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Mā te huruhuru te manu ka rere

The Formation of Māori identity in Dunedin High Schools

A dissertation submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Bachelor of Arts with
Honours in Māori Studies at the University of Otago, Dunedin

Gianna Margurite Arinia Leoni

October 2009

This dissertation is dedicated to my Nanas,

Airini (Rin) Jopson

26 February 1935 – 31 May 2006

and Marguirite (Rita) Leoni

They have made me who I am today and for that I am thankful.

Abstract

In the absence of culturally strong home bases and the opportunities to interact in a Māori environment in Dunedin, young Māori must look for other avenues where they can establish a sense of being Māori. Secondary schools are one area in which they can develop and construct their Māori identity. Through the experiences of five former Dunedin high school students this dissertation will investigate how secondary schools in Dunedin effect the development and formation of Māori identity.

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Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa taki tini

My success should not be bestowed onto me alone, as it was not individual success but success of a collective

There is no way that I alone can take credit for this dissertation. It has been a long eight months and there are plenty of people that I need to acknowledge for assisting me in this journey.

Firstly to the participants, it is your stories and your experiences that have made this possible. Thank you for giving me the time to interview you. I hope you like it.

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Introduction

He Kupu Whakataki

*Ko Maungapiko te maunga
Ko Pārengarenga te moana
Ko Te Reo Mihi te marae
Ko Kurahaupō te waka
Ko Pōhurihanga te tangata
Ko Ngāti Kuri te iwi*

*Ko Rangaunu te moana
Ko Waimononi te marae
Ko Kurahaupō te waka
Ko Tūwhakatere te tangata
Ko Ngāi Takoto te iwi*

Although I can name these aspects of my *pepeha* (tribal saying) the first time, and only time so far, I have set eyes on any of these landscapes was when I was nearly 17 years old. Prior to this I had understood the importance of knowing my *pepeha* as it was how I could claim my Māori identity, however, I was unable to make any association with these things as I had never seen them before. My father was born in Auckland to a Māori mother and an Italian and Portuguese father. In 1979 he moved to Dunedin to attend Art School at the Polytechnic and he met and married my mother, a European, born and bred in Dunedin. I am the youngest of four children and I have also lived in Dunedin my whole life. At home we had little exposure to the Māori language and *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs) but this was enough to ignite a desire to want to learn more. I am the only one in my immediate family to pursue Māori Studies through high school and at university.

Growing up in Dunedin, in a European-dominated environment, did not stop me from wanting to know who I was and where my ancestors came from. High school was pivotal to the development of my Māori identity as a teenager as it provided the only opportunity for me to take Māori as a subject and be involved in Māori-related activities. This research derives from my desire to know

if other Māori were able to develop and construct a sense of being Māori through their respective high schools whilst living in Dunedin.

For Māori who grow up outside of their *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand) it can be difficult to construct a sense of Māori. In Dunedin the European influence can be seen throughout the architecture and the general environment of the area. There is limited space and opportunities in which Māori can connect with being Māori. The European dominance is also apparent in schools in Dunedin which is likely to affect the ability of Māori to build positive perceptions of what being Māori entails. However, secondary school is the most dominant place outside of home where adolescents develop and construct identities; it is also an area in which Māori in Dunedin can have extended contact with other Māori and aspects of the Māori culture and language.

Although the remnants of colonisation reflect European influence, Māori have resided in the Otago region for many years. Chapter One examines the history of Māori in Dunedin. This includes aspects of their society before and after European arrival. It will also look at how the arrival of settlers impacted Māori of this area and how European culture has permeated throughout all aspects of the city landscape and population.

Chapter Two discusses how Māori identity is formed and what factors are essential to the construction of Māori identity. This is in relation to both traditional notions of identity as well as more recent understandings of what being Māori entails. These aspects of Māori identity will then be examined in relation to the participants' experiences in Dunedin, and how they have affected the development of their Māori identity.

As this dissertation is looking at Māori identity development in secondary schools in Dunedin, a brief history of Māori in the education system will be the main topic of Chapter Three. It will look at traditional forms of Māori education before examining the impact that European involvement has had on Māori in the education system. The steps that the education system and Māori themselves took to reconcile past mistakes will also be outlined, as well as how these have aided in Māori achievement and identity retention.

The final chapter discusses Māori identity experiences within secondary schools with a particular focus on how the Māori identity of the participant's involved in this research were affected by attending high school in Dunedin. This will include how school support systems, teachers, peers and the curriculum have influenced their Māori identity both positively and negatively.

Methodology

Te Tumu, the School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, stresses that research involving Indigenous peoples, including Māori, should be performed in a culturally appropriate manner. This includes the importance of treating participants with respect during interviewing. The guidelines that follow were used to ensure that these provisions were maintained:

1. The Indigenous community must be consulted about the nature of the research and it is important that they are in agreement that the research may be conducted;
2. All research on or about Indigenous Peoples must be mutually beneficial to that community and the researcher;
3. The researcher, in conducting research in an Indigenous field, has an obligation to regularly inform, consult and update that community throughout the course of the research including the research methodology to be employed and the outcomes of the research;
4. The researcher recognises the honour and privilege of accessing Indigenous knowledge. It should be recognised that some people who may contribute to the research may be chronologically young, but their wisdom is valuable. To adopt an attitude as a researcher that one is merely a vehicle for the expression of Indigenous knowledge in an academic context, provides a sound basis from which to work among Indigenous communities;

5. The researcher accepts unconditionally that there are reciprocal obligations to the Indigenous community in agreeing to their research to proceed. The obligation may well be in terms of unpaid time to undertake a task or several tasks requiring academic expertise for their community. This is based on the Māori notion:

*Nō te kopu kotahi
i kai tahi, i moe tahi,
i mahi tahi¹*

6. The researcher observes Indigenous protocol at all times in the context of conducting research and allows for this in the preparation of their design. This includes the set timeframe not only to negotiate access to the sources of Indigenous knowledge and collect data, etc., but also to take into consideration those cultural events and practices which are mostly unplanned. In the Māori world, this may include *te whānau mai o te tamaiti, hura kōhatu, tangihanga, te rā o te tekau mā rua, poukai, kawē mate, whakataetae, pōhiri, manuhiri, hui, and ngahau²*. The researcher must be prepared to participate if that is the expectation of the Indigenous community;
7. The researcher must acknowledge and cite all sources of knowledge in the text of the research;
8. The researcher, on completion of the research with the Indigenous community, appropriately inform the Indigenous community of the completion of their work in the community and thank them appropriately through *koha aroha* which may include *kai, taonga*, etc;
9. The researcher, on completion of the research document, presents a copy of the document to the Indigenous community from which the information was obtained.

(Te Tumu 2004, p.18-19)

This dissertation is based on a combination of written literature and oral interviews. As there are restrictions regarding the size of this dissertation there were only five participants interviewed. The selection criteria ensured that all participants' tribal affiliations were to areas outside of the local Dunedin area. The participants also had to have grown up in Dunedin for more than 10 years and must have attended secondary school in Dunedin between 1999 and 2008 to represent a current view of the affects that schooling has had on Māori in this city.

