, and so a collective response is required to address all four dimensions. This further explains the importance of collectiveness in the traditional processes of Māori (Durie, 2008).

Similarly, Webb (2017) states that historical Māori processes of justice operated at the community level, even in a post-colonial era. Tikanga was central to the understanding of political processes such as justice, and wrongdoings were viewed in a communal, social context. Reparation was structured upon whakapapa and a commitment to whānau and whānaungatanga (establishing social connections). When someone was to do wrong, the transgression would be viewed as a breach of tikanga and tapu, which created a disharmony amongst whānau, hapū and iwi (Sykes, 2020). In order to address these transgressions, the disharmony had to be resolved amongst whānau, again illuminating the importance of collectiveness amongst traditional Māori understandings. Māori justice practices aimed to restore the harmony and imbalance between the involved parties, and an emphasis was put on healing the damage caused to the victim and their whānau. This healing process, if successful, would then allow for the reintegration of the offender back into the community (Marie, 2010).

Examples of Māori Practices

Specific practices of Māoritanga are now incorporated by Māori in attempts to heal people dealing with psychological and behavioural issues, particularly rangatahi. Rongoā Māori is a traditional healing process that utilises holistic techniques in the form of karakia (prayer), mirimiri (massage), ritenga (rituals) and rongoa (herbal remedies) (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2014). Rongoā Māori is believed to provide benefit through wairuatanga (spirituality) by forging a connection with people to the whenua (land) and ngahere (forests) (Mark et al., 2017).

We also see rāranga, the traditional Māori art of weaving, being used as a healing process among Māori. Rāranga has been known to possess therapeutic properties and is a tool known to enhance psychological and spiritual well-being (Kirkwood, 2015). The process of rāranga enables an open space, safe for self-expression, communication and redirecting attention and energy (Fletcher et al., 2014). With this, rāranga is able to encourage the building of self-esteem, confidence, sense of achievement and a connection to ngā tūpuna (ancestors), creating a purpose greater than oneself (Kirkwood, 2015).

Pūrākau is a traditional form of oral traditions within Māoritanga which contextualises everyday life events from an exclusively Māori lens (Lee, 2005). Pūrākau allows Māori to find meaning in life and is more commonly used to treat distressed people presenting mental health issues (Rangihuna et al., 2018). Similar to rāranga, the process of pūrākau offers a space that allows Māori to process emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually, releasing their troubles, assisting the healing of one's journey by restoring their mana and sense of self (Emery et al., 2015).

Perhaps the most established example of a Māori-based justice process is the rangatahi court system. Essentially, rangatahi courts operate identically to youth courts however the proceedings are held on a marae and follow Māori tikanga and kawa (Richardson et al., 2018). According to Taumaunu et al. (2014) rangatahi courts were first introduced in 2008 and there are now 15 marae around Aotearoa offering these services. Quince (2007) explains the rangatahi courts as a flax-roots empowerment strategy, centred upon the values, practices and beliefs of te ao Māori. Quince (2007) says for Māori, marae is the gateway to te ao Māori, and by facilitating these processes upon the marae, it invites an exclusive sense of tapu and wairua to the hui, only felt in marae themselves. Māori believe that this more effectively able to acknowledge Māoritanga and in turn, assists in the restoration of mana, and the healing of wairua for both the offenders and their victims (Toki, 2014).

There is however a certain danger of rangatahi courts recently identified by Quince (2017), who says that if we send disconnected youth to rangatahi court, and their first experience within a cultural meeting house is in a youth court process, that this could prove problematic to the development and rehabilitation of that young person.

Therefore, Quince (2017) states that it is imperative to the well-being of our young people that the rangatahi court process remains aware of this danger and treats every young person on an individual basis, which acts in the best interests of that child's identity and experiences.

Exclusion of Māoritanga

Although the benefits of Māori principles and practices have been positively presented, there remains a blatant exclusion of these in post-colonisation society of Aotearoa and one reason provided for this exclusion is an overt disregard for te ao Māori (Poata-Smith, 1996). Indigenous knowledge was deemed subjective, unscientific, and folk epistemology by the colonial state and therefore, mātauranga Māori and all its teachings were rejected by Europeans (Moyle & Tauri, 2016). In relation to the criminal justice system specifically, the dismissal of Māori justice practices intended to extinguish mātauranga Māori from the justice system and its processes (Moyle & Tauri, 2016). Māori and their way of life was viewed as barbaric and uncivilised to Pākehā, who took it upon themselves to “enlighten the troubled ethnicity” (Cunneen & Tauri, 2019). In turn, a western system of common law was adopted, centred solely upon the understandings of Pākehā (Mcintosh & Workman, 2017). Quince (2017) argues that this system does not reflect Māori values, processes, and objectives, and fails to uphold the duties and obligations of the Crown to Māori, as per articles two and three of te Tiriti o Waitangi. Webb (2017) agrees, stating that the British-derived conception of law denied the validity of Māori rights and customs and further, rejected the relevancy of Māori justice for Māori people. He concludes by stating the denigration and suppression of these Māori philosophies was so significant that they were even lost in rural Māori communities, particularly those with a strong missionary presence.

This exclusion of Māoritanga has also been identified as a power play by the colonial state, carefully imposed to conquer control in a wider political and social context (Webb, 2017). Tauri and Morris (1997) discuss how the silencing of Māori law and lore was a powerful mechanism for destabilising the foundations of Māori society. Pākehā understood the potential power held in the legal system and what control they could attain through this. Webb (2017) explains that by excluding mātauranga Māori from the criminal justice system, this would marginalise their collective political authority. In turn, Pākehā could subject Māori to a

legal and justice system that reflected Pākehā values, ultimately alienating whānau from their own lands and causing catastrophic disruption to traditional Māori social structures.

Pākehā Notions of Justice

As discussed, the culture and values of Māori were not tolerable to co-exist alongside the cultures and values of the colonisers, and the assimilation of Māori into the British way of life proved devastating for hapū and iwi all around Aotearoa (Tauri & Morris, 1997). Here, it is important to truly understand what Pākehā notions of justice were constructed upon and how these differed from that of Māori.

Tauri (2005) discusses four key differences between Māori and Pākehā notions of justice. First, the responsibility of the crime or wrongdoing. As discussed, Māori view this concept as a collective, whereas Pākehā view this individualistically. This meant that the ownership lay solely with the offender themselves. Also, traditional Māori justice processes were held in public, usually on marae, to enhance the sense of collectiveness. Alternatively, Pākehā justice processes are held in private, in court rooms usually closed to the public. Māori notions of justice also hold the victim as the key driver of the proceedings. However, within Pākehā notions of justice the state is at the centre of the system and representatives of that state dictate the proceedings of the trial. Finally, the aims of each system are vastly conflicting. For Pākehā, the core objectives of the justice system are deterrence and punishment. For Māori however, the aim of a justice system is to restore social bonds and harmony and reintegrate offenders and victims back to society.

This illuminates the huge divergence between Māori and Pākehā in their cultural ways of thinking. Māori understood the world from a view completely foreign to that of Pākehā, and vice versa, and in just these four principles outlined above it becomes clear just how extensive the differences are between Pākehā and Māori notions of justice, both in their principles and practices.

Western Mainstream Education System

The exclusion of Māoritanga is also evident in the western education system. Similar to that of the criminal justice system, the traditional method of education introduced by the Europeans has subjugated the mainstream schooling system and consequently, regulated schools and their curriculum in Aotearoa. Initially, education systems were established by Missionaries between the early to mid-nineteenth century (McGuinness Institute, 2016).

These systems were strictly grounded within Christianity and the teachings of the Bible and were commonly known as mission schools, seeking to assimilate rangatahi Māori and their whānau to the Christian ideology and way of life (McGuinness Institute, 2016).

The hapū anticipated that their rangatahi would be taught in English as Māori understood the value of English to the coming generations, especially in their opportunity to lead effectively through the bi-cultural society that was dawning upon them. Bishop (2005) states however, that against the wishes of whānau, Māori children attending these mission schools were taught exclusively in Māori. This enabled missionaries to maintain control over the information Māori could discover and prevented Māori from being *contaminated* by non-Christian influences (Walker, 2016).

Moreover, leading into the twentieth century, following the mass waves of British migration and settlement in Aotearoa, the education system had developed into a far more formal system of teaching, familiar to that which we experience today. A system catered to maturing young people's general intelligence primarily through the teaching and testing of literacy and numeracy standards (McGuinness Institute, 2016). The Education Act of 1887 (New Zealand History, 2020) formalised the establishment of New Zealand's education system and still somewhat guides our national secondary-school curriculum today (McGuinness Institute, 2016). Within the act was a system designed around the three R's, that being reading, writing and arithmetic (McGuinness Institute, 2016). In addition, geography, history, and gender specific classes such as sewing and military drilling made up the initial nation-wide curriculum set out in the 1887 legislation (McGuinness Institute, 2016).

Evidently, there was no concept of Mātauranga (Māori knowledge), Te Reo (Māori language) or Tikanga (Māori protocols) integrated within the curriculum. In fact, not only was te ao Māori completely neglected, it was also outright prohibited and demonised by early Pākehā settlers. 1867 saw the New Zealand Government pass the Native Schools Act 1862 (New Zealand Legal Information Institute, 1862) which banned the use of Te Reo Māori within schools, even within rural-Māori schools with dominant Māori student and staff populations (Walker, 2016). Te Reo Māori was literally beaten out of the tongues of rangatahi, stripping them of their Māoritanga and forging a bridge between them and their culture.

Aotearoa has witnessed great strides towards a more equitable, inclusive education system over the last forty years. For example, the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement of the 1980's which saw the establishment of Māori pre-schools, primary schools and eventually, secondary schools, all centred within the Te Aho Matua curriculum, guided exclusively by traditional Māori ontology (Walker, 2016).

Te Reo Māori has also become more accessible as a subject opportunity for kiwi students around the motu (Bauer, 2008), with calls being voiced to integrate Te Reo Māori as a mandatory subject within the nation-wide curriculum (Lilley, 2019), as we have recently seen with Māori history. These are genuine advancements towards biculturalism, yet they are still minor in the overall influence they have on the system and its operation.

Still today, aside from the kura kaupapa contingent, the mainstream education system remains centred upon euro-centric principles and understandings, and literacy and numeracy standards still dictate the rates of achievement of students (McGuinness Institute, 2016). Ka'ai-Mahuta (2011) argues Māori-preferred approaches to learning and Māori perspectives on educational research are non-existent within the mainstream education system. He argues for a greater inclusion of Māoritanga, specifically by way of te reo, as a response to the 170 years of disruption and marginalisation of the crown education system and states they should provide and support a critical Māori pedagogy as a foundation to educate Māori more effectively.

Summary

The wealth of general literature found in this review was unexpected. When proceeding with this study it was unknown as to how much credible literature would be available to review. For the most part, a great amount of literature was attained to analyse and integrate into these discussions. These included the discussions of youth offending in New Zealand, colonisation, socio-economic deprivation, and statistics of Māori overrepresentation in Aotearoa. However, in terms of the specific topics related to this study, there was limited research available. Accessing literature and data which specifically spoke to the issues of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system was difficult and although the content accessed was abundant in knowledge and explanations, it was restricted in mass.

The majority of the literature sourced had only sub-sections of articles which specifically analysed rangatahi Māori and a greater degree of examination was required. As observed, there is a rather modest group of Māori and Pākehā academics who publish kaupapa Māori research on rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system.

Publications that provided great insight included Robert Webb's 2017 report "Māori experiences of colonisation and Māori criminology" and Juan Tuari's publications and co-publications from 1997, 2005 and 2011. Insightful also was Chris Cunneen and Juan Tauri's book "Indigenous Criminology" which initiated the majority of understanding for most concepts explored in this review.

Chapter 3 – Research Design

Introduction

This chapter will explain both the methods and methodologies which were applied within this research and provide justification as to why certain research practices were utilised over others. Also discussed are the research aims, data and sample collections, the questionnaire development, data analysis, challenges faced, and finally, the ethical considerations undertaken in this research.

Aims of Research

The main aim of this research was to increase value to the understanding of rangatahi Māori overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. In terms of this research question specifically, this study sought to investigate the influence that the mainstream education system has had on these disparities. As analysed, the euro-centric education system adopted from the colonial state has merely failed Rangatahi Māori. Through applying these teachings within the literature to the korero of rangatahi Māori themselves, this research aimed to explore how their experience in school had impacted their hauora (wellbeing) as rangatahi Māori, and what effect these impacts had on their willingness to engage in antisocial, deviant and/or criminal behaviours.

A mass of literature to date has identified that the western education system fails to address the ethno-specific needs of all rangatahi Māori in school. The literature also states that alternative education pathways grounded in a Kaupapa Māori framework offer teachings which can benefit rangatahi Māori in ways the mainstream system does not. Ultimately, this research seeks to either validate or contradict these theorisations by examining the realities and perspectives of rangatahi Māori themselves, who have experienced both the mainstream and kaupapa Māori alternative education systems.

Methodology

Given the nature of this research topic and the questions at hand, it is imperative to utilise a kaupapa Māori research methodology. The concept of kaupapa Māori theory was coined in the Māori renaissance period (Pihama, 2010). Firstly, it was devised as an education curriculum in response to the failure of the western education system, and consequently, as a research methodology to provide an alternative investigative framework which upheld mātauranga, te reo and tikanga Māori (Māori knowledge, language, and protocol) (Smith & Smith, 2020).

This theory, originally birthed as an educational framework by Linda Tuhiwai and Graham Hingangaroa Smith (Pihama, 2010), was swiftly translated into the research academy as an authentic, Indigenous approach to research and knowledge production. It has since been further developed by prominent Māori academics such as Leonie Pihama, Ella Henry, Taina Whakaatere Pohatu, Fiona Cram, and many more.

According to Smith and Smith (2020), this translation into the research academy came as a response to the Indigenous discourse which had long plagued *hītori me mātauranga Māori* (Māori history and knowledge). They contend that for too long Māori were merely researched on, as opposed to researched with, stating since the initial settlement of Aotearoa, Pākehā academics had studied Māori and their way of life through an exclusively European method. From this, Māori were completely excluded from the academic conversations of their peoples and issues, and even when Māori attempted to lead research from inside for themselves, they were still limited to the methods and methodologies of Pākehā. In turn, kaupapa Māori theory was adapted to the research academy as an unorthodox methodology for Māori researchers to investigate phenomena within Māori society, which strictly grounds itself in *te ao Māori* and its values (Mane, 2009). Kaupapa Māori research methodology builds on these kaupapa Māori foundations which grants the validity of Māori language, knowledge, and culture (Smith et al., 2019). It is an approach to research entrenched in *Papatūānuku* and *Ranginui* (earth mother and sky father) which provides an exclusive framework for Māori to explore and investigate the functioning's of society from a distinctly Māori lens (Pihama, 2017).

Smith & Smith (2020) state kaupapa Māori research is transformative and multi-dimensional and since its birth, development has allowed kaupapa Māori to evolve simultaneously with the unearthing of contemporary and traditional knowledge. Accordingly, Māori academics contest that kaupapa Māori as a theory of research, unlike most philosophical methodologies, is not set in stone and does not provide a transparent blueprint to its processes (Rangahau, 1990). Kaupapa Māori theory instead lays the foundations for research, centred upon Māori ontology and epistemology, which is guided by six core principles of *tino rangatiratanga*, *taonga tuku iho*, *ako Māori*, *kia piki ake I ngā raruraru o te kainga*, *whānau* and *kaupapa*, which establish the *mauri* (essence) of kaupapa Māori theory in ensuring its authenticity in design and practice (Pihama, 2017).

The principle of *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination/sovereignty) is primary to kaupapa Māori research. This principle relates to power and affirms the importance of control resting in the practices and understandings of Māori (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002).

This principle looks not exclusively to the processes involved within the research, but the intention of the research. Kaupapa Māori research must intend to serve Māori, by advancing the understanding of certain phenomena and have the betterment of Māori communities at its forefront (Walsh-Tapiata, 2020). Cram (2001) insists that being a kaupapa Māori researcher comes with a duty to serve the people through methods which demonstrates a commitment to Māori tikanga, practices and people.

One common debate amongst kaupapa Māori researchers is the ethnic eligibility criteria as to whether a researcher must be Māori to use kaupapa Māori research methodology. Kiro (2000) contends that in an indigenous setting, outsiders may fail to accurately reflect the views of Māori in their research as they will struggle to understand the true dynamics of Māori reality. However, others will argue that Pākehā can qualify as kaupapa Māori researchers in practice, but they cannot dictate, control, or define the research (Bishop, 1996). If their intention lies in serving Māori and communities and they ensure a strict process of consultation with Māori, then they are accepting of outsider researchers employing kaupapa Māori methodology. Interestingly, some academics even argue that simply having whakapapa Māori (genealogy) does not constitute being a kaupapa Māori researcher, and that you must display a competence in Māori knowledge, language, protocols, and principles (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999). In this debate we see a variation of viewpoints, yet what we can know is that Māori researchers are generally able to bring a deeper understanding to Māori topics as they understand the Indigenous experience of being Māori in Aotearoa.

To conclude, kaupapa Māori methodology in essence is a process to research by Māori, for Māori, with Māori, which is affirmed by te reo, mātauranga and tikanga Māori (Pihama, 2010). Although being Māori is more accepted as a criterion to being a kaupapa Māori researcher, it does not exclude outsiders from participating if their intent is the well-being and advancement of Māori peoples and communities (Teariki et al., 1992).

Research Methods Utilised

Traditionally, there are three common methods to conducting research: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method (Williams, 2007). The method chosen by any researcher to underpin their investigation is dictated by the objectives of their study. The research method will guide what type of data and findings will come from the study and determine the processes undertaken to culminate in a research conclusion. Typically, we can distinguish which of these three research methods will be applied by the type of data required by the researcher.

Studies seeking numerical data for their respective findings will tend to use quantitative research methods as it enables respondents to answer close-ended questions which can then, in theory, be codified (Park and Park, 2016). Conversely, researchers seeking more narrative, textural data will opt for a qualitative research method, as it allows for thematic analysis of conversation and a more specific evaluation of personal experiences (Dowling, 2005). Finally, mixed method research offers the opportunity for a researcher to apply both qualitative and quantitative research methods (Morse, 2016).

This research utilised a qualitative research method as the objective of this study is to analyse the personal experiences and realities of rangatahi Māori and kaumātua. A qualitative research method will accommodate the analysis of korero from the participants which will ultimately allow for a greater exploration of the research topic.

Qualitative Research Method

When compared to quantitative research methods, a qualitative study takes a more holistic approach to investigating social phenomena, which allows researchers to attain higher levels of detail regarding their research question (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Although qualitative tends to be less structured in its processes, it can theorise explanations at a much greater depth when interpreting data (Leedy et al., 2012). This is due to qualitative approaches to research which focus on the causes of phenomena, as opposed to the effects, and seeks the detail within people's experiences in its examination. Glover (2002) argues that qualitative research methods tend to be more beneficial for Māori researchers, as Māori knowledge is customarily retained through oral histories and narratives and therefore, interviews and korero are a more natural navigation approach with Māori in their sharing of knowledge.

This study utilised qualitative research methods as it aligns seamlessly with the kaupapa Māori approach and the objectives of this study. Qualitative research methods will allow this study to better understand the complex phenomena of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system. Specifically, case studies were utilised. Case studies are defined as an in-depth exploration of an activity, event and/or process which attempts to shed light on poorly understood situations (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Through interviews with Māori rangatahi and kaumātua, this research will be able to dissect the common themes and explanations shared by participants and in turn, better illustrate the discussions of this issue.

Data Collection

Sample Selection

This research was conducted with four rangatahi Māori and two kaumātua. At the time of the interviews, all four rangatahi were participating in the Bros for Change alternative education programmes based in Ōtautahi, Christchurch. It was imperative to this research that rangatahi Māori were involved as participants as their experiences were the centre of this study. This study also interviewed two Māori kaumātua. One of them was an academic who has a wealth of experience in Māori youth justice and now assists government departments in the application of kaupapa Māori initiatives. The other kaumātua has an abundance of knowledge in traditional mātauranga Māori and experience in the iwi engagement sector. This selection process aligns with Liamputtong's (2005) definition of purposeful sampling, which specifically selects individuals due to the crucial information they may provide, information that may not be received through other channels.

Data Collection and Interview Questions

The data obtained for this study was collected by one-on-one interviews, all kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face), which were recorded using a dictaphone and a phone recording device. Interviews were then transcribed and all recordings and data were stored on a password protected hard drive device.

The interview questions were developed in a way to facilitate a natural, free flowing korero that would explore the life experiences of the participants. Some questions focused on obtaining personal and demographic information about the participants. That is, these questions focused on getting to know the participants, who they were, what their interests and hobbies were, what their usual day involved and where their values lay. Understanding the participant first was vital to further understanding their realities and views in the later sections.

The second lot of questions asked specifically for information about the participants' educational experiences in different times, environments, and situations. Questions asked were related to their personal feelings towards school as a whole and specific parts of their education, what they enjoyed and what they did not. The purpose of this section was to understand how these rangatahi felt about school and then to unearth the reasons for those feelings.

The next section of the rangatahi interviews was similar to the second, however it was focused on their experiences of the Bros for Change programme. An identical line of questioning was developed as it had the same objective, to understand their realities within the alternative education programme and learn why they experienced it the way they did.

The primary objective of the fourth section of the rangatahi questions was to draw on a comparison between the participants' experiences of school and the Bros for Change programme. In turn, comparative questions were designed to explore both the positives and negatives of either system to explore why the participants felt certain ways about either school or the Bros for Change programme. The final section of the rangatahi questioning was designed specifically to navigate the participants' personal experiences with their Māoritanga and if the embrace or neglect of their culture had any impact on their ability to study, socialise and achieve in either system. This section was paramount to the study as it directly discussed how their culture had impacted them and what effects school and the Bros for Change programme had on these impacts.

The questions designed for kaumātua participants aimed at exploring the theoretical principles of Māori-based intervention programmes. This section attempted to discuss what made intervention programmes authentically Māori, what separated them from schools and other mainstream programmes, what key teachings were incorporated, and a general overview of how Māori-based intervention programmes are designed and implemented. This section also explored the centrality of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to the current day processes and aimed to discuss how te ao Māori could benefit rangatahi in their personal development and achievement.

Data Analysis

In order to produce a robust discussion of findings, data must go through a detailed process of analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2019). The primary method of data analysis utilised in this research was thematic analysis. Liamputtong (2005) explains thematic analysis as a method of data analysis, often associated with qualitative research methods, which examines data in an attempt to identify common themes, ideas, and patterns within interview transcripts. Thematic analysis codes the data to allow for a wide scope of research topics and questions and enable the researcher to discuss not only the obvious statements in answers, but also the underlying meanings of participants' responses.

The first processes of thematic analysis are familiarising and coding the data. This involves generically sorting through the data retracted to identify key similarities and differences

between respondents' answers and grouping them accordingly and requires the generating of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Simply put, this process involves taking the sorted data, and constructing key themes which have been identified in the responses. These themes are then titled, defined, and discussed. This will enable the researcher to identify shared meanings and experiences within the data and make for a discussion with greater exploration and detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis was essentially utilised in this study due to the subjective data that was obtained from the interviews. Also, thematic analysis was determined the most appropriate method as it would better accommodate the sorting of the large amount of data obtained in the interviews with the six participants.

Issues and Challenges Encountered

There were challenges encountered during the undertaking of this research, both unforeseen and anticipated issues, which ultimately prolonged the completion of this study.

The first obvious challenge was dealing with the outbreak of coronavirus. The dysfunction that covid-19 brought forth made it very challenging to hold fast to the initial time frames arranged. Trying to start the very first piece of research whilst also dealing with the constant changes in lockdowns and guidelines made for a very difficult task, especially in the initial phase of this study. In fact, this study was initially planned to commence in October of 2020 and to be completed in August of 2021. However, due to a belated start, the circumstances explained above, and additional personal challenges that arose, an extension was granted for the thesis to be completed by the end of August 2022.

Planning and executing the interviews also became problematic, primarily due to the consequent limitations on travel and gatherings. The instability and uncertainty that all experienced over the last two years have no doubt had a negative impact on the undertaking and completion of this thesis. However, I remain grateful to my support network, including my whānau, friends, and supervisor, as they allowed me to stay grounded and focused on the tasks at hand.

Secondly, identifying and recruiting participants to take part in this research came with some challenges also. For the rangatahi participants, it proved difficult to identify and recruit rangatahi Māori who fit the criteria. Initially, I had hoped to interview rangatahi who had participated in both a mainstream and kaupapa Māori-based alternative education

programme. This was difficult not because there is no one to fit this criterion, but simply because they were hard to locate.

There is no accessible database for these rangatahi and the participation in these programmes can be a very sensitive, personal experience for most young people. Therefore, I had to rely solely on my personal connections to gain access to these rangatahi. Eventually, I was able to connect with a whānau member who facilitates the Bros for Change programme and devised a plan to travel to Ōtautahi and interview a number of his rangatahi on the course. In doing so, there were changes made to the research where I would instead draw on a comparison to their schooling, as opposed to a western-based intervention programme.

In terms of my kaumātua participants there was also a slight challenge in the recruitment. As I was only interviewing two people, I wanted to ensure that the information and experiences given by the participants could reflect a more collective reality. For Māori, particularly in terms of mātauranga, knowledge and experiences can differ immensely between rohe (regions). Although one participant could offer a wealth of korero, it was important that these views were not limited to specific hapū or iwi. In turn, the decision was made to recruit kaumātua who have had experience in government *and* iwi organisational roles, as I assumed that their input was more aligned to a general understanding of, and exposure to, both worlds.

Ethical Considerations

The engagement with rangatahi was imperative to the authenticity of this research and was necessary in exploring this topic. Therefore, significant age-specific ethical considerations were followed with great caution throughout the entirety of the research process. Firstly, age friendly vocabulary and terminology was used in all engagements with rangatahi, including the participant information sheet, consent form/s and in the wording of the questions. This was also kept in mind in all verbal conversations and discussions between the rangatahi participants and myself. This ensured that the rangatahi were able to fully understand any information, question or statement made or given. This not only upheld the integrity of the rangatahi, but also sustains the validity of data retrieved within the interviews.

To ensure this element was covered a pilot participant information sheet, consent form/s and question sheet were given to a rangatahi and sent to an academic consultant (Dr Kirsten Hanna) prior to the research process.

An additional consideration integral to researching with youth was mitigating the natural power imbalance notion which occurs naturally between adults and children in society. Although the age difference between myself and the potential rangatahi participants is only a few years, and therefore the power imbalance may have been somewhat minor, it was still vital to acknowledge its possibility of occurring. To ensure this power dynamic did not compromise or harm the rangatahi participant or the research, the primary researcher ensured the young person felt no obligation to participate and that their involvement was completely voluntary, and no punishment would be given if they chose to deny or withdraw from the research at any time. Also important was the general manner in which I interacted and conversed with rangatahi. I behaved in a manner which was approachable and relatable, whilst also maintaining a level of professionalism necessary for the carrying out of the research. From a te ao Māori lens, this consideration can be mitigated using “ata”, the principle of building and nurturing relationships (Rangahau, 2020). This principle encapsulates how Māori engage with one another in a manner which respects well-being through mutual respect, a principle of immense benefit to mitigating this notion of power imbalance, which was utilised in all processes of the interview process.

An additional aspect of this research, which brought forth an additional category of specific ethical considerations, is the engagement and reliance on the experiences and knowledge of Māori communities. There has been a historical tendency for academics and social scientists to merely research on Māori communities, as opposed to with them, where Māori have simply been “subjects” in research and not partners in its processes (Smith, 2015). This has given rise to ethno-specific ethical considerations for researching with Māori which have encompassed three categories: partnership, participation, and protection (Hudson et al., 2010)

Partnership explains that the researcher and the participants must be working together, where the relationship encourages mutual respect and both parties act in good faith towards each other. Partnership also covers the importance of giving back to Māori communities and advocates that the research being undertaken has some form of benefit for Māori communities, particularly the ones from which participants have been recruited. To ensure this dimension was upheld, the interview process was guided by kaupapa Māori principles (Jones et al., 2010).

Specific to partnership, “taonga tuku iho” (cultural property) and “ako Māori” (Māori learning) were utilised to ensure mutual respect was held between the researcher and the participants. The principle of “kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga” can also be used to

validate the researcher's acknowledgment of partnership. This research specifically looks to speak truth to power for Māori communities on a grass-roots level, by going into the communities and extracting the knowledge and experiences of Māori peoples from the ground. The information gained can then be used to form an explanation which seeks to develop our understanding of rangatahi crime and over representation, affirming its intention to benefit and give back to Māori communities.