¹ We are from the same womb
Eat together, sleep together,
Work together

² Definitions for terms that are used in direct quotes will appear in the glossary.

Participant Profiles

The participants in this research remain anonymous, however, descriptions of each person shall be provided in order to understand their background and how this may have affected their responses. Participants are identified by their gender, as either *Wahine* (female) or *Tane* (male), and their age.

Tane (24)

Tane (24) was born in Dunedin and has lived there all of his life. He has a Māori father, from Ngāti Kurī and Ngāi Takoto and a European mother and is the second youngest of four children. His upbringing was largely European but included small aspects of Māori culture, such as *karakia* (prayer) and basic *tikanga* (custom). He attended Logan Park High School from 1999 to 2003 after which he attended the Dunedin College of Education where he graduated in 2007 with a Bachelor of Education (Teaching) – Primary Education. His only foray into learning the Māori language came at high school, with a small amount at the College of Education. He is still living in Dunedin and is a teacher at a local primary school.

Wahine (24)

Wahine (24) was born in Auckland and raised in Papakura. She moved to Dunedin 1994 when she was eight years old with her parents and younger sister. Her mother is European, but her father's close tribal links, to Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto, led to the family environment having a strong Māori influence. She attended Queens High School between 1999 and 2003. In her sixth form year she completed a full year Māori language paper at the University of Otago. After leaving school she studied at the University of Otago and has since graduated with a Bachelor of

Arts in Māori and a Graduate Diploma in Social Work. She is currently completing Master of Social and Community Work degree.

Tane (23)

Tane (23) was born in Dunedin. He is one of eleven children. He lived in Dunedin until he was five years old, before moving to Wairoa. In his final year of primary school he moved back to Dunedin. He returned to Wairoa for his third and sixth form years at high school. For the remainder of his secondary schooling he attended Kings High School between 2000 and 2001 and Logan Park High School in 2003. His upbringing was a mixture of Māori and European, as his father was from Ngāti Kahungunu and his mother is Te Ati Awa and European. He is currently completing a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Māori and a Bachelor of Physical Education at the University of Otago.

Wahine (22)

Wahine (22) was born, raised, and currently resides in Dunedin. She has a Māori father from Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Hine and a European mother as well as two older brothers. Her upbringing was strongly influenced by her European side with no aspects of Māori culture being incorporated into their home life. She attended Logan Park High School between 2000 and 2004. She graduated from the Dunedin College of Education in 2007 with a Bachelor of Education (Teaching) – Primary Education. She is still living in Dunedin and is a teacher at a local primary school.

Wahine (19)

Wahine (19) was born in Auckland but moved to Timaru when she was one year old, and moved to Dunedin the following year. Her father is Samoan and her mother is Māori and she is the oldest of six children. As her father's family is based in Dunedin, she had an upbringing that was mainly Samoan, and Samoan is her first language. She attended Kaikorai Valley High School for one term in 2004, but spent the remainder of her schooling at Otago Girls High School between 2004 and 2008. She is currently completing a Bachelor of Law and Bachelor of Arts majoring in Psychology at the University of Otago.

As this research involved human participants ethical approval was required and approved by the University of Otago's Ethics Committee to ensure the safety of the participants. Each participant was given an information sheet detailing the interview process and, prior to the interview discussion, regarding the research took place in order to address any issues or questions that the participants may have had. The participants also signed a consent form to show that the research was in the best interests of the participants and their rights and safety were of importance. The interviews were conducted in privacy, one-on-one with the researcher and used a semi-structured interviewing technique.

Italics have been used for non-English words, excluding those words that appear unitalicised in direct quotes or are proper nouns, such as Māori. The first time a Māori word is used an English translation will be provided and a list of all non-English words that are used can be found in the glossary at the back of this dissertation. Macrons have been used to signify vowel length of Māori words except for direct quotes which will be written as they have been used in the original source.

Chapter One

Māori Ki Ōtepoti

The first people arrived in New Zealand between 500AD and 1000AD having travelled via Eastern Polynesia. Gradually these different groups of people settled around the country facing battles over food, territory and women as each group struggled to gain and maintain dominance over particular areas. As this research is looking at the development of Māori identity away from one's tribal area, in particular Dunedin, it is necessary to begin with a brief historical overview of the Māori occupation of the Otago area as well as the migration patterns and activity that followed soon after. It will also look at features of early inter-racial relationships, particularly amongst Māori and European, as well as the development of the city of Dunedin and current population statistics in order to understand the social climate that the participants grew up in.

Hītori o ngā iwi Māori ki Te Waipounamu – History of Māori tribes in the South Island

There are many different accounts of Māori migration to, and eventual settlement, of New Zealand. Each *iwi* (tribe) that have inhabited this country provide their own accounts of how, when and where their *tīpuna* (ancestors) first arrived in New Zealand and the settlement patterns that followed. It is beyond the scope of this research to analyse these various accounts beyond those that relate specifically to the South Island. Māori residents of the South Island suggest that there was once a clan of giants that walked these lands (Reed 1947, p.29). There has also been sufficient memory recall of a people known as Te Rapuwai, whose time of arrival and settlement is unknown, yet are thought to have “hunted moa and to have left behind many of the shell heaps scattered over the landscape” (Anderson 1983, p.7).

Today there are three *iwi* that have a substantial history of early settlement in this area. The first of these groups is the people that are known as Waitaha. They are said to have arrived from Polynesia around 850AD (Williams 2004, p.33) and maintained dominance over the South Island until the mid 1500s (Anderson 1998, p.23). Following Waitaha came the occupation of the South Island by a group of people known as Ngāti Māmoe. It is believed that as a result of internal dispute between *iwi* from the East Coast of the North Island, Ngāti Māmoe travelled south to defeat Waitaha and lay claim to the South Island (Dacker 1994, p.5). Other accounts state that Ngāti Māmoe were “enticed from a North Island homeland by gifts of preserved food which the Waitaha had sent across the Cook Strait” (Anderson 1983, p.38). Ngāti Māmoe were stronger than the unsuspecting Waitaha and they were able to usurp dominance over the South Island, eventually intermarrying to consolidate their position.

During the next phase of settlement Ngāti Māmoe were to suffer a fate similar to Waitaha, as they were overcome by Ngāi Tahu. Although there are conflicting stories surrounding the cause of Ngāi Tahu migration southwards and the events that happened soon after, they followed a pattern similar to that of Ngāti Māmoe. Ngāi Tahu are said to have first resided in the Hawke’s Bay area (Tau 2003, p.148) and that their migration to the South Island occurred over a period of time. The large quantities of *pounamu* (greenstone) that could be found only within the Ngāti Māmoe territory was one of the reasons that saw tribes, such as Ngāi Tahu, travel south in the hope of taking control (Anderson 1998, p.25). Eventually Ngāi Tahu came to control much of the South Island. Those of the defeated Ngāti Māmoe grew tired of resisting and the conquering of Ngāti Māmoe at the hands of Ngāi Tahu was sealed with intermarriage between the two (Reed 1947, p.36). Because of these intermarriages those who identify as Ngāi Tahu also identify with Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha and this is said to have been strategically planned to ensure survival

and supremacy (Williams 2004, p.33). The three *iwi* enjoyed a rather peaceful existence until the arrival of Europeans.