Participation explains the involvement and role of participants in the research being more than just simply subjects with information. To uphold this dimension, in depth consultation process took place with Māori kaumātua and kuia to ensure an authentic Māori voice and process was guiding the research processes on behalf of the local Māori communities. This consultation was integrated into every element of the research, particularly in the critical review of literature and interview formatting process (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al.,2007)

Protection explains what steps will be taken to ensure the researcher and participants will actively protect each other's well-being and interests. This component also relates to how the privacy and integrity of participants will be upheld if needed. "Ata" will again, be utilised in the endeavour to uphold this dimension (Smith, 2006). The general nature of this research will also allow the protection of both parties to manifest in a mutual manner, being research undertaken by Māori, for Māori, with Māori, in an attempt to restore mana motuhake (autonomy and sovereignty) for te iwi Māori (Ofahengaue Vakalahi, 2013).

Summary

The guiding methodology of this study was a kaupapa Māori research framework, which utilised qualitative research methods by way of face-to-face interviews as they resonate with the Māori concept of kanohi ki te kanohi. Thematic coding was utilised in the analysis of data in this research and numerous ethical considerations directed the entire research study. Ethics approval for this research was granted by AUTEK, the ethics committee of the Auckland University of Technology.

Chapter 4 - Findings

This chapter introduces the findings of this research and presents the perspectives and experiences of the rangatahi and kaumātua whose shared knowledge contributed to what formed this thesis. The results have been separated into two sections, with the first being from the responses of rangatahi, and is followed by those of the kaumātua.

For the rangatahi section, the responses have been categorised into three areas which look at their experience of school, their experience at the Bros for Change programme, and finally, a comparative korero between the two. The responses are documented following the questions asked to the participants and excerpts from each group of responses are provided throughout as illustrations of these responses. For the kaumātua section of these findings, the responses are given in a single category. As with the rangatahi section though, the responses follow the questions asked in the interviews, with discussion through each section.

A total of six participants in this study included four rangatahi from Bros for Change, a kaupapa Māori alternative education based in Ōtautahi. These rangatahi would go to the Bros for Change on Monday and Tuesday from 8.45 am to 3.00 pm. From Wednesday through to Friday the students would return to their usual school system. During their time at Bros for Change rangatahi would partake in a wide range of activities, both practical and theoretical based. Some activities were beneficial in assisting the students in receiving NCEA credits to complement their schooling. Other activities had exterior goals in mind, outside of school, which will be discussed later. The rangatahi participate in the Bros for Change course for a total of eighteen weeks. After they graduate, some may return in subsequent intakes. Some of the rangatahi interviewed were in fact returnees and had already completed the course once, some even twice.

The korero from rangatahi has been referenced *R1-R4*, to provide clarity as to which participant provided which response, while still maintaining anonymity for the participants. Likewise, the korero from kaumātua have been referenced *M1* and *M2*, to indicate which kaumātua provided which response.

The responses from rangatahi are documented verbatim and have not been edited. Whilst this created grammatical errors that could disrupt the ease of reading it was considered important to capture the true essence of the rangatahi perspective and to not speak incorrectly on their behalf. Within the responses of the rangatahi they have referred to “Matua”. In this context they are referring to the facilitator(s) of the Bros for Change programme.

Rangatahi experiences in school

This section provides an understanding of how the rangatahi viewed their experience in school. The line of questioning explored what they did in school, what parts they enjoyed, what they thought was challenging, and questioned aspects of Māoritanga in their school environment. Understanding how these rangatahi felt about school was critical to analysing school's effectiveness.

What does your normal day at school look like?

This question was an ice breaker that sought to understand what the rangatahi did in their specific school environments. It was also an opportunity to gauge their personal interests which would assist in further korero in the interview.

My school, we do a lot of self-directed learning so we kind of work by ourselves you know, we have the teachers in the classroom but we're just kind of left to do stuff by ourself. I kind of just spend most of my time playing sports, so that's what a normal day looks like for me in school, just sports, a lot of working by myself. R1

Just like nine o'clock, get up, I wouldn't really go to assembly and that, I'd probably skip out assembly. Karakia and that, science or whatever, whatever options you picked. From there just morning tea, then you got your periods, then lunch. Yeah, it's just like the average school to be honest. R2

Just wake up, get ready for the day, bus to school, smash it out, just depends on what we're up to. Subjects like English, religious education, Māori classes, sports classes, and yeah. R3

*Monday and Friday is when we just got numeracy, literacy, history and lunchtime. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday I have **** (the participant's school's sports performance programme). We play sports in there, do some credit work, I also got art on those days. R4*

What do you enjoy most about school?

When asked, three of the four rangatahi led the conversation with a visible passion for participating in a wide range of sports.

Sports. Basketball, rugby, touch, kiwi tag, anything like that really. R1

Probably sports, all of them, just anything to do with physical education. R2

Playing sports. R4

What was also apparent was a passion for music and art, highlighted again by three of the four rangatahi participants, in their responses to the same question above.

Music. (I'm) still kind of learning how to produce music, (I'm) getting there. But yeah, that's fun. R1

Music, yeah the music rooms alright. R2

I like art. I've nearly finished what I started, my art project on our family. R.4

One rangatahi spoke to the socialisation aspect of his school.

Probably just being with the boys aye, being around them, it's always good to see them every day. Yeah and just getting out and doing physical stuff with them. R3

What do you find most challenging about school?

Rangatahi were very open about the challenges they faced in school. Most of them pointed to a lack of motivation due to certain classes, namely with literacy-based subjects.

It's just like waking up and having those certain subjects. Like English, writing, science and all that, yeah. R2

It's always hard finding the motivation to wake up in the morning, I'm always late. Just stuff that doesn't entertain me, just like sitting down in a class getting this done, getting that done, the type of stuff just doesn't keep me that focused. R3

Probably just literacy and history, cause they're just boring. I'll wake up and see that's what I got to do at school and second guess it, whether I'm gonna go. R4

Rangatahi also talked about the challenges they have faced with teachers at their schools.

Probably just teachers, that's the hardest thing. Some teachers are good, but some teachers can have a certain approach on students that just isn't the right way to approach people. Approach us like we've done something, kind of in a manner where we're just going to be in trouble, even if we haven't done anything. R1

Hardest thing about school is probably literacy, cause I'm not real good at writing. When they (teachers) explain it the first time I don't really get it, they have to explain it a few

times to get it. I do try my best at it, I always ask for help but it's hard to get sometimes.

R. 4

What inspires you in school?

Lack of inspiration in school, and a failure of being inspired to show up can be problematic for the engagement of rangatahi with their education. Some rangatahi had already reflected on a lack of motivation so these responses were able to follow a natural flow. Again, these responses lead back to their enjoyment of activities including sports.

Just sport. Yeah, it's just like you're just waking up to another thing, It's just another day in the life. Yeah, I just go there for the sports and the bros and all that. R.2

In the sporting world, yep definitely, we have a real good sporting system. But like, in the work side of things you know, NCEA credits and all that, there's only one teacher that pushes me to do my best, the rest are just usual teachers. R.3

Probably just like sports, I'll get up early just for that. If there's a tournament, even if I'm sore, I'll get up for that. If there's something to do with sports, I'll be there. R.4

One rangatahi spoke to the pride they had for their school and its image, and how he drew on inspiration from this.

I don't know, it is hard. Like being at my school I want to push to be better because we've got a name for our school that's just been run down by everybody, so that gives me motivation to just, want to be something and make something out of my school. R.1

Another rangatahi talked about a certain subject that gave him motivation due to the cultural elements.

Yeah, for history, how we were talking about these Māori leaders from World War two, the twenty-eighth something, battalion. I was doing mine on Ngarimu, he got the first Victoria cross, when I was reading about it back then, yeah it was just real good. R.4

To this response, it was asked if these feelings were because he was Māori, or not.

Yeah, just because there's not that much (Māori leaders), and for him to be up there is pretty cool, it makes me inspired, and with Taika Waititi as well, how he's up there, that makes me feel inspired as well. R.4

Do you feel comfortable when you're at school?

Rangatahi feeling comfortable in their school environment is also vital to their ability to attend and achieve. All the rangatahi participants agreed they felt comfortable, in general.

Yeah, I've been at the school since it opened, pretty much know every teacher, yeah, well connected with most of the teachers. The schools not that big so you kind of get to know everyone, when someone new comes in you get to know them. R.1

Yeah cause we're all brothers at my school, we all know each other well, we're all close with each other, don't feel judged. R.3

Yep. My friends, they get me, they've seen the hard times that I've been through, they know what I'm like and they're still with me, yeah, that's why I feel comfortable. R.4

One rangatahi pointed specifically to kapahaka when explaining why they felt comfortable in school.

Hakas helped me heaps, I started hakas when I first started in my school. The bond and the group afterwards, that's what hits it, you can go from not knowing anybody there to being real close with everyone. That makes me feel proud. R.1

Another rangatahi initially agreed that they felt comfortable, but quickly expressed some reservations stemming from a personal issue with their self-confidence.

*Yeah, oh it depends aye. I don't really know aye. Like your personality or something, cause it's just like, just those types of people, like certain groups, yeah the Mr. Cool ***** and all that, those fellas all judgemental and that. It's probably just my self-confidence aye, probably just myself. R.2*

Do you feel like your Māori culture is embraced in your school?

As discussed, there is a blatant exclusion of mātauranga Māori in the history of New Zealand's education system. However, it was important to understand if this is how rangatahi felt in their school environments today. Interestingly, most of the rangatahi agreed that Māoritanga was embraced by their school, but upon further korero, it was evident that this was limited to particular times and/or events.

Yeah, moments. We do karakia every morning. It used to be a whole school thing, we'd do it as a whole school every morning, it's kind of cut down to certain classrooms, certain teachers won't do it and certain teachers will do it. R.1

I think everyone should do it, just cause, when we all start up with karakia or waiata then all split up for the day, it kind of brings everyone together, gets that good mood going for the morning, gives you that drive to you know, just have a good day. R.1

Yeah, our principle actually does embrace that kind of stuff. We always acknowledge Māori language week. It's not an everyday thing, but when it's time to acknowledge something Māori, they do it. It would be cool if they did it more often. I have my Māori classes and stuff every week and I feel like if I just do my part you know, not everyone is interested in that sort of stuff at my school. R.3

Sometimes, when we play Ki o Rahi (traditional Māori sports game), and when we learn about the Māori battalion, those are probably the only times. It feels good. R.4

One rangatahi did not agree with the statement. Interestingly, this rangatahi attended the same school as two of the other participants, yet had a differing view.

Nah, not as much. It's like more poly (Polynesian). I wish it was embraced more, definitely. R.2.

[If you could change something about school, what would that be?](#)

This line of questioning aimed to identify the key issues rangatahi had in school and what they believe needed to be changed to better assist rangatahi through their journey in education. This section of the study is critical to the discussion. Understanding what rangatahi need in order to do better in their schooling is pivotal to any potential impact of this research. Some rangatahi spoke to cultural elements they wished could be transformed.

If we had more opportunities to do things involving te ao Māori, I just wanna learn more about myself, and my background, my family, and just, I don't have that guidance at school to do that. R.1

At least make something of like, Māori, compulsory, you know, it's not compulsory at my school, it's a chosen subject and I chose it. Even just like the history of our country, that sort of thing. R.3

Probably if they added a Māori class. They have one for the little kids. I would want to learn Māori but there's just no class for that, and you could also get credits for it. It would be cool if they had a Māori class, teach Māori and just, have assessment about it so we could get credits. R4

Subject choices were also mentioned in this korero.

Oh, if we just, that we had more of an input on what we wanted to do, instead of what we had to do. Teach us things that will actually help us down the road, like social skills, being able to communicate with people correctly. R.1

Get to do subjects that you actually wanted, something to pursue in life. R.2.

Probably just all sports aye, just all sports back-to-back. R.4

One rangatahi reflected upon the lack of support in their school,

More support systems, just for kids like myself, you know, don't really know what they want to do or where they want to go, just support us to help them figure out what they want to do you know, how they're going to get there, what it takes to get there. R.1

The same participant also went on to discuss their concerns for other students in their school, mainly around the failures of teachers in dealing with what seemed to be minor behavioural issues.

It's like, if kids get in trouble in school, they just shove us in a room, keep us there all day. It's hard for some of the little kids at school, it's hard to see, it's hard for them to communicate with other kids because the school won't teach them how to resolve their problems with other kids so they just put them in a room, leave them for the day, and then send them home. They're not really learning how to resolve their issues, instead they are just getting angry. R.1

This rangatahi went on further to explain issues of violence and provocation.

Just like heaps, always heaps of fights, heaps of fights at my school, and then the way the teachers act about it. Some favouritise students. If one kids in the wrong they like to just pin everything that kid has done in their past onto that one student, instead of just seeing you know, something might have happened with that other kid. Just the way they act about it, it's just, it just doesn't feel right. R.1

Another student also mentioned the teachers. Although brief, it was their first thought expressed, representing a significance to them.

The teachers aye. R.2

One word - Education

To conclude the korero around their experience in school the rangatahi participants were asked to think of one word, or a short sentence, that could describe their feelings towards school. Rangatahi were then asked to elaborate on why they felt this word was appropriate in encapsulating their experience. This was expected to be challenging for the rangatahi and they were told to take as much time as they needed.

Inconsistent. School can be good for you, you know for a couple of days or a couple of weeks or a couple of months, and it can be real bad for those other months. Just kind of not really stable as a school. It's kind of up and down, a lot of people coming and going.

R.1

Escape. Just gets me out of the house, takes my mind off things you know. R.2

Same old, same old. Just same old stuff, different day. When we do different stuff it makes me happy you know. R.3

Mystery. I always saw school as a mystery cause I never knew what we'd be doing today, I just showed up, I'd always pictured school as a mystery. R.4

Rangatahi experiences at Bros for Change

The purpose of this section of the study was to understand how the rangatahi viewed their experience at the Bros for Change programme. This section followed an identical line of questioning throughout. Grasping the day-to-day activities of the rangatahi at Bros for Change, along with their interests, challenges, and enjoyment. Again, this was vital to understanding its effectiveness.

What does your normal day look like at Bros for Change?

This section looked to understand what their average day at the kaupapa Māori course involved. What was noticed in the responses was a greater level of detail and passion, particularly in terms of certain activities the rangatahi had participated in. In this section, when the rangatahi refer to “coach”, they are talking about their MMA trainer who they train with each morning they are at Bros for Change.

Come in 8.45, karakia to start the morning off. Head off to coaches at like 5 to 9, get there at 9ish. Train for an hour, come back here, have morning tea and then it just depends what the matua's have planned for us that day really. R.1

Yeah it switches up every day, from like, normal days start at 8.45, 8.44.59, we have to be here by then. 9 o'clock we go to coach, just like MMA (mixed martial arts) and that stuff, then after that it's just all the stuff we have to catch up on, licenses, tests, exams and all that. We do some outdoor activities, depends on how much work we've done, traveling, rafting and all that. R.2

Definitely more better stuff that I like doing. Training and that, you know, being a sports person. In the morning we go down to the gym to coach, do some training, kickboxing, learning new stuff. Do that, come back and then we'll do mau rakau or something. R.3

Our normal day is go to coaches, do a training session, come back, we have a break. Come back and do some taiaha stuff, work on our taiaha, learn the new haka, sometimes we go out and play frisbee golf and yeah. We go swimming, rafting, we do some courses like site safe, forklift, first aid, that was cool cause now I know what to do if someone has like a heart attack or something. They are taking me to get my license which is another tick in the box. I feel accomplished. R.4

What do you enjoy most about Bros for Change?

When asked what they enjoyed most about the course, most rangatahi were again eager to explain their passions for physical activities.

Rafting, swimming, hunting, that was fun as. Training in the morning with coach, that's good, I feel like I get to burn off a lot of my aggression there, it's just a good way to start the day. R.1

Mau rakau, doing hakas and stuff, learning the actual meanings behind things. R.3

It's just really fun, and it's exciting too, just what we do. I like the UFC training, when we go do activities, go do fun stuff, it's always just real fun. R.4

Most of the rangatahi also alluded to their experiences in gaining qualifications external to their school. Interestingly, some also shared their issues with the NCEA system in their responses.

CVs, mock interviews. I finished my CV finally, got my first aid, got my forklift license, got my site safe license. I feel like those are, these are real-life lessons. Feels like another goal ticked off, yeah, just feels real good, a sense of accomplishment. Makes me feel good cause you need those ones to get a job really, like credits are just there to say they finished school. R.1

Getting our licenses and stuff, I'm going for my license next week and the course pays for it, my site safe license too, any license that could help us down the course with jobs and that. All their (school) worried about is credits, they definitely don't help us get any of our licenses or anything like that. R.3

Just everything that comes with it, the licenses and all that, the CVs, hopefully a job by the end of it. R.2

What do you find most challenging about Bros for Change?

This question was met with a range of responses. It was important to understand what the rangatahi struggled with at Bros for Change in order to build on a comparison later in the interview. Most of the rangatahi expressed a challenge in their punctuality.

For me it's probably just turning up, my punctuality, it's just something I've adapted to growing up, turning up to school late and from there it just been like. Yeah, just getting here, waking up. Once I'm here, straight into it. R.2

Yeah definitely just waking up in the morning cause that's just me, I'm not the type of person to be able to wake up early as. But once I'm here, I'm always excited to get out and do stuff, so probably just the waking up early, that's about it. R.3

One rangatahi spoke about an issue relating to his mannerisms.

Trying not to swear, that is the most hardest thing because I hate doing push-ups, yeah, that's probably the hardest thing. Just because we're out here representing Bros for Change, myself and my family. You know, just don't really want that image. R.1

Another rangatahi spoke to his mental challenges in participating.

Probably just when we are pushing it to our limits, like it's just real hard but you keep going, push through. At coaches, pushing myself to get through. I always try and push myself to go first, even though it's hard. R.4

Do you think being at Bros for Change inspires you?

As stated, being inspired and motivated is integral to the engagement and success of our rangatahi in any school system. In response to this question, three of the rangatahi swiftly engaged in korero around the Matua's (teachers) at Bros for Change, highlighting themes of understanding and relatability.

Yeah, seeing where they (Matua's) have come from and the effort they put into everything they do for us on a daily basis, just, you know, it gives me the drive to want to be here. And you know, want to show my appreciation and just put in 100% effort. It kind of makes me want to push myself to be better for the long run, just be a better person, not just for myself, but everyone around me. They help me here, I feel like here they're more understanding, they understand you more as a person. They actually take the time to find out who you are and you know, what kind of person you are instead of just labelling you. Yeah, that's the most inspiring thing. R.1

Nah yeah definitely, just when they (Matua's) come in and speak, just like, you can do anything you want and that, like just put your mind do it and you can do it, just all the little things. Just their backgrounds and all that and where they are now. All the boys can relate to it. Just like no matter your background, later on in life you can get to that stage. R.3

Yeah, cause I was like real shy before I did Bros for Change the first time, they pushed me not to be so shy when you meet people, just give everything a go, have courage. Telling us to just do it, don't be scared, give everything a go, go for it. They make me feel inspired cause they are just helping young people like me make it somewhere. R.4

Some also spoke to inspiration found in gaining their qualifications while in the course.

The licenses and all that, just getting here and getting those things is motivating, like if you have those things you can pretty much just get you a job. R.2

Um yeah, just with the licenses and that, I've always wanted to get my license, it's always been a big thing for me cause I just hate bussing around. R.3

How have you changed since starting the course?

Examining the personal changes made by rangatahi would also offer value to the discussions, particularly the evaluation of the effectiveness of Bros for Change and kaupapa Māori programs alike. All rangatahi reflected on significant changes they felt internally, with a range of explanations.

Before I came to this school I was on the very edge of being kicked out of my school, always fighting, always being in trouble, never showing up to class, and then when I came to this school, it just taught me a lot more about being a leader and taking responsibility for myself and just, you know, stepping up. Being more confident in myself instead of changing myself to be how other people want me to be, just be myself around other people and be confident about that. R.1

Yeah It's like, more mature and like those ways, punctuality and all that, those things. Once you get a job you know, well what I've been told, that's number one, being on time and all of that. R.2

Yep, with the licenses and stuff, I never really pushed for it, I've only just recently, with the Matua's help, that's been the main focus. R.3

Yeah, I've changed heaps. When I first started, cause I was like real short, chubby, and I always just like followed everyone around. Now, from when Matua told me don't be a sheep and that, it just made me think I don't wanna keep following people around for my life doing what they like doing, I just wanna do my own thing. I wouldn't have learnt that at school, if I hadn't done the Bros for Change course I'd probably just be doing the same

thing. I always used to stay home, play fortnite, I didn't go to school. Now I look back at it it's real bad. R.4

Do you feel comfortable at Bros for Change?

All rangatahi agreed that they felt comfortable at the kaupapa Māori-based program and all due to a sense of belonging and acceptance.

Yeah cause I don't feel judged, no one feels judged here. I feel like some people can be quite judgy and you can't be yourself around certain people so you change your whole demeanour to match for what they want you to be, but here you can be yourself and they won't judge you. R.1

Yeah definite, just fit in. Probably just those fellas out there aye (pointed to the other participants and Matua's of Bros for Change), just always around them and that, yeah. Don't really need to hide anything inside, just express yourself. We are just like brothers at the end of the day. R.2

Yeah, it's just I've only met these boys recently, I don't really know these boys. It's taken me a while to adjust but they always made me feel welcome. I'm not one to be a loud type, I stick to myself and do what I need to do. R.3

Yeah, cause I can be myself around the Matua's, yeah it's real calming. Cause they do the same thing that I do, we don't push each other down here so I can just be myself. I don't like being myself in front of people I don't know, if I'm doing what I do and they look at me weird, it puts me off. R.4

Do you feel that your Māoritanga is embraced at Bros for Change?

Again, all four rangatahi responded very positively to this question. Most of the answers related to their involvement in certain activities.

All the time, every morning, karakia, before we have lunch, karakia. Uh, before we leave at the end of the day, karakia. When we're doing our mau rakau, making our mau rakau, every course makes one for graduation, so on our first camp, we went and cut our mau rakau, and then we've had them here and were making them up now. It makes me feel more connected, not just to me, but everyone around me. R.1

Yeah definite, all the time. It's like the kapa haka and all that, the mau rakau and everything, yeah karakia, all that stuff is more embraced here than at school. R.2

Yeah, definitely more than my school, you know it's compulsory we do mau rakau every day, haka every day, so yeah, definitely more embraced here. Just doing a little bit every day, it all adds up. R.3

Yeah, all the time cause we always do Māori stuff. It's real cool, I mean, all this Māori stuff, cause I don't get to do it anywhere else, just here. R.4

If you could change something about Bros for Change, what would it be?

All four rangatahi had little to offer in their responses and ultimately ended saying they wouldn't change anything. However, some issues in relation to the start time were initially expressed.

The time, start later. Nah, everything's gangster here aye, the people and everything, nah I wouldn't change anything, just the starting time. R.2

Probably starting a bit later, there's nothing wrong with this time now but it all just comes back to waking up, it's the hardest thing. But nah, I actually want to do this stuff cause I know it's gonna help me down the line, everything here is gonna help me down the line when I have to go live by myself one day you know. R.3

Nah, I don't think there's anything I would change you know, it's good the way it is. You know, it's not all sitting down, you do this or else you know, do the mahi get the treats. R.1

I don't think I'd change anything, yeah, cause everything here is kinda what I would thought of doing. It's pretty much got everything. R.4

Would you recommend Bros for Change to other rangatahi?

This was the first planned question that deviated from the line of questioning seen in the school section. Simply as school is compulsory nationwide and would not make sense. It was interesting to hear the responses of the rangatahi who all agreed to the statement for their own reasons.

Yeah, just the support system here is really good, the way they make you feel too, it's different, it's a different kind of feeling, it's real good. They make you feel like your appreciated for just showing up, like, you know you don't have to do anything, you just show up and they appreciate that you just showed up, you know it's the little things that makes you feel good. R.1

Yeah, I'd tell them. There's opportunities, things like further down the line that you don't think of, all those things, the support and all that. R.2

Yeah, I'd definitely recommend this course. Like, at first I wasn't too keen on it cause I knew I didn't have any mates here, but once you start hanging out with the boy you meet, start becoming closer and closer. It is a good course and it helps you a lot. R.3

Yeah, I'd tell them to jump on it cause it would help them. If they felt lost then the Matua's could put them back into place, or couch would. They'll feel better after the course will be done. R.4

One word – Bros for Change

The rangatahi were also again asked to try, using one word, or short sentence, to describe their experience at Bros for Change. Again, the rangatahi were offered patience in their thinking.

Grateful. R.1

It's hard, I don't really know to be honest, more comfortable, more yourself. Feel like myself. It's like an escape as well. R.2

Understanding. Yeah understanding what we like doing, what stuff we need to do, stuff to make things not boring. That's the big thing I think they understand from us is that if we're sitting in a class all day, we're not going to want to do it, but if we're going and doing stuff, we'll keep coming back. Were all Māori here, so it's like an automatic understanding what we've been through, where we come from and all that so yeah, as a Māori boy, it's definitely understanding just us as Māori I guess. R.3

Challenging. It's real challenging, it makes me feel like, it gives me excitement, knowing that we're doing something that's real challenging is just like, I'm gonna do this, I'm gonna pass this. R.4

A comparative discussion of school and Bros for Change

To this point, the rangatahi had already touched on comparisons throughout the initial sections of the interview. However, the purpose of this third and final section was to discuss these comparisons deeper, to understand what aspects of either system they enjoyed or found beneficial, and why.

Between school and the Bros for Change, which do you prefer, and why?

From the first sections, it seemed apparent that the rangatahi did enjoy Bros for Change but there were also aspects of their schooling that they spoke positively of. In saying so, all four rangatahi chose Bros for Change. Two rangatahi spoke to the support system offered at the kaupapa Māori-based course.

The bros, I feel more supported here you know. That kind of, the energy here is a lot better than school, I feel like I can be myself around these people. At school, the way they make me feel sometimes you know, not so much neglected but kind of towards neglected, not, not supported enough to a point where I don't want to go back there. R.1

Bros for Change. It's probably just all the things they can help you with, the support, school doesn't really help you with it. Yeah, the support, get your license and all that. R.2

The other two rangatahi owed their choice to the activities they had done while part of the course.

Bros for Change. The activities we do, much more freedom, freedom is a big one. School is just boring, there are good things about it, but there's dumb things about it, everything here is pretty good. R.3

The bros. Cause we're just doing fun things and I'm with my friends every Monday and Tuesday. In school, if we're doing hard classes like, I just don't want to do it anymore, like literacy. R,4

Do you think participating in a course similar to Bros for Change could benefit other rangatahi?

Again, all four rangatahi agreed in their response. The first response talked about the ability to transform during the course.

Yep, it just gives you a different look and perspective on things around you and people around you, you know, just gives you that, shows you the bigger picture of you know, how things really are, what things really look like and what it's like in the real world. It just changes everybody, helps everybody in different ways, not just, it's not just for students who are labelled as bad kids you know, you don't have to have a label to come on this course. R.1

One rangatahi spoke specifically to cultural elements that could prove beneficial.

Yeah, especially when you like doing that sort of stuff, it can benefit you as Māori. Doing that stuff, learning new things, new haka, you just gotta keep learning, keep moving forward with it. People who aren't really connected to their culture, it would be a good thing to come cause they will teach you, cause they know their stuff and know what they're talking about (R.3.

The other two rangatahi spoke more generally in their response.

Yeah, cause they're probably feeling the same way I was feeling, and if they came here, they'd probably just open up more, cause I've opened up heaps since being here. Even if they're real successful, this course will probably change their perspective on what they really wanted to do, and they might try help out kids more when they are older. R.4

Yep definitely, it's not so like stressful and that, can just come and kick back. R.2

Do you think you've learnt anything from Bros for Change that you wouldn't have learnt from school?

This question concluded this interview and aimed to find out what things the rangatahi felt they had learnt at Bros for Change, that they wouldn't have learnt had they not participated.

Attitude, energy. They (school) kind of just tell you, you got a shit attitude, but don't tell you how to fix it. They (Matua's) helped me heaps, helped me change my attitude towards certain things you know. R.1

Yeah probably like that punctuality, just turning up on time and all that. R.2

Heaps, just all the stuff I talked about, mau rakau, haka and that, getting my license. Just to do stuff that's gonna help me for me, not just doing things for no reason. Just doing things with purpose, even if it's hard or you don't enjoy it 100%, but just like knowing it's going to help you and so just putting your head down. R.3

Probably like the forklift stuff, just knowing how to use a forklift, I never thought I would. R.4

Kaumātua interview component

This research also sought the opinions and knowledge of two Māori kaumātua. These discussions explored kaupapa Māori theory as a framework, tokenism, te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the mainstream education system. This korero also hoped to examine te ao Māori, its principles, protocols, values and beliefs, and how these components could assist in the transformation of rangatahi Māori.

What makes a kaupapa Māori youth justice intervention authentically Māori?

Both kaumātua respondents went into great detail regarding the centrality of tikanga and other traditional Māori concepts in assessing its authenticity.