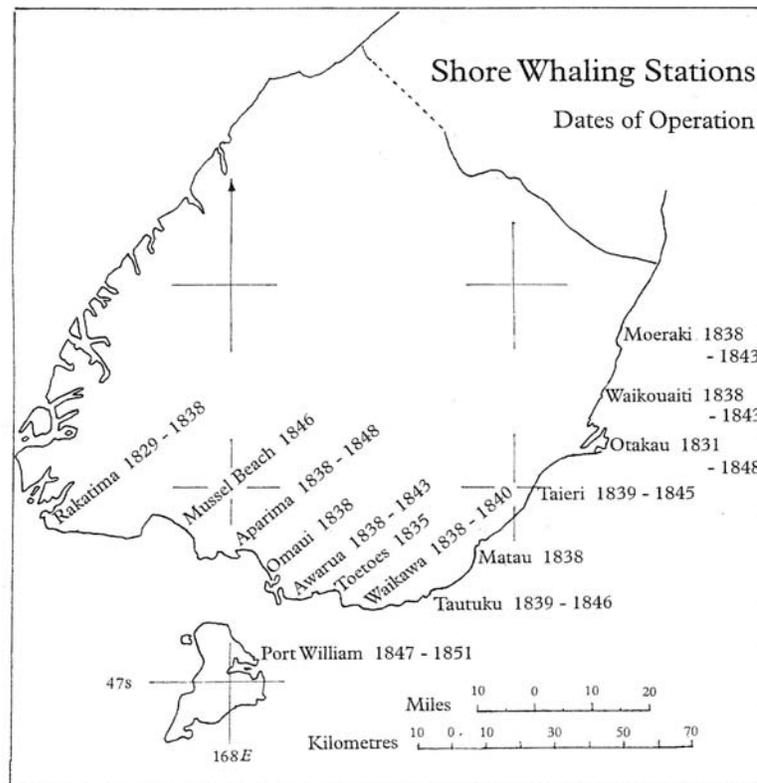
Te taenga mai o te iwi Pākehā – European arrival and settlement

Ngā kaipatu kekeno me ngā kaipatu tohorā - Sealers and whalers

The land within the Otago borders was largely known for its inability to possess the means for the successful growing of vegetables that could be found in the North Island, such as *kūmara* (sweet potato), because of the colder weather. Therefore many Māori were based in coastal settlements to utilise the opportunities available from the ocean (Dacker 1994, p.11). Europeans who travelled throughout the southern seas had recognised the economic potential of the south eastern coasts in relation to hunting animals. Captain James Cook is credited as the first European explorer to circumnavigate New Zealand. He was also involved in the initial discovery of the possibility to hunt seals whilst aboard the *Resolution* in 1773. Not only did these animals prove to be a useful food supply for his sailors, seal blubber was also a resource for lamp oil, leather thongs and when their ship rigging needed repairing (Reed 1947, p.67). It was not long until the sealing frenzy began in the southern areas of the South Island and many Europeans and Americans travelled to New Zealand in search of prosperity. Unfortunately early sealing groups did not always have pleasant encounters with local Māori. Māori who were residing in Otago heard news of sealers who were disrespecting *tikanga Māori*. Those who made peace and were respectful towards the *tangata whenua* (local people) were able to build trading relationships. Sealers would travel north towards areas such as Otago to trade with Māori (McLintock 1949, p.61). Māori had interest in muskets and other European technology and could see the benefits that building peaceful relationships with Europeans would bring (Dacker 1994, p.12).

As the sealing industry was declining the whaling industry was gaining impetus when baleen whales were spotted off Otago and Southland coasts. Numerous whaling stations were established down the southern east coast of New Zealand from Moeraki to Tautuku. European communities were set up close by these stations in such places as Purakunui, Waikouaiti and Taieri Mouth, which can be seen in the figure below.

Figure 1: Shore whaling stations and dates of operations



(Source: Richards 1995, pg.53)

Whalers set up homes for their families as well as boat sheds that held supplies for whaling vessels in need (Reed 1947, p.86). As they were close to Māori settlements many young Māori women married the whalers. The sealing and whaling industries quickly declined caused by the unrestricted slaughtering of the animals that they hunted. Seals that once covered the shores vanished and the yearly arrival of whales no longer occurred in sufficient quantities to warrant spending large amounts of money on whaling expenses for little profit in return (Reed 1947,

p.91). Those Māori females who had married whalers, followed their partners into European settlements and began raising families (Anderson 1998, p.214).

There were both positive and negative outcomes as a result of the relationships established between sealers and whalers and the local Māori. Those sealers, whalers and traders that recognised the need to comply with *tikanga Māori* were able to establish working relationships with Māori. These relationships essentially signalled the beginning of land trades in the Otago region. Māori also used marriage as a means to acquiring European supplies commencing the merger of Māori and European *whakapapa* (genealogy). In return, Europeans gained access to land, local resources, food and protection (Dacker 1994, p.10). Māori men also began working for whaling crews and some even operated whaleboats and employed Europeans. They were able to establish relationships with whalers which furthered trade with Europeans. Although the opportunities for Māori were numerous there were also many disadvantages to early European contact. Perhaps the most devastating to the Māori population were the diseases Europeans carried for which Māori had no natural immunity to. The Otago Māori population was hit hard by the outbreak of measles, influenza, whooping cough and tuberculosis, hence the naming of areas such as Measly Beach close to the mouth of the Tokomairiro River after the death of many Māori from measles in that area (Dacker 1994, p.11). The Māori population decline in the southern regions began and never fully recovered which led to a transfer of power from the *tangata whenua* to the Europeans as the number of Europeans quickly surpassed that of Māori (Dacker 1994, p.14).

He tāone hou - 'New Edinburgh'

The sealing and whaling industries came and went but it was the decision to found a town in the Otago Harbour that led to the permanent European settlement of this area. Various missionaries such as James Watkin, who landed in Waikouaiti, came to Otago to establish schools and churches to help Māori become better, cleaner people “to establish a church-based community free of the social ills associated with urbanisation – poverty, drunkenness and other irreligious behaviour” (Dacker 1994, p.19). Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a director of the New Zealand Company that organised settlement in New Zealand, was responsible for the idea of a new settlement in Otago. Rather than allow migrants to travel to New Zealand and settle at random, Wakefield envisaged that the company would purchase land from local Māori, sell it at a higher cost to migrants and channel the profits into the development of roads and buildings (Reed 1947, p.162). The problem with this plan was that the New Zealand Company had not actually acquired the land that they were promising to these migrants. Those Māori in the Otago area were open to negotiations as they wanted to continue trading with the Europeans. These negotiations are known as the ‘Otago Purchase’.