They have to be embedded in our tikanga. Our tikanga goes back mai rā anō (a long time), it's been established through our purakau, our cultural narratives, through our atua (gods), and I don't mean just Ihu Karaiti (Jesus), I'm talking about atua for whenua, moana, maunga, you know te ao Māori is this broad concept and nothing can be left out. The tikanga is the platform we have to work from, by Māori for Māori. M.1

It's our cultural rights and the values and beliefs that we have in mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori, that enable us to honour the puna (spark of life), that is important. M.1

What makes an initiative kaupapa Māori is quite clear, it ensures that concepts of whakapapa, tikanga, and kaitiakitanga are consistently aligned to their decision making and what informs the steps ahead, it is central to their day-to-day function. Tikanga forms the basis of everything a kaupapa Māori organisation is about, it's the bedrock on which it's built on. Tikanga is the infrastructure which guides the organisation. Kaupapa is the course of action, the tikanga is by which that course is guided. M2

Kaumātua also talked to themes of purpose and intent in their korero.

The spirit of its intent. What makes it a kaupapa Māori initiative is it must have the will to serve the people. Kaupapa Māori is a collective concept, and we as Māori are a collective people. For me, that's more important than tikanga, our ability to serve the people, cause at the end of the day, no matter what, if you intend to help people and you can do that, that's kaupapa Māori. M2

The objective is that everyone is gonna be in the boat, it's gonna be a well-resourced waka, it's gonna be supported by people with capability, and that's with Māori and non-Māori that have the heart to achieve our mission and our purpose to get over the other side. You gotta be committed to the end. M.1

What was also reflected upon in both korero was the idea of participation, particularly the participation and efforts of non-Māori.

Fundamentally I believe that its led, designed and developed by Māori, for Māori, and that's not to say you can't have non-Māori involved in terms of blood quantum, it's not whether you speak Māori, it's about your head being within te ao Māori, whether your heart is Māori. M.1

To fully appreciate a tangata whenua response to anything, it needs to be designed not just with tangata whenua in mind, but with tangata whenua leading the kaupapa. By

default, organisations or groups, or even projects, that are formulated by tangata whenua come with a set of principles grounded in te ao Māori. Pākehā can do it too, they can ring up the local marae and go through that consultation process, but I don't believe pakeha can deliver the same, and that's part of the problem, is pakeha organisations get the funding and Māori don't, because it doesn't fit the criteria of a Westminster framework. We need to build the capability within our own people because we know that we deliver. M2

What is the difference between a tokenistic, and a tika (true) kaupapa Māori intervention programme?

The term authentic, or authenticity, was discussed in their explanation of what tokenism meant to them.

That's a tricky one, we have to break down what does tokenism look like. Tokenism for me is something that is not authentic. M1

Tokenism is when you only have a visual aspect, but it's not backed up by your staff or structure. When someone sits there as a figurehead who has no contribution to Māori, it's something that is not authentic, it's reactive, I think people are very good at using it to address an outcome, but not necessarily a mission for the long term. M1

Tokenistic approaches don't have a meaningful intent guiding them. Tika is to be true, and authentic, and authenticity is visible in their actions. To be tokenistic is to be an imposter, to be someone you're not. M2

One of the kaumātua shared their experience in assessing tokenism through their mahi, which provides funding to organisations and initiatives.

You know, some organizations, they have a picture of the treaty on the wall and I ask them to tell me what it means to them as an organization, don't tell me about the principles, partnership, participation and protection, you don't need to tell me that, tell me why you're doing what you're doing. M1

You know these tokenistic Māori parts to them, like a Māori name, and they use these terms te Tiriti o Waitangi, wheke model, te whare tapa wha, kaupapa Māori, and I mean the reality is it still has a western approach, it is a western construct, and they don't work. M1

The intention of the kaupapa was again discussed in explaining tokenism by both kaumātua participants.

I guess, in terms of tokenism in kaupapa Māori frameworks, it is to not be true to its intent, what I just talked about, kaupapa Māori means to serve, to serve the people, your intention must be bigger than yourself, that's what makes something tika. To not be tika, is to be tokenistic. M2

You should do it because you have a commitment to all people, but tangata whenua particularly, and we know that by Māori coming into our organization here, it was to benefit everyone here, even our non-Māori. M1

What does te Tiriti o Waitangi mean to you in the realm of youth justice?

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is often referred to when discussing kaupapa Māori concepts, and it remains central to te ao Māori and its advancement. The purpose of this question was to understand what te Tiriti o Waitangi meant to the kaumātua, and how important it was to the establishment and operations of kaupapa Māori initiatives. Both kaumātua looked to the initial purpose of te Tiriti o Waitangi in their response.

It's everything you know, te Tiriti o Waitangi, back in 1840, 1835, it conveyed the aspirations of our tūpuna. You know, you look around the articles and around taonga, like te reo and our cultural practices, our rangatahi and whānau constructs, they were just as important to our tūpuna as they are to us today. Particularly in article two, what does tino rangatiratanga mean, mana motuhake, these things are critical. M1

What our forefathers, our tūpuna, our chiefs at the time, what they thought, that for our people to survive, we had to ensure that we take with us our tikanga, our kawa, our customs, beliefs, and practices. M1

For some Māori, te Tiriti was to future proof their existence, for others, there was a belief that they would, that them and their people would truly benefit from being in a partnership that would guarantee equal decision making. Unfortunately, both of these have failed to deliver, and fully realise the opportunity and aspiration that our ancestors signed the document on. M2

From te ao Pākehā, the purpose of the treaty was to bring law and order and create division between Iwi, from te ao Māori, the treaty was seen as a tool of unification of our people, especially with Pākehā, and so, just looking to the difference in purpose alone, we can see the inevitability of the harm that has unfolded. M2

The centrality of te Tiriti o Waitangi in a contemporary context was also spoken to. Both kaumātua agreed that te Tiriti still holds immense relevance in the undertaking of programmes and initiatives today.

Nothing can be established without it in mind because it reflects the aspirations of our people. The treaty is the programme, and this is the problem with Oranga Tamariki, MSD (Ministry of Social Development), other government agencies, is that there are so many different iterations of te Tiriti means. The treaty gives us an opportunity to keep grounded, to keep us connected in terms of our partnership. M1

There's a duty, or an obligation for these organisations to embed the spirit of intent that the document was formed. Whether it's a petrol station, youth service, or, even engaging in a counselling service, it's about arriving at a place where you both agree, you're both unified in the outcomes you want to achieve, that's the essence of te Tiriti o Waitangi, well from a tangata whenua viewpoint anyway, to be unified in a common course of action that serves the people, and so, in regards to youth justice or whatever it may be, te Tiriti o Waitangi should, like tikanga, it should guide the decision making and operations of that organisation, group or project. M2

An analogy and an example of te Tiriti o Waitangi was also reflected upon during the korero from one kaumātua

It's like a marriage, between the crown and ngā iwi katoa, and as a result of that marriage we have these tamariki, which is what I view as biculturalism. But what is set in stone is the values from that marriage, and the values is what keeps you together. M1

You know I go to an organisation and they tell me "oh we don't abide by the treaty because we don't have Māori rangatahi or families come to us". Well, I tell them I wonder why that is. M1

Is a kaupapa Māori based youth justice intervention more beneficial for rangatahi Māori than a mainstream one? If so, why?

Assessing whether kaupapa Māori grounded programmes were more beneficial for rangatahi was discussed in the rangatahi section of these findings. However, those korero were based on first-hand experience of, and their enjoyment in, the Bros for Change course specifically. The purpose of this question was to shed light on what made kaupapa Māori framework more effective from a theoretical point of view and to understand how the underlying principles catered to the ethnospecific needs of rangatahi Māori. The concepts of whakawhānaungatanga (the bridging of connections) and relatability were talked about.

It's just whakawhānaungatanga, it's what we do naturally, that's the key point of difference, and it's not just making that connection with them, but retaining it, whakawhānaungatanga and whakamana, continuing to empower and encourage. M1

How we are able to make a difference, an impact is that relational aspect, you get to know a young person foremost, you break down all those barriers. When you can make that breakthrough with young people, particularly those that have been abused or the system has been such a disservice to them and their aspirations, we get to change that. M1

Yes, it's more beneficial because an organisation regarded as Māori or kaupapa Māori relies on embedding such concepts like whānaungatanga, manaakitanga and mana, the environment is different, it's conducive as a large support system that feeds every dimension of a developing person, Māori organisations gain access to the person through building a relationship, this is where Pākehā fail. M2

When rangatahi are able to see themselves in the shoes of these Kaiako, they feel understood, they feel trust, they feel manaakitanga, they can relate to these Kaiako in a way that, that grounds them, that makes them feel seen and heard. It's an inherent, intrinsic value we possess as Māori. M2

Additionally, kaumātua discussed Bros for Change specifically, using them as an example of how the concepts of whānaungatanga, connection and relatability, are evident in their operation.

Bros for Change has an ability to connect where mainstream programmes don't, because they are naturally enshrined in things Māori and they've been purposefully enhanced by kaupapa Māori. Like what the rangatira (leader/facilitator) does first, starts a relationship with that person, makes that connection, then the young person engages. It's understanding the rangatahi first, then making that connection with them through things that interest them, not just approaching all rangatahi in the same way. M1

Yeah, like bros for change, it's a kaupapa embedded in experience, in reality, by men like these rangatira, it's an ability by Māori for Māori that shows we know what works best for Māori who have experienced things Māori. We can create programmes and structures that we know will work for Māori, and that's its point of difference. M1

The ideas of self-identity and sense of belonging were also explained by both the kaumātua, particularly, how these assisted with the positive growth and development of rangatahi Māori.

Whether it's through karakia, or introducing mau rakau, or taking our rangatahi out into the environment, whether it's looking for kai moana and learning about Tangaroa, there's little things that come with it that connect to rangatahi and give them a sense of belonging and identity, going through programmes like bros for change can make that difference in rangatahi. M1

People learn a lot of experience, I mean, things like mau rakau, kapa haka, these are contributors to building character and instilling values into our rangatahi, more so mental than physical. These things bridge a connection to te ao Māori, and the awakening that some people experience when doing these things, the feeling it can give them, an overwhelming sense of belonging, that's invaluable. M2

What was also referred to in response to this question was a comparison between kaupapa Māori-based initiatives and western constructs. Kaumātua spoke of the differences in nature and approach of the two.

These Māori-driven programmes have these amazing networks and connections with whānau that no one else can connect with, then you have these alternative education programs that go and knock-on families' doors to give them infringement notices for their child not going to school without trying to understand why see that's the point of difference. M1

You know not to say Māori can't do this, but I've seen non-Māori run these FGC things and, they walk in with all these bits of paper with their academic frameworks and all this you know, whether as Māori we can just sit down and there's a natural flow of korero, we can make whakapapa connections, we can just be ourselves and connect. M1

Pākehā always ask what do you do, you know, we don't care what you do, we want to know where you're from, you become part of this whānau equation and I want to make a connection with you, that's the difference aye. M1

I think that kaupapa Māori programs have an ability to break through identify barriers that a mainstream curriculum will never address, just because, back to that idea of whānaungatanga, the forging of connections that occurs in te ao Māori is so vital to our existence, our tupuna relied on whānaungatanga to survive and so to do we today. When these programmes like Bros for Change can, when they express whānaungatanga to its full capacity, that is the building block of success kaupapa Māori. M2

That whānaungatanga that occurs between Māori, in an environment immersed in our Māoritanga, that has never and will never be replicated by the mainstream system, never. M2

One kaumātua also briefly touched on the idea of intergenerational trauma.

Just listening to them, not talking at them, just being patient. You have to unpack a lot of that bad stuff that's been happening over generations, you know these young people, they've been influenced by parents who have also been in a similar situation, and their parents. M1

Do you think that non-Māori rangatahi would benefit from kaupapa Māori programs?

The purpose of this question was to understand how far the benefits of kaupapa Māori could reach. It was established that kaupapa Māori frameworks were able to effectively address issues within rangatahi Māori better than western approaches. However, it was interesting to hear the views on whether kaupapa Māori could benefit non-Māori rangatahi, and if so, how? both kaumātua insisted that it could.

Absolutely, yeah, because at the end of the day everybody has a different way of looking at the world, and my Māori worldview is different to others, and that's ok, but we all have something to contribute. M1

Yes, because these programmes reach beyond what's surface. I mean, their attempt at breaking through the normal constructs of what holds a person's mind, body and spirit, it challenges the status quo, the thinking that we can't be different when we should be celebrating it. M2

Success shouldn't be measured on how many numbers you can put together or how many words you can spell, they are helpful, but success should be measured by seeing that person fulfill their potential, whether that is improving their relationship with their whānau or getting a car license, both rangatahi Māori and Pākehā youth face these challenges, and so a programme like Bros for Change, with the support and the guidance it offers, it can provide assistance to anyone, they just must be willing to take it. M2

One kaumātua reflected on his experience with Bros for Change to justify his stance.

You know I did the impact evaluation for bros for change, and I interviewed the Pākehā families of these kids, and I'll tell you what, they will say the same as those Māori whānau, that their child would not have benefited or made the change from their behaviour had it not been for Bros for Change, so it does benefit everyone. M1

Do you think the mono-cultural basis of New Zealand's education system has impacted on rangatahi overrepresentation in the criminal justice system?

This was the final question of the interview and although both kaumātua had touched on this point already during the korero, this question aimed to further understand how the kaumātua viewed the implications and repercussions caused by the mainstream education system.

Yes, because the monocultural system comes from a western construct and it's been continually rolled out when it hasn't worked, they still keep pushing it. These western approaches with strong western constructs, they are the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff. Reactive models, you know, the system's failures have brought through a prolific number of rangatahi Māori through youth justice that are in the system because there were not enough of these types of programmes. M1

You know they are just old Pākehā that are only ticking boxes, and you have Māori out there saying this isn't working for us. We have so many rangatahi in the system created from the failures of a social welfare system, full of a lot of angry people who are now having angry children who are making connections with angry peers. M1

One kaumātua explained the narrow scope of the education system, insisting that mainstream schools fail to cater to the specific needs of rangatahi Māori.

Schools do not accommodate the necessities of our rangatahi, it's not this triage system that says here's your set of needs, you go here, they're not set up in that fashion. It's very, very one-dimensional. M2

As I explained, the mainstream systems' fascination of numbers and words, and using this to measure success and achievement, it is one-dimensional. Let me be clear, school can be highly beneficial, when we talk about developing our tamariki, it's great, education is important, but it's just not for everyone, and I guess it's those rangatahi who feel isolated, or don't feel accepted, those are the rangatahi who are most vulnerable to entering into a life of offending, so yeah, in that aspect, without a doubt. M2

What I mean is, if we think about this generally, school only serves a certain type of student. It is very narrow in its approach and has become fixated on these subjects, maths, English, science, so on so on. When rangatahi don't, when they find it challenging, and they fail to see a greater purpose in these things, these challenges, they become disinterested, they become disengaged, and then they become anti-social, and that there. That is how we can point to the education system as a contributor to the overrepresentation of rangatahi in the justice system. M2

One response pointed to kura kaupapa Māori in its explanation.