It was agreed that £2400 would be paid to local Māori for the whole country from Otago to Molyneux (see Figure 2), except for land on the eastern side of the Otago Harbour stretching from Taiaroa Heads four miles along the coast (Dacker 1994, p.20). At the time of the deal, the area was estimated to be 400,000 acres, but in reality it was close to 533,600 (Waitangi Tribunal 1991, p.282). There were several areas of significance, such as Otago Heads, Taieri and Te Karoro (see Figure 2) that *tangata whenua* refused to part with and these were to remain in Māori hands as reserves. However, there was additional land, which was supposed to be kept aside, known as the ‘tenths’. A tenth of the total land that was sold in the Otago Purchase was to be

The area identified as being excluded from the sale represents land that Māori were entitled to keep. From this map, it is clear that there was only a modest amount of land left for Māori and that the quantity of territory that was originally promised to the *tangata whenua* was not adhered to.

During this time plans were well underway regarding the construction of a new town in the Otago region that would provide a city landscape similar to that of the home country of the mainly Scottish settlers. Surveying of the area was being carried out to ensure that there was enough room for streets, roads, schools and government property as well as housing and farms. As Scotland had encountered many difficulties due to extreme poverty and even though many of the migrants were indeed impoverished in their own country, it was expected that this was not to be replicated here.

New Edinburgh was the name originally proposed for the new Otago township (Reed 1947, p.165). The name was chosen to pay homage to the original city of Edinburgh in Scotland and in reference to the homeland of the Scottish settlers that the town was proposed for (McLintock 1949, p. 170). In 1843, William Chambers, a renowned Scottish editor, wrote to the *New Zealand Journal*, a weekly news publication, stating that New Edinburgh was not a suitable name for the town and that it should instead be called Dunedin, which is the ancient Celtic term for Edinburgh (Chambers 1843, cited in; McClintock 1949, p.199). He argued that the proposed name suggested that the settlement would be destined for poverty, much like the original Edinburgh in Scotland. Burns and Captain William Cargill, one of the pioneers in the Otago settlement scheme, both agreed and supported this proposition (McLintock 1949, p.200). The naming of the town as Dunedin and the way in which the settlement was organised emphasises how Māori were

ignored. Local Māori had no input into any of the decisions made about the development of the Otago region and the city was to have a Scottish influence. This can still be seen today through the mainly European naming of streets, and the statues of European figures that were important to the establishment of Dunedin dotted around the city.

Te wā koura – the ‘Golden’ era

Dunedin continued to prosper and it had grown and expanded to such an extent that the surrounding areas of Dunedin were exporting grain and wool overseas through the Dunedin port (Reed 1947, p.217). However, it was the discovery of gold in central Otago in 1861 which caused a rush of visitors to the area (Reed 1947, p.230). Both Māori and Europeans strongly embraced the gold rushes in the 1860s as it opened up many opportunities for wealth and success (Dacker 1994, p. 37). Men arrived in large numbers to search inland for gold as new sites were found in other areas of Otago. The gold rushes provided an opportunity for economic expansion in Dunedin as many people established businesses to cater for the miners (Watt 1974, p.9) which had a major effect on the development of the city. It is said that between 1861 and 1865 the amount of gold found was worth well over several million pounds (Reed 1947, p.243) and much of this was siphoned back into the city. Before the discovery of gold and the business it brought to Dunedin, Otago was the smallest and poorest region in New Zealand. As a result of the gold rush the population doubled and tripled that of Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland (Reed 1947, p.272). As Europeans dominated both Otago and Dunedin it was mainly they who reaped the rewards of the economic success. Māori either stayed in the small areas that were set aside for them or had to assimilate to European standards in the city. The European population grew and their influence on the development of Dunedin led to the European dominance of the region.

Ōtepoti ināianeī – Dunedin now

It is easy to see the influence and prosperity that was caused by the arrival of Europeans to Otago. Dunedin became a settlement that was admirable to all Europeans, however, there has been little discussion on the effects that these arrivals had on Māori. The sale of the Otago block and the loss of a vast amount of land as a consequence meant that Māori had little influence on the development of the region, simply because the region was no longer theirs in a Western sense of ownership. Nevertheless, as a result of intermarriage many local Māori were either strongly accepted as European or driven out to the lands that were reserved for them under the Otago Purchase (Dacker 1994, p.31).

Those that accepted the European way of life were “forced to assimilate, thereby becoming invisible within the general citizenry” (Matunga 2000, p.67). The former Māori influence in this area is barely visible, and has given way to the historical associations of its European past. The strong European influence in architecture and monuments reinforces Dunedin’s “colonial past while at the same time negating their pre-colonial Maori origins” (Matunga 2000, p.65). Memorials and monuments dotted around the city are reflective of European settlers, ancestry and heritage which have had a major effect on the environment of Dunedin. Dunedin’s cultural identity emphasises its European history with no consideration of the Māori who resided in the area first.

The most recent census which was conducted in 2006 shows the continuation of a strong European influence in Dunedin. 1.3 percent of New Zealand’s total Māori population live in Dunedin and only 6.2 percent, 7,362 people, of Dunedin’s total population, 118,683 people, are of Māori descent (Statistics New Zealand 2006).

Figure 3: Population Statistics

	Census Year		
	1996	2001	2006
Māori Population of Dunedin	6,696	6,528	7,326
Population of Dunedin City	118,143	114,342	118,683
Percentage of Māori in Dunedin	5.7%	5.7%	6.2%
Māori Population of New Zealand	523,374	526,281	565,326
Percentage of New Zealand's Māori in Dunedin	1.2%	1.2%	1.3%
Population of New Zealand	3,618,303	3,737,277	4,027,947
Percentage of Māori in New Zealand	14.4%	14%	14%

(Source: Statistics New Zealand 2006)

Whilst there has been a slight increase in the percentage of Māori in Dunedin it still shows that there is only a small proportion of Māori in this area. As a minority ethnic group in Dunedin it is easy for Māori to be assimilated into the dominant culture which makes it hard for Māori to maintain their Māori identity. Unfortunately these statistics do not provide details regarding the *iwi* of Māori in this area which would have proved useful in relation to this research. Nevertheless, they show that Māori are most certainly a minority group in this area which can ultimately affect the construction and development of the identity of young Māori who grow up in Dunedin.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief historical overview of Māori settlement in the South Island as well as that of the first European colonisers. The relationships that developed through Māori contact with sealers, whalers and early settlers were pivotal as it is from these early relationships that the Otago land block was purchased successfully from local Māori, enabling immigrants to settle freely in the area. The planning of a New Edinburgh of the south and its subsequent development was done without any Māori consultation and there is little Māori visibility amongst the city landscape today. The long term effects that the arrival of Europeans has had on this area

are enormous as Māori were pushed to the fringes of a burgeoning European community and their role in the social, political and economic development of Dunedin was minimal. Māori who moved into the town were forced to conform to European standards. They were unable to assert their Māori identity and instead became Europeanised. It is, therefore, understandable that those who reside in Dunedin, but have tribal ties to other areas, find it difficult to form and develop a Māori identity. The construction of Māori identity in general will be discussed in the following chapter to assist in showing how challenging this can be for those Māori who are distanced from their tribal areas.

Chapter Two

Ko Wai Ahau?

Even when ancestry can be proven, questions can arise about the cultural depth of the individual's ethnicity. (Nagel 1994, p.160)

The above statement is one reason why Māori who have not grown up in a strong, Māori centred cultural environment are uncomfortable claiming their Māori ancestry and are reluctant to be involved in Māori-focused activities. The attitudes of these people in regards to who they consider to be a 'true Māori' can affect how they see themselves as a Māori person. Urbanisation has had a major influence on the decisions of individuals and families as the destination chosen is often outside of their tribal area. As a result of these choices many young Māori have lost touch with their Māori identity as they are no longer in a position to participate in Māori cultural activities. Their children are in a more precarious predicament with many having never been able to develop a connection with their tribal area.

The formation of identity is a central theme to this dissertation. When Māori children are disconnected with their *iwi*, their parents are reluctant to focus on that aspect of their ethnicity and they have little contact with *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), what options are available for them to utilise in order to develop a Māori identity? This chapter will look at the construction and development of Māori identity and will include both an examination of traditional notions of Māori identity as well as contemporary Māori identity formation in urban areas. This chapter will also provide an understanding of how expected notions of Māori identity relate to the experiences of the participants involved in this research.

Te tuakiritanga Māori – Traditional notions of Māori identity

Prior to the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand the primary use of the word *māori* was used to denote that something was ‘normal’ or ‘native’, rather than a term used to describe a group of people ethnically related. For example, *wai māori* denoted the presence of fresh water as opposed to salt water (Moorfield 2005, p.190). It was only upon European arrival that a need arose to distinguish the native people from these new strangers (Webber 2008, p.13). The term *māori* was adapted to Māori as a proper noun. The term ‘Māori’ is now used to define “a person of the Maori race of New Zealand; and includes a descendant of any such person” (Parliamentary Counsel Office 2009). Prior to this the Indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand never had to distinguish themselves against another race; instead they were differentiated by their *iwi*, such as Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and so on (Walker 1989, p.35). There was no such idiom as ‘Māoritanga’ (Māori culture) or a need for a definitive ‘Māori identity’. John Rangihau, a renowned Māori academic whose research was aimed at how the Māori language and culture could be preserved, concluded that it is one’s *iwitanga* (tribal identity) that should be preserved and asserted rather than one’s Māoritanga (Rangihau 1975, p.190).

Angela Webber (2008) emphasised that there were certain concepts that were important to Māoritanga prior to the arrival of Europeans. These include *whakapapa*, and other related concepts such as *whānau* (family, extended family) and *hapū* (sub-tribe), as well as knowledge regarding how the community functions (Webber 2008, p.17). *Whakapapa* is an aspect of Māoritanga that allows Māori to make connections back to their *tīpuna* and also trace their lineage back to the *atua* (gods, ancestor with continuing influence). In the past, *whakapapa* was what one’s *iwitanga* was based on (Ka’ai and Higgins 2004, p.23). Through stories and songs people would recite their ancestry which gave them a base and purpose within their *iwi*. It is

through *whakapapa* that one's Māoritanga or *iwitanga* could then be legitimised. *Iwi* were divided into *hapū*, and *hapū* included individual *whānau*. Prior to European contact it was the *hapū* and *whānau* that were most important for day to day living. These were the communities and social groups in which the Indigenous people functioned. The ability for one to identify with a descent group, or have ties to several descent groups, allowed them to claim their place within the *whānau* and *hapū* (Metge 1976, p.23).

Tikanga and language were essential aspects of these communities that were based around the *marae* (meeting place). The term *tikanga* originates from the word *tika* (correct), thus changing it into a derived noun which “implies an appropriate or customary way of behaving within Māori contexts” (Ka'ai & Higgins 2004). *Tikanga* referred to the ways in which ceremonies, such as the *pōhiri* (ritual of encounter) or *tangihanga* (funeral), were conducted. Other *tikanga* are more personal, for instance, the process of burying the *pito* (umbilical cord) in the earth (Mead 2003, p.15). All *tikanga* had value and played an important role in the functioning of the community.

As Māori were purely an oral culture prior to European arrival, it can be assumed that language was of great significance. Oral transmission was a method that was used to retain *whakapapa*. Language differed between *iwi* which are seen today as individual dialects. Before European contact, Māori were mono-lingual, their dialect was the only language they used and needed to function. The use of the 'k' in the South Island as a replacement for the 'ng' is an example of this (Dacker 1994, p.4). Likewise, the term *kōkā* (mother, aunty) originates from the Eastern dialect in the North Island (Moorfield 2005, p.61). These dialectical variations emphasise the importance of one's *iwitanga* as opposed to Māoritanga, as they highlight the subtle nuances between *iwi*.

Te whakaoratanga o te iwi Māori – The revival of Māori

As European settlers arrived and bought land from Māori, they began to build larger towns and cities. Māori were left with limited lands in which to function and so retreated to rural areas where they could maintain factors such as language and *tikanga* that made them Māori. Prior to World War II, 90 percent of Māori lived in rural areas. Māori that were not eligible to participate in the war directed their assistance towards working in industries that were necessary for New Zealand to function; these factories included bullet making, food production and sewing. The Māori population increased considerably (Metge 1964, p.19) which undoubtedly placed unexpected strain on the limited rural economic resources. Many Māori left their tribal areas and *marae* and moved to the city. In 1951, 19 percent of Māori had moved to urban areas and within five years it had raised to 14 percent (Walker 1990, p.197). In the initial stages of this urbanisation period migrant Māori maintained strong roots with their *tūrangawaewae* by returning home frequently. As they became more familiar with the city they had less and less contact with their tribal areas and they no longer needed to return. Instead they created a new cultural foundation in the city and some formed Māori support groups and pan-tribal cultural clubs in order to uphold Māori identity and the values it entailed (Walker 1990, p.199).