The system says they have to be in school, but that same system doesn't support them in accessing and furthering their education in te ao Māori, and then what, mainstream education becomes their only option. You see, for example, rangatahi in Massey, their closest kura kaupapa Māori is over 15km away, for some of our whānau that is just not practicable, these whānau have limited access to transport, pūtea, it makes it extremely difficult for them to access kura kaupapa. Mainstream education becomes the default, and it fails, well no actually it doesn't fail because, its intention doesn't align to the advancement of our people. M2

Closing Comments

The value extracted from these korero with rangatahi and kaumātua participants surpassed expectations. I felt honoured to be able to engage in deep conversation with all of the participants and talk through their life experiences. From the rangatahi, witnessing the rollercoaster of emotions we rode through the course of our korero was inspiring. Each rangatahi participant had their distinct input and these differing views were fascinating to talk through. As for the kaumātua participants, the wealth of knowledge and experience was truly overwhelming. As mentioned, there is tremendous value in the data extracted, all of which will be unpacked in the next chapter of discussion.

Chapter Five – Discussion

Introduction

This chapter intends to provide a further discussion to the findings presented in the previous chapter. Given the focus of this research to identify and understand the impact the mainstream education system has had on the overrepresentation of Māori in the criminal justice system, several key themes were identified and will be discussed here. These included the failure of the education system to respect Māori concepts such as whakawhānaungatanga, manaakitanga and Māoritanga, which were common themes in the participants' responses and narratives. These three Māori concepts have been separated into sub-sections due to the complexity of their explanations. Other themes included employment pathways and school autonomy, which will also be discussed here, together with recommendations for the implementation of these findings in policy and future research.

Whakawhānaungatanga

Whakawhānaungatanga is a Māori concept which encases complex processes of establishing relationships and connections with others (Ritchie & Rau, 2006). For Māori, whakawhānaungatanga allows for the building of sustainable relationships which validates the connections of individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi (Levack et, al, 2016). Given the complex basis of whakawhānaungatanga, these explanations have been sub-categorized to allow for a greater critical analysis of the findings.

Importance to kaupapa Māori

This study found that whakawhānaungatanga is central to the success of kaupapa Māori programmes, particularly in the engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori. One kaumātua explained that whakawhānaungatanga was the key point of difference between kaupapa Māori models and mainstream systems, further stating that the relational aspect of kaupapa Māori framework allows Kaiako, or teachers, to break through internal barriers with young people. Another kaumātua stated how whakawhānaungatanga was the building block of success in kaupapa Māori systems, as the initial point of contact and the continued offering of whānaungatanga is what gives Māori programmes the opportunity to transform rangatahi Māori. This finding from within this study is supported in the body of literature available. Both Quince (2017) and Russell (2018) argue for the centrality of whakawhānaungatanga for te ao Māori and amplify its significance as an exclusive trait within kaupapa Māori.

Benton (2019) also asserts the importance of whakawhānaungatanga to Māori in both their traditional and contemporary way of life.

This study also found that whakawhānaungatanga did not hold importance in the mainstream education system, and further, could not be replicated within the western schooling system at a systematic level. Both kaumātua offered strong reservations to whānaungatanga in the school environments as they do not serve the culturally specific needs of Māori, nor do they uphold the values, beliefs, or cultural aspirations of te iwi Māori. To this finding, it could not be supported nor contended within the literature. However, it would be fair to assess that in a general sense, whakawhānaungatanga certainly did not hold the same weight in a mainstream environment when compared to a kaupapa Māori one.

Whakawhānaungatanga is the essence of kaupapa Māori, especially in its engagement with rangatahi Māori. It sets the platform for the development of a strong, rich relationship between multiple parties. This allows for greater engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori and is what separates kaupapa Māori and mainstream systems.

Meaningful relationships

This study also revealed the importance of building meaningful relationships with rangatahi in an educative environment. Throughout their korero, all four rangatahi from the study spoke highly of the matua at Bros for Change, and the relationships they had with them. Rangatahi reflected on feeling understood by the matua at Bros for Change and in turn, rangatahi felt more comfortable, welcome, calm, and that they could express themselves without fear of being judged. Rangatahi explained how the matua at Bros for Change took the time to understand them better as individuals, approaching them with no pre-conceived ideas, or labels, and instead built a relationship with them on trust and transparency. All four rangatahi alluded to these points during their korero and it was evident from their responses that the relationships built at Bros for Change, whether it be with Kaiako or the other students, was that of a deep nature, grounded in whakawhānaungatanga.

In a school environment rangatahi also spoke of positive relationships, however, these were mainly in relations to their mates, or “brothers”. When asked if they felt comfortable in school, most rangatahi reflected on these friendships or brotherhoods to validate their comfort in the mainstream environment. Korero also saw responses relating to relationships with teachers. This study found that all four rangatahi participants had a negative experience with teachers in school in general. Interestingly, one rangatahi did explain that they were well connected with the teachers in their school, but quickly offered criticism to their abilities.

This rangatahi explained that teachers had a certain approach to them and their peers that predetermined guilt, even if they had done nothing wrong, resulting in feelings of alienation.

Kaumātua participants also shared their perspectives on whakawhānaungatanga and the aspect of building meaningful relationships with rangatahi. Kaumātua assessed how Bros for Change particularly was able to connect meaningfully with rangatahi through whakapapa. This approach rested upon mutual respect and trust. Kaumātua also explained how this was a natural process, with a genuine flow of korero that allows both rangatahi and kaiako to feel grounded and confident in their interactions. In turn, Kaumātua explained how this made rangatahi feel comfortable, understood, heard, and accepted. Ultimately, this study found that these feelings enhance the engagement and achievement of rangatahi with the Bros for Change programme.

The findings of this study in terms of building meaningful relationships with rangatahi is consistent to that of the explanations in the literature. When assessing the effectiveness of Māori health providers, Mooney (2012) found that the building of therapeutic relationships with Māori indicates positive improvements and development in treatment. Mooney (2012) also explains that the quality of the relationship between Māori clients and practitioners will decide how effective the treatment is. This can be directly translated to a kaupapa Māori education setting in saying that the quality of relationship between students and kaiako will decide the effectiveness of the programme. Mooney (2012) also spoke of the benefits of building rapport, or meaningful relationships, in terms of decreasing feelings of embracement and shyness. Again, this is consistent with the findings of this study, with rangatahi expressing a greater sense of comfortability and confidence when at Bros for Change, compared to their usual school environments.

In terms of the failures of the mainstream education discussed in this study, particularly the labelling and preconceived expression of guilt upon rangatahi, literature also provides support for these explanations. Mati (2016) employs labelling theory to describe the negative impact that the practice of labelling rangatahi has had on their development and sense of self. Labelling rangatahi becomes internalised, meaning rangatahi begin acting in accordance with the labels given to them and thus, becomes part of their identity (Mati, 2016). In turn, Mati (2016) argues that assuming guilt by rangatahi increases the likelihood of future offending behaviours amongst rangatahi Māori.

The building of meaningful relationships with rangatahi is vital to their engagement with their mahi and in turn, is essential to their achievement. Building meaningful relationships

with rangatahi through whakapapa enables a greater sense of understanding between kaiako and student. Rangatahi feel more comfortable when they feel understood, and to feel understood gives rangatahi a greater sense of acceptance. Ultimately, this creates a learning environment which better nurtures the development of rangatahi as they can express themselves freely without fear or insecurities of being judged by others. Creating meaningful relationships also bridges a connection between student and kaiako that strengthens the effort and enjoyment of rangatahi when in a learning environment.

Relatability to Kaiako

A further benefit of whakawhānaungatanga identified in this study is the relatability of kaiako to rangatahi. All four rangatahi reflected upon how they could relate to the matua when at Bros for Change, explaining that they shared similar experiences and interests with the kaiako. Further, rangatahi expressed how this sense of relatability made them feel more understood and connected to the teachings within the kaupapa Māori course.

Kaumātua participants also offered explanation to this point, stating that when rangatahi are able to see themselves in the shoes of the kaiako, they feel trust, understanding and appreciation. By sharing similar life experiences, particularly in being Māori, this grounds rangatahi and enhances their sense of security and belonging. Essentially, the findings of this research suggest that programmes embedded in shared experience whereby rangatahi can associate their realities to those of the adults guiding them, increase the rangatahi's will to engage productively in the course materials.

These findings are consistent with the explanations offered by Owen (2001) who contends that rangatahi wanted programmes to be delivered by people who have shared similar life experiences to theirs, and for the kaiako to be caring, fair, but firm in their delivery.

In addition, Russell (2018) discusses that whakawhānaungatanga, or maintaining meaningful connections with others through shared experiences, provides a greater sense of belonging. Cram et al. (2003) also asserts that clients reported they wanted genuine and meaningful interaction with those in helping roles, which can be facilitated through relatability, empathy and understanding.

Programmes or courses grounded in experiences which the students can resonate with allow for a greater sense of connectedness, comfort and understanding. When rangatahi Māori can associate their realities to that of their teachers, it creates a heightened level of trust and understanding within the relationship. In turn, this further supports rangatahi Māori

in their engagement with their schooling and ultimately, their sense of achievement. For students who tend to struggle academically this sense of relatability, although not impossible, can be very difficult for them to observe in the western education system as personal and cultural barriers are more prevalent.

Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga is a traditional Māori social principle which is generally translated to hospitality. However, like most Māori concepts, manaakitanga is an intricate custom that signifies the importance of offering kindness, support and care when interacting with others in order to empower and uphold their mana and whakapapa (Neil, Williamson & Berno, 2015). Participants of this study agreed that this principle is helpful in enhancing confidence among rangatahi Māori to take advantage of available opportunities and excel.

Support systems

The findings from this study confirmed that the support systems offered to rangatahi in a kaupapa Māori setting is superior to those found in the mainstream system. Throughout the entirety of the korero with rangatahi they continually reflected on the positive support system available to them at Bros for Change. Rangatahi discussed the ongoing support offered by Bros for Change in their academic, sporting, and personal endeavours, and how this heightened sense of support gave them greater motivation and inspiration to participate in the activities at the course.

In addition, all four rangatahi agreed that they felt an exceeding level of support at Bros for Change when compared to their usual school environment. Rangatahi went further to explain failures of support at their school, expressing feelings of neglect when learning and not receiving appropriate guidance when struggling with their mahi kura (schoolwork).

Korero from kaumātua also supported thesis ideas. Kaumātua explained how kaupapa Māori systems are conducive as large support systems that feed every dimension of developing rangatahi. This also draws back to the notion of rangatahi feeling understood. Kaumātua discussed that the firm support system offered to rangatahi made them feel cared for, understood, and heard. This in turn would increase the willingness of rangatahi to engage purposefully with their mahi, knowing they had the support of their kaiako to fall back on if need be.

This explanation is consistent to that found in the literature. For example, Benton (2019) signifies the importance of supportive relationships to the wellness and health of rangatahi

Māori as it provides them with a greater sense of security and confidence. Russell (2018) also explains that belonging, connectedness and a sense of support from a whānau construct is imperative to Māori wellbeing. These explanations display the benefits of having supportive relationships and the importance they hold for Māori.

Providing an effective level of support to rangatahi is crucial to their development and performance in any facet of life, whether it be academic or personal. Having a strong support network allows rangatahi to feel grounded and secure as they know they can fall back on this system if they are in need of guidance. When rangatahi feel neglected and alienated, especially within a school environment, it can have a disastrous impact on their will to engage with their learning as they do not feel safe, nor do they have the confidence to face potential failure. Therefore, when kaiako engage in supportive relationships with rangatahi, they are more likely to try new things and take on challenges. They are also more likely to request help and guidance in their struggles as opposed to placing them in isolation.

Personal development

In relation to the concept of manaakitanga, this study also found that kaupapa Māori programmes were more beneficial in the personal development of rangatahi Māori when compared to the mainstream system. All four rangatahi participants discussed how they had made positive changes whilst at Bros for Change, including maturity, confidence, motivation and greater sense of self direction and purpose. Rangatahi explained how since starting at Bros for Change, they simply wanted to be better people, for themselves and those around them. This was as rangatahi were shown the “bigger picture” of life at Bros for Change, which didn’t entirely revolve around sports and exams, but instead what you offer to the world as an individual.

Also discussed was how the programme had made them feel confident in themselves and therefore they no longer wanted to just fit in with others. This relates back to the findings detailed in whakawhānaungatanga. Understanding and accepting rangatahi for who they are instils a greater feeling of confidence and therefore, rangatahi are able to express themselves freely without judgement. One rangatahi described how they felt they now had purpose since starting the course and insisted that other rangatahi who may feel lost or unsure should participate in Bros for Change.

One rangatahi also spoke of how they used to be frequently involved in fights at was nearing expulsion from their school prior to joining the Bros for Change programme. Now,

they felt they had discovered alternative outlets to release frustration and anger in manners that didn't result into altercation with other students.

In their korero, rangatahi alluded to the fact that for much of these developments discussed, they were unable to learn them in their mainstream school system. For example, all rangatahi explained how punctuality was a challenging aspect of school and that they constantly struggled with waking up and getting to school, but since starting at Bros for Change had learnt the importance of punctuality in the bigger picture of life and employment. Now, although they still struggle, they make more of an effort express punctuality as they understand the benefits it will provide them in the long run. Also, one rangatahi respondent talked of the failures of school in their handling of behavioural issues, stating that if students get in trouble at their school they are left alone in a room, isolated from socialisation and communication where *they just become angrier* and are not given any guidance to dealing with their issues.

The benefits of this finding are well established in the literature. McIntosh and Workman (2017) suggest that a lack of poor self-management and purposeful engagement with their education are both factors that lead to criminal behaviour. Benton (2019) also supports this idea, discussing that positive emotional adjustment and social adaptation can positively influence their sense of belonging and connectedness. In terms of rangatahi feeling confident in themselves to which they no longer need to follow their peers, Sutherland's differential association theory presents its benefits. This theory explains that behavioural components of offending's behaviours are a result of relationships with peers, where antisocial behaviours are modelled and reinforced (Mati, 2016). Instilling a greater level of confidence in rangatahi and giving them the certainty to lead their own lives decreases the likelihood of that person following others and engaging in antisocial behaviours due to the pressure of their peers.