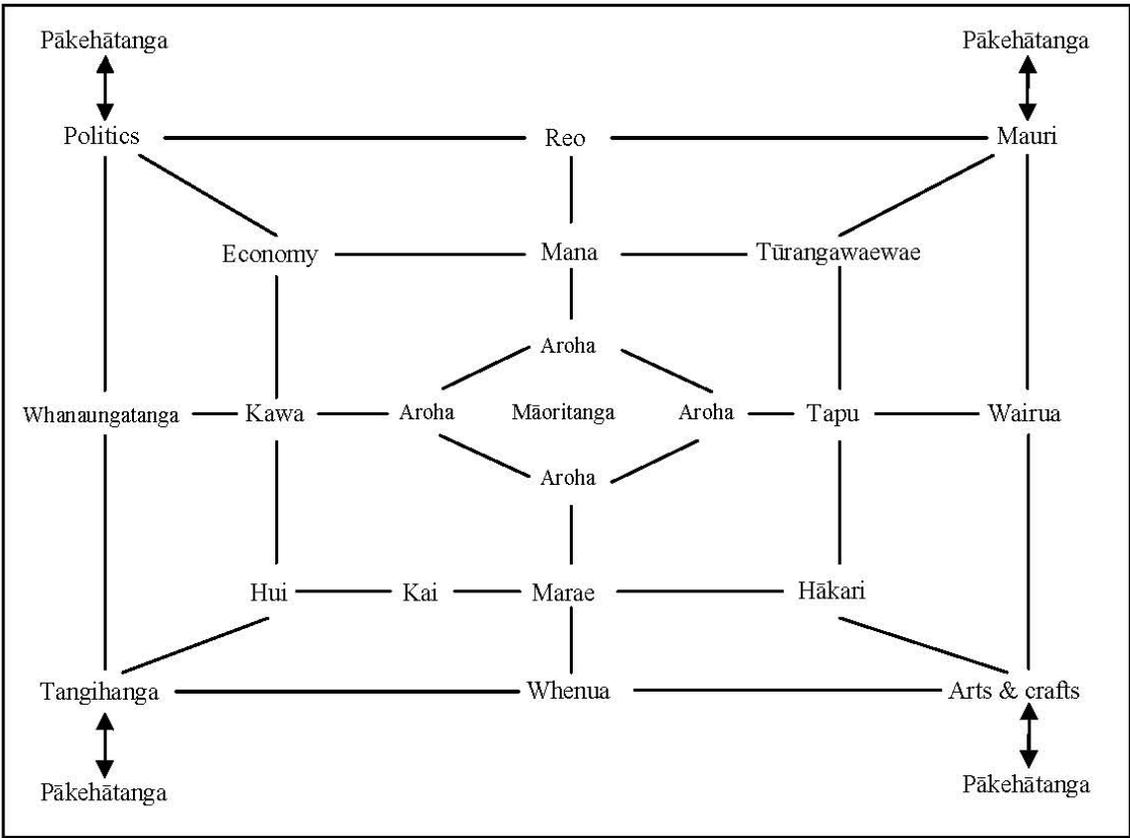
High criminal and poor education statistics show the negative impact that urbanisation had on young Māori in relation to being Māori (Walker 1990, p.208). For these adolescents to be Māori was not necessarily something to be proud of. Although their parents were able to maintain their Māoritanga and Māori identity, it was much more difficult for their children. As a consequence of being born and bred in urban areas, these adolescents did not have a relationship with their *tūrangawaewae*. European assimilation tactics prevalent in schools meant that the Māori language and culture were absent. These children had no opportunity to create a positive vision of

Māori identity, and the key components of what Māori identity is based on, such as language and *tikanga*, were missing (Rangihau 1975, p.185).

During, and soon after, the main urbanisation period scholars such as James Ritchie (1963) and Joan Metge (1976) as well as leading Māori academics including Ranginui Walker (1989, 1990) and John Rangihau (1975) began to provide explanations of what the requirements of being Māori were. This allowed for the rebuilding of a positive Māori identity and explained how one could maintain their Māori identity by going back to the core foundations that underpinned pre-European Māori society. This also included discussion regarding the definition of the term 'Māoritanga'. According to these academics, both Māori identity and Māoritanga incorporate physical features as well as beliefs and actions. Ritchie (1963) formulated a scale to measure how Māori one was. Some of the key aspects of this scale include blood quantum, visiting a *marae*, language skills and the ability to name *whakapapa* (Ritchie 1963, p.39). Walker (1989) provides a similar list, and although he does not include the measuring of blood quantum, he states that Māoritanga includes “racial traits such as skin pigmentation and cultural traits such as language, spiritual beliefs and identification with a particular tribe and geographic locality” (Walker 1989, p.35).

Rangihau's (as cited in Ka'ai & Higgins 2004, p.16) diagram below shows the different aspects that he believed were required to form and maintain a sense of Māoritanga, whilst still acknowledging that there is a certain amount of interaction with Pākehātanga (European culture).

Figure 4: Rangihau’s Model of Māoritanga



(Source: cited in Ka’ai & Higgins 2004, p.16)

These concepts are categorised as social institutions, social relationships as well as spiritual and physical relationships and it is emphasised that they are all related to each other with Māoritanga being centred at the core (Ka’ai & Higgins 2004, p.16). Components such as *tapu* (sacred), *marae*, *reo* (language), *kawa* (protocol), *tūrangawaewae* and *whanaungatanga* (kinship network) would have been seen as essential to what underpinned Māori identity during Rangihau’s academic era in the 1960s and 1970s. As Rangihau grew up in a Māori environment he would have found it strange if these factors were missing from any Māori world view.

However these traditional notions of Māoritanga raise several problems for those undergoing Māori identity developmental journeys today. For those who are distanced from their tribal area,

it is difficult to make regular contact with their *marae*. It is at the *marae* that one has the opportunity to take part in *tangihanga* and *pōhiri* and learn the *tikanga* and *kawa* involved in these processes. The *marae* is an area in which the Māori language and customs are familiarised and considered the norm. Māori who do not participate in these activities and learn these things may find it difficult to associate with a sense of being Māori.

Māoritanga i ēnei rā – Māoritanga today

The city of Dunedin is a predominantly European community with a strong Scottish heritage linking back to its settlement in the 1840s. During European settlement although some Māori stayed, many Māori were directed out of the immediate city onto the reserves they were assigned after the Otago land block was purchased (Dacker 1994, p.32). Because of this historical backdrop for those Māori who have grown up in this area it has been, and continues to be, difficult to construct a sense of Māoritanga in a European-dominated environment. Although there are various tribal groups present within the city of Dunedin who meet regularly, these networks do not necessarily provide the appropriate Māori identity development support system for all Māori living in Dunedin. Therefore these people must look for this support through other avenues.

Whakapapa, tūrangawaewae, marae

Whakapapa continues to be an aspect of importance to Māori identity amongst the participants involved in this research. Despite the level of their involvement in *te ao Māori* all five participants were able to recite their *pepeha* and explained the significance of this to them. For *Wahine* (24) being able to recite her *pepeha* showed that “it means I come from somewhere, that I am somebody...it tells you who you are, and that you aren’t the only person in this world”

(2009). *Tane* (24) emphasised that it is important information that has been passed down from his ancestors, validating his Māori identity (2009). However, in the case of *Wahine* (22), it was difficult to learn her *whakapapa* and *pepeha*, because she did not “have any experiences to associate names and things with” (*Wahine* (22) 2009). As she returned when she was young and for only a short period of time, she did not build an association with the area in which her *maunga* (mountain) and *awa* (river) are situated. This made it hard for her to feel a connection to these places; however, she still believes *whakapapa* is an aspect of importance to one’s Māori identity.

In relation to his discussion on urbanisation Walker (1989) states that because of land sales and the financial benefits in urban areas, Māori have chosen to leave their tribal areas and, as a consequence, have been alienated from their land and have fewer ties with their *tūrangawaewae*. He also claims that one cannot claim to have *tūrangawaewae* in a place that they do not have tribal rights to (Walker 1989, pg.46). By not having strong links with one’s *tūrangawaewae*, it can be assumed that one also has a minimal association with their *marae*. As the *marae* is said to be “the focal point of Māori culture and communal activities” (Walker 1975, p.15) it is an area that incorporates several facets of Māori culture. The *marae* is where *pōhiri* and similar processes take place in which Māori language and culture are predominant. It is difficult for Māori that do not have a strong association with their *tūrangawaewae* to return to their *marae* and they are also unable to go freely to the *marae* within their residential area. Without this experience they may be unaware of the *kawa* and *tikanga* that take place upon a *marae*.