Connectedness to culture

The most significant finding of this study was that kaupapa Māori-driven programmes are far more beneficial to rangatahi Māori in connecting to their Māoritanga as it incorporates a higher level of te ao Māori in its functioning. In turn, this provides a greater sense of belonging and self-identity for rangatahi Māori and ultimately, has a positive impact on the engagement, achievement, and overall enjoyment of learning when compared to the mainstream education system.

All four rangatahi agreed that Māori culture was embraced throughout all aspects of the Bros for Change programme. Reasoning was mainly due to the incorporation of Māori culture

in the activities rangatahi participated in the course such as mau rakau, kapa haka, hunting, diving, and camping. Rangatahi also reflected on the use of specific concepts such as karakia and whakapapa in their time at Bros for Change. One rangatahi explained how they were guided to learning about their whakapapa, their background, family, and culture at Bros for Change.

Interestingly, this study also found that all rangatahi also felt their Māori culture was embraced in the mainstream school. However, as highlighted in the findings, this embrace was limited in its significance with rangatahi explaining it was somewhat seasonal. For example, students explained how te wiki o te reo Māori and playing Ki o rahi in P.E were when they felt this sense of embrace. One rangatahi spoke of a specific study they undertook in school which they learnt about the Māori battalion and Māori leaders from World War 2 when explaining his experience of Māori culture in school. All rangatahi did however express that they wished for a greater embrace of their culture in their school environments, one even stating that Bros for Change was the only place they felt that they could embrace their Māoritanga to this extent.

The benefits of this connectedness were also discussed by both rangatahi and kaumātua participants in this study. All rangatahi discussed the positive impacts this heightened sense of connection had on them, explaining that it gave them a greater sense of belonging and self-identity. This then made the course more enjoyable for them and encouraged them to continue participating. One rangatahi explained that the embrace of Māoritanga made them feel not just more connected to themselves, but to others also, highlighting the collectiveness felt by rangatahi participants in their embrace of te ao Māori.

Kaumātua responses aligned to those given by rangatahi. Kaumātua talked about how bridging connections between rangatahi and their culture, particularly those who have not been exposed to it before, give them a cultural awakening that grasps an overwhelming sense of belonging. Kaumātua also explained how Māori activities such as mau rakau or kapa haka were able to build character within rangatahi and give them a place to express themselves in ways that upholds and celebrates their Māoritanga. As a result, this would allow for a more enjoyable experience in education, increasing engagement and achievement.

The responses and findings from this section of the study are widely supported within the literature. Benton (2019), McIntosh & Workman (2017), and Owen (2001) all argue that opportunities which increase participation in te ao Māori increase the connection between rangatahi and their culture and in turn, improves the success of rangatahi in education and

their overall wellness and health. Benton (2019) asserts that cultural connectedness is experienced through locating ourselves to whakapapa, purakau and our atua, all of which are done at Bros for Change through pepeha, kapa haka and karakia. Gemmell (2020) also explains that reconnecting with traditional practices can provide a positive development pathway for rangatahi Māori. Also, deliberate recognition and use of cultural resources in education has been shown to positively impact the engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori (Lambie & Gluckman, 2018). Benton (2019) further discussed how a sense of belonging is a basic human need and is linked to positive mental health outcomes, emotional adjustment, and social adaptation. Benton (2019) also states that cultural connectedness is important for Māori as it provides a feeling of being cared for, loved, esteemed, and valued, all crucial components of rangatahi achievement and participation in their education.

Mooney (2012) states that cultural understanding and immersion contributes to connectedness, and this positive cultural identity is synonymous with well-being for Māori. Hewlett (2018) also describes cultural identity as a protective factor for rangatahi Māori that assists in building resilience and confidence. Hewlett (2018) contends that a lack of cultural identity is a critical factor when assessing future offending behaviours, explaining that rangatahi who are out of touch with their culture tend to look to fill that void with another culture to gain a sense of belonging.

Alternative education programmes that are grounded in the teachings and values of te ao Māori provide rangatahi a greater sense of connectedness when compared to the western education system. This is as kaupapa Māori courses immerse rangatahi into their culture in their day-to-day learning and are constantly involved in Māori activities that heighten their connectedness to te ao Māori. On the contrary, the mainstream education system is limited in their offerings of Māori concepts, with te reo and kapa haka being nearly the only components of te ao Māori that are widely available in mainstream schools. Otherwise, the mainstream system somewhat drip feeds Māoritanga. For example, celebrating te wiki o te reo Māori and matariki, which are both beneficial and great advancements for Māori, but not to a degree where we should expect personal development and transformation in rangatahi Māori.

When rangatahi can connect further with their Māoritanga, it gives them an enhanced sense of belonging, sense of self, and a purpose greater than themselves. Māori activities such as whakapapa, kapa haka, mau rakau and purakau can contribute to a strong sense of distinctiveness and identity for rangatahi Māori. As a result, rangatahi build self-esteem and

confidence in themselves which encourages participation in pro-social behaviours, ultimately impacting their engagement in school and success in a wider-social context.

Autonomy in Education

This study also found that granting rangatahi greater autonomy in their learning is directly correlated to increased engagement, achievement, and motivation in school. All four rangatahi explained issues with their subject choices in school, stating that literacy subjects such as English, history, writing, science were challenging, unenjoyable and not interesting to the point that they question whether to go to school on days with these subjects. Rangatahi expressed that they wanted more of an input into what they did in school, explaining that their usual days in school are boring and somewhat pointless. Rangatahi struggled to see the value in certain topics and consequently, disengaged from their learning in these subjects. Rangatahi participants also discussed how school was only interested in students gaining NCEA credits and that they didn't understand its importance to their own pathways. However, when talking of their experience of Bros for Change, rangatahi were vocal in their appreciation of the control they had over what they did while at the course. Moreover, the activities that were compulsory such as MMA training, licensing, kapa haka and mau rakau were far more enjoyable for their specific styles of learning.

In addition, rangatahi frequently reflected on things such as driver, site safe, forklift and first aid licensing in their korero, sharing that they were more suited to their aspirations when compared to the subjects they were restricted to when at school. Rangatahi explained how they created CV's and took part in mock job interviews at Bros for Change, and how this preparation made them feel motivated for future endeavours. This is as it provides guidance to employment pathways for rangatahi and even though these subjects still involved studying, writing, and reading, rangatahi expressed how they could see a greater purpose in these topics through future employment and so were more committed to completing them. In turn, this resulted in greater achievement and improved overall well-being for rangatahi Māori.

Kaumātua responses also spoke of rangatahi autonomy in school, explaining that when rangatahi are participating in activities of learning that are better catered to their learning, we can expect better engagement, increased enjoyment, and higher achievement in education. Kaumātua also criticised the mainstream school system and their one-dimension nature in the teaching and testing of literacy and numeracy. One kaumātua spoke of a misunderstood fascination that mainstream school systems have with numbers and words and discussed how success should not be exclusively measured on this basis, arguing for a more

accommodating, individualistic approaches to teaching. Kaumātua also stated how the mainstream system does not attend to the specific needs and aspirations of rangatahi Māori, and its narrow approach only serves certain types of students, to which the mainstream system can prove beneficial. Kaumātua concluded in saying that when rangatahi are faced with academic challenges that they fail to see purpose in, they become disengaged from their mahi.

Owen (2001) supports the ideas of the finding, indicating that interventions which are focused on engaging with rangatahi Māori should be tailored to the specific needs of the individual and their whānau, and that this will support the relationship between whānau and the achievement of rangatahi. McIntosh and Workman (2017) also argue that a lack of self-management can lead to truancy and poor education outcomes for rangatahi Māori, which is suggested as a key factor leading to criminal behaviours. Kingi, Russell and Ashby (2017) also explain that mana motuhake, the Māori word for autonomy and self-governance, is crucial if we are to expect achievement of rangatahi Māori in their education as from a cultural sense, it endows status for one's knowledge, specifically through demonstration of traditions, language, and culture. In terms of employment pathways, McIntosh and Workman (2017) and Owen (2001) argue that a lack of vocational skills or employment prospects is a leading factor of future criminal behaviour and combine to lead youth to a life of criminality and for some, prison.

Granting greater control and autonomy to rangatahi over their learning in school provides an increased sense of enjoyment and purpose for their mahi. This is as they can participate in ways that cater to their interests and aspirations. Even in necessary subjects that they don't tend to enjoy such as literacy-based options, we can incorporate these teachings into alternative methods that fulfil the specific needs of their individual ambitions.

For example, driver licensing, CV assessments, mock interviews components, and first aid and site safe courses, these are all ways which literacy components of learning can be incorporated into methods that are more enjoyable to rangatahi when compared to static, monotonous subjects we see in the mainstream curricular. The exposure to employment pathways also builds resilience's and motivation for rangatahi in building to their future. From this, we can expect increased engagement of rangatahi to their learning, higher motivation for attendance, and an overall heightened level of success and achievement with their studies.

Recommendations

The following recommendations have been developed from the findings and discussion of this research. It is hoped that the implementation and acknowledgement of these recommendations will provide effective mechanisms for addressing the negative impact that the mainstream education system has on rangatahi Māori overrepresentation in the criminal justice system.

Recognising its significance

It is now time to approach this issue and recognise the magnitude of its implications. For some students, the mainstream school system provides an excellent pathway to personal development and is wealthy in opportunities to succeed and engage. However, for others, specifically those who struggle academically or socially, it is a complete and utter failure to their well-being and individual progression. The mainstream school system is one dimensional and exclusively caters to a certain population of students, whilst also completely neglecting and diminishing the requirements and aspirations of others, particularly rangatahi Māori. This in turn has disastrous effects on their ability to achieve and they are overcome with a great sense of failure, alienation, and isolation in the mainstream school environment. Rangatahi are then encouraged to disengage from their learning, leading them down a pathway of deviant and anti-social behaviours, criminal offending and eventually, prison.

It appears the mainstream education system has been overlooked in quests to explore rangatahi Māori criminality, with socio-economic and cultural-specific factors leading most conversations. Greater attention must be put onto rangatahi and their experience in school if we are to see valuable transformation in the near future.

Not only due to the significance displayed throughout the entirety of this research, but also as it is a proactive approach that attends to the issue at its roots, as opposed to band aid fixes or the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff style processes. This gives better hope for meaningful change and development for rangatahi Māori in steering them onto a pathway clear of criminality and offending.

Mainstream education transformation

A systematic transformation of the mainstream education curriculum and system generally is recommended. This would entail a much greater implementation of te ao Māori and its teachings into the nation-wide school system. Concepts such as whakawhānaungatanga and manaakitanga need to hold greater significance in the mainstream system as it is crucial to

the engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori and benefits non-Māori students. It is a basic human need to feel cared for, accepted, understood, and the reality is that the mainstream education system is not successful in doing so for rangatahi Māori. We have an education system that focuses primarily on literacy and numeracy NCEA credits to gauge success of students, with no ability to reach further and attend to the specific needs and aspirations of our rangatahi. We have rangatahi dealing with immense struggle, cognitive and behavioural issues, complications and extreme hardship in their home settings, social complexities, and most importantly to this research, learning difficulties, and the mainstream system fails to take these into account when assessing their narrow interpretation of “success”.

What was clearly evident from Bros for Change was their understanding of what success looked like, and it was plainly explained as growing rangatahi so they were better people than when they arrived. Whether it was simply to attend the course, to stop fighting in school, to gain their driver license, or to complete their NCEA credit requirements, success was based on an individual level that addressed the student’s specific needs and aspirations. To make that personal connection and express meaningful support and care was incredibly inspiring for rangatahi and is exactly what the mainstream education needs to adopt in their processes if we are to see any genuine transformation in the data.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

The aim of this research was to understand what impact the mainstream education system had on rangatahi Māori and their likelihood of engaging in future offending behaviours. This was to be achieved by gaining the opinions of rangatahi Māori who had been referred to a kaupapa Māori alternative education course which would provide insight to their experience of school and draw on a comparison to their experience at the kaupapa Māori course to identify the failings and benefits of each respectively.

Korero was also offered by kaumātua, who spoke to the theoretical, systematic aspects of each system. Literature affirmed that disengagement, under achievement and expulsion from the education system was directly correlated to a higher prevalence of deviant and criminal behaviours, especially for rangatahi Māori. Therefore, assessing the effects that mainstream school had on these factors would allow for a better understanding of the impact that the western, mainstream education system has on the over-representation of rangatahi Māori in the criminal justice system.

Following the findings and discussion sections of this thesis, it can be stated with confidence that this research has achieved its intended objectives.

Summation of findings

The objective of this research was to explore the impact that the western education system has had on rangatahi Māori and their sense of connectedness to culture, and overall well-being. It was then intended to examine how this may impact on their likelihood of future deviant and criminal behaviors, ultimately resulting in an over representation in the criminal justice system. Three sub-questions were presented at the beginning of this research which intended to guide the inquiry and the discussion of the results in this study. These three sub-questions explored specific components of the mainstream education system and kaupapa Māori alternative education programmes, which will now be utilised to summarise the findings of this research effectively. These will each be analysed in relation to the findings of this study, and the literature available, and provide an appropriate answer to the main research question proposed.

1. *Does the western, mainstream education system provide rangatahi Māori with individualised, culturally specific tools and processes of learning?*

Following the discussion offered in this study, it is evident that the western, mainstream education system fails to provide rangatahi Māori with individualized, cultural-specific tools and processes of learning. Whakawhānaungatanga was identified as a crucial component of te ao Māori and its practices. Whakawhānaungatanga underpins the interaction of tangata whenua and highlights the importance of building meaningful connections with students as teachers. From the responses given by rangatahi it was evident that whakawhānaungatanga was absent in mainstream education at a systematic level, and further, that it did not hold any significance in the general functioning of mainstream schools.

Manaakitanga was also highlighted as a vital aspect of Māoritanga, particularly in engaging with rangatahi Māori. Manaakitanga encompasses the intricate understanding of hospitality for Māori, signifying kindness, support, and care in relationships with others. Again, manaakitanga was all but absent in the mainstream education at the systematic level. Rangatahi commonly referred to a lack of support, understanding and support from their teachers in school. Also discussed were the failures of school to approach rangatahi in a manner that upheld their mana, resulting in feelings of neglect, alienation and isolation, the opposite of what manaakitanga proposes.

In addition, mainstream education fails to bridge authentic connections between rangatahi and their culture. An appreciation was noted by rangatahi in the school's attempt to incorporate Māori culture into their options, such as kapa haka and celebrating Māori holidays. Rangatahi explained the immense, positive influences cultural connectedness had on their schooling and general well-being, which was well supported by the literature offered, yet all rangatahi felt little embrace of their culture in their school environments, explaining it as seasonal, and insignificant.

Mainstream education is also unable to uphold mana motuhake, or autonomy, in their teaching of rangatahi Māori. All rangatahi reflected on how school was boring and that they were uninterested in literacy-based subjects as they could not see the purpose and struggled to sit in classrooms all day writing and reading. This even made some question whether they would attend school on certain days. Rangatahi felt they were limited in their control when learning in school, and only a handful of subjects such as sports, art and music were genuinely enjoyed by the group.

2. What are the repercussions to rangatahi when Māoritanga is not present in their learning environment?

Given the previous finding of this study, this research was also able to explore what repercussions the neglect of individualised, cultural-specific tools and processes of learning had on the engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori in school.

The importance of whakawhānaungatanga and building meaningful relationships with rangatahi has been presented in this discussion. To express whakawhānaungatanga and build a meaningful relationship with rangatahi makes them feel understood, accepted, and free to express themselves. This builds character and confidence in rangatahi where they are more likely to engage with their learning in a productive manner.

This affirms the importance of whakawhānaungatanga in the development of rangatahi Māori and to neglect this concept does indeed hinder their capacity to achieve to the best of their ability in school.

Manaakitanga was also found to be of great significance to the achievement of rangatahi Māori in school. Displaying manaakitanga is to show care, compassion, and support for others. Providing dedicated support systems for rangatahi makes them feel more confident to undertake new or challenging activities and gives them a greater sense of security and belonging. In turn, this encourages greater participation of rangatahi in their mahi and, increases their achievement in school. For these reasons, the failure of the mainstream system incorporating manaakitanga does hinder rangatahi Māori in their ability to achieve their full potential at school.

Rangatahi Māori immersing themselves in Māoritanga and increasing their cultural connectedness also proved to be of immense benefit to their enjoyment and achievement in school. This is as a heightened sense of connectedness to culture allows for a greater sense of belong, self-identity, and provides rangatahi Māori with a purpose which reaches further than just themselves. Rangatahi and kaumātua participants all expressed positive opinions on the embrace of Māoritanga and explained how it offered them a greater sense of awareness and comfort in their learning environment. As a result, rangatahi Māori become more connected to their learning and therefore, achieve at a higher level. Although rangatahi reflected on certain components of school that did heighten their sense of cultural connectedness, it was visibly limited. For these reasons, it is fair to state that the mainstream system is incapable of encouraging cultural connectedness for rangatahi Māori, which undoubtedly hinders their ability to achieve in school.

Rejecting rangatahi of their mana motuhake in the mainstream school also comes with dire implication towards their learning and achievement. As discussed, giving rangatahi a greater level of control over their learning allows them to see a bigger purpose in their education. This then positively impacts their engagement with their learning and achievement in school. Mainstream schools do not offer the necessary level of autonomy, or mana motuhake, needed to foresee this and therefore, rangatahi Māori are hindered in their potential to achieve in school.

3. Do alternative-education pathways grounded within te ao Māori benefit Rangatahi Māori in ways that main-stream education does not allow for? If so, how?

This research also found that alternative education pathways grounded in te ao Māori can benefit rangatahi Māori in their learning and development in ways that the mainstream system has failed to. This is as kaupapa Māori programmes alike that of Bros for Change place immense significance on concepts such as whakawhānaungatanga and manaakitanga, whereby building meaningful relationships and offering strong support systems are central to their functioning. Also, kaupapa Māori programmes are guided by reality and experience and in turn, rangatahi Māori can relate more to the teachers and teachings of the course. As discussed, all these aspects provide benefit to the engagement and achievement of rangatahi Māori in their education and are not existent in the mainstream system.

In addition, kaupapa Māori programmes fully immerse rangatahi Māori in the protocol, values, and beliefs of te ao Māori. For some, this may be their first authentic experience with their culture, and for others, this can drastically increase the sense of cultural connectedness they may have already had. The heightened cultural connectedness this immersion causes is greatly beneficial to rangatahi Māori in their academic, sporting, employment, and personal endeavours. Therefore, cultural connectedness can be viewed as a benefit of kaupapa Māori programmes that the mainstream education system fails to deliver.

Finally, kaupapa Māori course enable rangatahi to have control over their learning, increasing their individual mana motuhake and autonomy. Rangatahi can choose to participate in courses that encourage employment opportunities and subjects that enhance enjoyment, purpose, engagement, and achievement. Again, this is another factor of kaupapa Māori courses that increase the success of rangatahi Māori in education that the mainstream system fails to address.

Concluding statement

The objective of this research was to explore the impact that the western education system has had on rangatahi Māori and their sense of connectedness to culture, and overall well-being. It was then intended to examine how this may impact on their likelihood of future deviant and criminal behaviours, ultimately resulting in an over representation in the criminal justice system. Given the validation of all three hypothesis it is fair to state that this question can be confirmed. The mainstream education system fails to provide rangatahi Māori with an individualised, culturally specific approach to learning and in turn, this hinders their willingness to engage, and ability to achieve to their best ability. These findings support the literature in drawing a link between the negative experiences of rangatahi Māori in mainstream education, and an increased prevalence of offending in later life.

What was also affirmed in this study is that kaupapa Māori alternative education programmes, and courses alike, can benefit rangatahi Māori in ways that the mainstream education system cannot.

Providing culturally specific tools such as whakawhānaungatanga, manaakitanga, whakapapa, mana motuhake, and immersing rangatahi in their Māoritanga is immensely valuable to their enjoyment, engagement, and achievement in their education. In turn, this discourages anti-social behaviours in their school experience and ultimately, prevents exposure to key drivers of crime and future offending behaviours.

Limitations

There were limitations of this research to be discussed in this conclusion. Firstly, all findings were derived from just six participants, being four rangatahi Māori and two kaumātua. This presents a possibility that the findings are not representative of the greater rangatahi Māori population. This could be problematic in the sense that it may not reflect the experience of all rangatahi Māori where others' views and realities of the mainstream education system could be much different. Also, all four rangatahi participants were participating in the same alternative education system. Again, this can be problematic as it only reflects the experiences of rangatahi in one kaupapa Māori programme, whereas other may differ in their approach and teachings leading to an alternative experience for those rangatahi participants.

Alongside this, given just two kaumātua participated in the study, this again can be perceived as limited in its effectiveness. This research has made some very extensive statements throughout the study and perhaps a larger population of participants may have

risen to differing views, opinions, and findings. However, this presents an opportunity for expanded exploration within the realm of this research topic.

Further Research

As mentioned earlier, there is limited research available that specifically looks at the correlation between mainstream education and rangatahi Māori overrepresentation. Consequently, the significance of this has been somewhat overlooked in the past. Therefore, it is imperative to the amelioration of rangatahi Māori overrepresentation and advancement of Māori whānau across the motu that this topic continues to be investigated, preferably on a larger scale and with greater frequency. This will allow for a much deeper understanding of this issue with heightened validity.

Korero Whakamutunga

The final section of this research acknowledges the participants that took part in this study. The input I was given by both rangatahi and kaumātua has been immense in furthering my understanding of the issues relating to rangatahi Māori and the criminal justice system. For rangatahi, their realities and experiences are central to the remediation of this issue, and this study has only amplified the importance of inviting rangatahi to the table in making decisions for their future. They are the sole holders of knowledge and without their input, interventions will never reach true success.

Tauareretia ngā kupu whakamānawa ki te hunga rangatahi, nā koutou tēnei kaupapa i whāngai i ōu ake puna korero. Kia maia tō tū, kia toa tō tū, kia Māori tō tū. Whakamaua kia tina.

Finally, to pā Moana Jackson, your contribution to Maori advancement will never be replicated. You were a warrior in your own right, and you are the reason young Māori researchers like me are able to engage freely in this research today. Te iwi Māori will forever be in your debt. Rest easy, rest long, rest amongst the spirits of your ancestors.

Kei te wahaika tuki ture, nāu te Tiriti o Waitangi i kai, i pau tō kātoa i te wero i a whakaaro, te aromatawai i ngā āhei, me te whakatipu i a Māori kia pakari, kia toa.

He au kawea tēnei e Moana mōu, ki te pou ō pīpiri, ki te pae o māhara, ki a Pōhutukawa kua tau nei, e moe.

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Appendix 1 Participation Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced: 25.05.2021

Project Title

“Decolonizing Youth Justice: Addressing the inherent criminality for rangatahi Māori ”.

An Invitation

Tēnā koe, I am Reegan Pukepuke, a student at the Auckland University of Technology currently undertaking a Master’s degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice.

I have reached the research component of my studies and am conducting research with Māori Rangatahi and Rangatira, in a quest to explore the underpinnings and experiences of tikanga based youth justice interventions.

Following consultation with Rangatira and my academic supervisors, you have been identified as someone who is eligible to participate in my research and who’s input will be immensely beneficial to the findings of my research.

Through this information sheet I invite you to be a participant within my research which will contribute to my master’s qualification.

Before agreeing to participate I need to let you know that I am Matua Jaye’s cousin and therefore, there is a potential conflict of interest for these interviews. In saying this, I can assure you that any information shared to me throughout the interview will be kept confidential as you wish, meaning your participation will not disadvantage you or harm your relationship with Matua Jaye or any of the Matua from Bros for Change.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to expose the failures of the mainstream youth justice system by highlighting the effectiveness and success of tikanga based youth justice interventions for Rangatahi Māori. My research first looks to examine the core principles and underpinnings of what makes a youth justice programme authentic and pono to tikanga and kaupapa Māori frameworks. This is where I seek the mātauranga and whakaaro of Rangatira whom have experience in youth justice interventions grounded in te ao Māori. In my research I also hope to speak with Rangatahi who have participated in both mainstream and kaupapa Māori youth justice/alternative education programmes, who can share their experiences from their time within both programmes and provide insight to how these interventions worked or did not work for them as Rangatahi Māori.

With both of these I am hoping to construct a body of research, grounded within a kaupapa Māori framework, that speaks truth to power for our people and their experiences within our justice system. It is very important that as Māori, we steer the waka for the discussions of issues impacting our own whānau and are not instead left in the dark. That is the key intention of my research, to speak truth to power for our people by bringing the conversation to them and affirming the successes our people can reach when we steer our own waka.

Following the completion of my research there is also a possibility that the findings and discussions will be used in academic publications and presentations.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

If you agree to participate in this research, I will interview you at a location and time convenient to you. The interview will take between 45 – 75 minutes, dependant on your input. These interviews will be one on one and will be recorded so that the discussion can be transcribed later. Koha will be provided for your participation and kai will also be available during our interview if you wish.

In saying this, if lockdowns continue to limit travel and interaction between us then the interview will have to be moved online via zoom, skype, Microsoft teams, or any other video-calling platform which suits you, and a koha will still be made available for your input.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There is a small chance you may experience small levels of discomfort during the duration of our discussion, however, there is no immediate risks of partaking in this research directly related to the interview process itself. My questions will seek to explore your past or present experiences in youth justice interventions, so if you have any concerns to this, please do not hesitate to turn down this invitation.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If you ever begin to feel unwell, uncomfortable or distressed throughout the research process, please make me aware to this and all options will be discussed. Your well-being is paramount to me and you will always have the option to have a break or withdraw from the research. Additionally, for participants in Auckland, AUT Health Counselling and Wellbeing is able to offer three free sessions of confidential counselling support for adult participants in an AUT research project. These sessions are only available for issues that have arisen directly as a result of participation in the research and are not for other general counselling needs. To access these services, you will need to:

Drop into our centres at WB219 or AS104 or phone 921 9992 City Campus or 921 9998 North Shore campus to make an appointment. Appointments for South Campus can be made by calling 921 9992

Let the receptionist know that you are a research participant, and provide the title of my research and my name and contact details as given in this Information Sheet

You can find out more information about AUT counsellors and counselling on <http://www.aut.ac.nz/being-a-student/current-postgraduates/your-health-and-wellbeing/counselling>.

There are also nation-wide counselling options available which can be discussed and provided to you if needed.

What are the benefits?

Again, for me this research will help me gain my master's degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice. More importantly, these discussions will add to the current body of research which looks into Māori (specifically Rangatahi) over representation in New Zealand's criminal justice system and contribute a kaupapa Māori centred investigation to the literature. As I said, it is vital that we, as Māori, are able to be the authors of our own story, and with this research I hope to add a valuable discussion which speaks from our people on the ground and not for our people from afar.

How will my privacy be protected?

If you wish for your identity and the information you give to be kept confidential then this will be discussed during the initial phase of the interview, during the obtaining of consent. If you feel most comfortable with your participation and discussion being kept confidential then I will make sure to uphold this throughout the entire research process.

If you do want to be kept confidential and a circumstance arises during the interview which could potentially identify you within the participant population, I will make sure to let you know and offer to exclude that part from the transcript and research.

Following our interview, a transcript of our discussion will be provided to you. It is important you know that at any time during the interview and for two weeks after the transcript is sent to you, you can contact me to either take parts out of your transcript or withdraw your input as a whole. Only you, myself, and my thesis supervisor will have access to the full transcripts, although certain statements and quotes may be used in the publication.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There is no financial cost for you to participate in this research. All that is asked of you is for up to 75 minutes of your time for the interview and any additional time taken to read and provide feedback on the transcript. If you do wish to participate and you do have any financial concerns regarding your participation, please do not hesitate to address these issues with me and I will try my best to mitigate them.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

To ensure that you have enough time to think through your participation and to make sure that I have enough time to recruit other participants if you chose to decline this offer, I am asking that you respond to this invitation within 7 days of receiving it (DATE). If I have not heard from you, I will contact you again on the 6th day, and if no response is made I will have to retract this invitation and approach another person.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Following the completion of my research I will write a short summary of the findings which will be made available to you if you wish to receive one. Again, this will be discussed at the end of our interview. There is also a chance that I may be given the opportunity to present my discussions. If so, I will let you know and if possible, an invitation will be given for you to attend.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

If you have any concerns regarding the nature of my project, my project supervisor should be notified in the first instance.

Dr. Laumua Tunufa'i.

laumua.tunufai@aut.ac.nz

If you have any further concerns regarding the conduct of my research, this should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTECH, ethics@aut.ac.nz , (+649) 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details

Reegan Pukepuke

Reegz50@gmail.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details

Dr. Laumua Tunufa'i.

laumua.tunufai@aut.ac.nz



Appendix 2 Consent Form

Project title: Decolonizing Youth Justice: Addressing the inherent criminality for Rangatahi Māori

Project Supervisor: Dr. Laumua Tunufa'i

Researcher: Reegan Pukepuke

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 25.05.2021
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes No
- I wish to receive a full copy of the thesis document.
- I wish to receive an invitation to the oral presentation of findings.

Participants signature :

Participants name :

Participants Contact Details (if appropriate) :

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.....

Date :

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form