All of the participants in this dissertation have grown up for the majority of their lives in Dunedin but do not have tribal links to the area. This means that they do not have permissible status, in a

Māori sense, to call Dunedin their *tūrangawaewae* (Walker 1989, p.46). Even though several of the participants have developed and maintained strong ties with the wider Māori community amongst others of both Ngāi Tahu and non-Ngāi Tahu origins, they do not have a historic tribal connection with this area. For example, *Wahine* (24) has been frequently involved with the Māori community in Dunedin. For fifteen years, she has been a member of Te Huinga Rangatahi, the only Māori performing arts group still actively practicing in Dunedin, as well as being involved in a variety of softball and netball sporting teams, whose membership was largely Māori. She was also the *rangatahi* (youth) representative for Ara-i-te-uru Marae, Dunedin's only pan-tribal urban *marae* (*Wahine* (24) 2009). Moving to Dunedin and living in an area that is largely European, it was important to her parents to maintain a sense of normality in relation to *te ao Māori*. It was her parents who first entered her into these opportunities to continue her involvement in Māori culture, as she had formerly been enrolled in Māori medium education in Papakura. She also attended the first *kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori language immersion primary school) in Dunedin when it was a part of another primary school before moving to the bilingual unit at Brockville Primary School (*Wahine* (24) 2009). Although her participation in the local environment is substantial, it is still not her *tūrangawaewae*.

Rangihau (1975) also discusses *tūrangawaewae* and the difficulties of urbanisation and believed that as a result of this “the third or fourth generation people [would] not have the same sense of going back home because they won't have lived through experiences as their parents have” (p.185). He is correct in asserting that later generations would be unable to form the same associations with their tribal area as their parents which is highlighted by the participants interviewed in this research. There are many Māori that have been separated from their tribal areas who feel incapable of claiming a home place in Dunedin inhibited by the Māori view of

tūrangawaewae, as they do not have tribal links to this area. As a consequence many Māori also feel unable to claim their Māori identity publicly as they understand the importance placed upon *tūrangawaewae* as a key indicator of Māori identity. However, this can be a difficult concept to grasp for those who reside away from their tribal area. Whilst still understanding the importance of *tūrangawaewae*, the area one resides in for the majority of their life is still significant.

Wahine (24), *Wahine* (19) and *Tane* (23) have maintained close relationships with their *whānau* and *marae* in their tribal area, and they have returned there regularly from a young age. *Wahine* (22) and *Tane* (24) have not been able to do so. It has become clear through the interviews that their involvement in *te ao Māori* is largely reflective of their parent's attitudes and their parent's choice not to involve them in the Māori community.

Although *Tane* (24) had a mixed upbringing that included both Māori and European cultural aspects his family did not have much contact with his extended *whānau* or their *marae* in Northland. He is the only participant who has not returned to his tribal area. *Tane* (24) represents a rapidly growing number of Māori youth that understand the importance of their Māori ancestry but also acknowledge their lack of familiarity within a Māori context. Travelling to his tribal area has never appealed to *Tane* (24):

It's a bit sad, but I've never had the real desire because I haven't really got a connection...because I was brought up here in Dunedin and this is where I live and where I'm from. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

The family of *Tane* (24) were always busy with school and work and rarely had the chance to return to their *tūrangawaewae*. It was not seen as something of importance to his family during his childhood and adolescence. Dunedin is his home, yet in terms of the Māori understanding of home and *tūrangawaewae*, it is not.

Wahine (22) has only been back to her tribal area once when she was seven or eight years old for a family reunion. As this happened when she was quite young she:

found it more exciting because I think of the age I was. I think if I was a little bit more older I would have found it intimidating. I remember like the *pōhiri* and stuff. (*Wahine* (22) 2009)

When questioned about returning in the future, she stated, “I would probably be a little bit scared if I went back to a reunion but I wouldn’t mind going to visit them in their own homes that would be okay” (*Wahine* (22) 2009). Since the grandparents on her father’s side died over twenty years ago, her parents have not returned north, excluding the family reunion, nor has she herself felt inclined to return back to visit. She also stated that she felt closer to her mother’s family, who are European, and that she feels more at home in Dunedin as this is the place where her family reside and where she grew up (*Wahine* (22) 2009).

Wahine (19) differs from *Wahine* (22) and *Tane* (24). Although she has had a strong Samoan upbringing she maintains strong links to her Māori family. Her family, particularly her mother, found it important that they returned to their tribal area to allow the children to maintain their bonds with their *whānau*. *Wahine* (19) and her family travel back every two years in order to preserve these ties and because they do return frequently she feels comfortable around her *whānau* in her tribal area and feels welcomed. The extended family of this participant in Northland is content with her family living in Dunedin which is made easier by the fact that they do go back and visit (*Wahine* (19) 2009). Therefore the concepts of *whakapapa* and extended *whānau* are an important aspect of the development and maintenance of Māori identity for *Wahine* (19) and her family. This shows that although one may live and have grown up away from their *tūrangawaewae* they can retain an association with the area if their parents allow them

to. Once adolescents reach the age of financial responsibility it then becomes their choice whether they would travel back or not. This would then depend on how important returning to their *tūrangawaewae* is to them and their Māori identity.

For *Wahine* (24) and *Tane* (23), their ties to their *tūrangawaewae* and *whānau* are even stronger. Both have returned and lived with their *whānau* in their tribal area for a period of time. Their families opened their arms to welcome them back. *Tane* (23) feels very proud every time he visits his family in both of his tribal areas. He also expressed that his family are:

pretty proud of [my family that do not live in the area], just because we are doing things. They'd rather us be away from the area and doing things, than being there, being involved in gangs and all that. (*Tane* (23) 2009)

Gangs have gained popularity in New Zealand in recent years and have attracted many young Māori towards their groups. Gangs are prevalent in the tribal area of this participant and his family are glad that they have chosen to remove themselves from this situation so that they do not become involved in this type of trouble.

Although *Wahine* (24) spent the early years of her life growing up close to her tribal area, she was just as nervous as the other participants upon returning to her *tūrangawaewae* after a significant period of time away. She first returned to the King Country when she was eight years old and to Ngāruawāhia when she was 15. She admits that the experience was somewhat intimidating at first and she felt out of place but that it did not take long for her to feel at home again (*Wahine* (24) 2009). She has grown more comfortable with her *whānau* and has returned at least twice a year during the past five years. At one stage she lived in Ngāruawāhia for a few months and her family were more than willing to show her around the areas of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto. They took her to different *marae* and areas of importance to their *iwi*. It was largely

thanks to her father that this was able to happen as he “kept his home fires burning [which] in a way he kept it burning for us until we were old enough to have our own kindling to chuck on there” (*Wahine* (24) 2009). As a result of being distanced from her *tūrangawaewae*, *Wahine* (24) felt that it was important to contribute to her Māori identity in other ways. She learnt how to do *whakairo* (carving), *raranga* (weaving) and *kapa haka* (Māori performing arts) and, when she returned back to her tribal area, she was able to share some of this knowledge with her *whānau* as they had never done *whakairo* before. This shows that living away from her tribal area did not necessarily mean that the involvement that she had in *te ao Māori* was to be limited and that she could learn just as much away from her tribal area by taking advantage of the opportunities available outside it.

Te reo me ngā tikanga – The language and culture

Many Māori who have limited or no contact with *te ao Māori* may have little or no knowledge of *tapu* and *noa* (normal, free from restriction), two important aspects of *tikanga Māori* (Mead 2003, p.30). They may also be unaware of the *kawa* that is practiced during Māori cultural events such as *pōhiri*, *tangihanga* and *hākari* (feast, banquet). One may be well educated in the recitation of their *whakapapa*, yet have little knowledge of the appropriate rituals to follow on a *marae*. Others may be familiar with Māori culture and language yet are not knowledgeable about their *tīpuna* and *whānau*. It is difficult for Māori who are distanced from their *tūrangawaewae* and strong Māori environments to grasp a full understanding of these notions. If a person is lacking in one of the areas, does it make them less able to claim their Māori identity?

When the participants were asked about their understanding of Māori culture, they were all very modest in their abilities. The responses from all the participants were very similar in that they all

liked to believe that they had a general understanding of the Māori culture. Furthermore, they all said that they would like to learn more. They understood the importance of Māori culture to one's Māori identity and provided several reasons as to why they thought so. *Wahine* (22) replied in relation to its significance on a national scale:

I think as a New Zealander it's important for everybody. But I think everybody does [have a general understanding] now because of the schooling, like a very basic understanding, but an understanding nonetheless. (2009)

Although *Wahine* (22) did not have a strong Māori upbringing through her education she has realised the significance of Māori culture to her own identity as a Māori person and to New Zealand as a whole.

Wahine (24) and *Tane* (23) both discussed Māori culture and its specific importance to Māori people. For *Wahine* (24), the Māori culture is an invisible support network. She believes that “there's just something about it that supports you, without you even realising it, and I think that's really important” (*Wahine* (24) 2009). This reinforces her views that it is the combination of *tikanga* and *whakapapa* that helps her to maintain a sense of Māori identity whilst being distanced from her *tūrangawaewae*. *Tane* (23) believes that it is not essential for one to know about Māori culture, but “for you yourself to understand being Māori you have to know about [*te ao Māori*]” (*Tane* (23) 2009). He does not specifically believe that all Māori should know everything about customs and language, but for the development of his own Māori identity he has found it essential. It is apparent that the Māori culture has distinct meanings to each participant and that each of their different levels of knowledge of *tikanga* is of extreme importance to the development of their Māori identity.

The Māori language has been important to the continuity of the Māori people. As the language is a vital step to the revitalisation of Māoritanga within New Zealand if one does not possess an ability to converse in the Māori language can they still aid in this process? Questions about the authenticity of Māori identity are therefore raised once more regarding what concepts are essential to *te ao Māori* (Ka'ai & Higgins 2004, pp.16-18). Dunedin is a city that has been Europeanised and there is little use of Māori language in this area. This has made it hard to emphasise the importance of the language and show the positive outcome that learning the Māori language can have for Māori people and the Dunedin population as a whole.

The levels and opinions regarding the importance of language to the participants were quite different to those of culture. When asked if the participants knew how to speak Māori, *Wahine* (24) was the only interviewee to say 'yes'. This has been a result of her childhood and Māori-medium schooling, including *kura kaupapa Māori* and bilingual units, in Papakura and Dunedin. *Wahine* (24) stated that knowledge of the Māori language is important to one's Māori identity but there are other aspects of Māori culture that have a greater contribution to Māori identity such as *tikanga* and *whakapapa*. She also stated:

I don't think it makes anybody more Māori, you're either Māori or you're not. But I do think it helps you get your foot in the door within *te ao Māori*. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

Wahine (24) has a clear grasp on what she believes is important to one's Māori identity, and how one can be more familiar with their ethnic identity. She understands how aspects such as *tikanga*, *whakapapa* and language need to be included and balanced in order for a person to construct and be comfortable with their Māori identity (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

The other four participants all stated that had they little to no Māori language proficiency. *Tane* (23) stated that he had a reasonable comprehension of Māori but that there was no legitimate reason as to why he had not furthered his language skills. He did not believe that the language is an essential component of Māori identity and that it is not something that should have to be learned by everyone who is Māori, but that it would be beneficial if the language became normalised and Māori were encouraged to learn it (*Tane* (23) 2009).

Wahine (22), *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (19) all claimed that they had a very basic understanding of the language. In relation to learning the Māori language *Wahine* (22) stated:

I [only learned] a little bit at [high] school. But I find it hard to remember stuff, because I don't practice, but the things I do remember are the things I teach at school. And now that I teach five year olds it's very limited. (2009)

Wahine (22) finds it difficult to maintain and develop her language skills because of the inability to use the language frequently and she is unable to take advantage of the opportunities that are available in Dunedin for her to develop these abilities further. As she teaches new entrants her level of language is not required to extend beyond what is sufficient for her classroom. *Wahine* (22) also explained that she would identify more as a Māori person if she had a better grasp of the language (2009). Whilst acknowledging her limited abilities she still sees the Māori language as a significant component to one's Māori identity.

Although she stated that her understanding of the Māori language is only basic, *Wahine* (19) also places a high value on proficiency in the Māori language. However, she also believes that it is not essential to Māori identity and that being Māori relates more to the importance of *tikanga* and feeling Māori. She stated:

It's just who you are as a person, who your family are, just being able to have the mana and the pride in who you are. (*Wahine* (19) 2009)

Wahine (19) is proficient in the Samoan language and would like to learn Māori to balance both sides of her identity (*Wahine* (19) 2009). The strong Samoan influence has left *Wahine* (19) with a desire to equalise her relationships with her distinct cultures and language proficiency is one method in which she believes can help achieve this.

Tane (24) had a different opinion on whether the Māori language is a key component of contemporary Māori identity. *Tane* (24) learned basic language throughout his schooling years in mainstream education but never sought to gain fluency. He had difficulty deciding whether the Māori language was important to one's Māori identity and stated:

I think that it is important to some people, which is awesome, if those people want to speak it fluently and speak it really well then that's cool...[but] I can't speak it, so no [it's not important]. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

Tane (24) admires those who have a passion for the Māori language and desire to gain fluency in it but his interests lie elsewhere. He shares a similar view to other participants responses in that not knowing the language did not make someone less Māori than another.

Te āhuatanga o te tangata – The appearance of a person

The way somebody looks has also been seen as very important to one's Māoritanga. Walker (1989) links skin pigmentation as an aspect that can aid in identifying Māoritanga. Historically if one had brown skin, dark hair, and brown eyes they could easily be identified as Māori (Rata 2000, p. 146), however, this is no longer the case for many Māori today. Interracial marriages have meant that the ethnic reflection in one's appearance today is varied and as a result of mixed parentage some Māori may have fair skin and blue eyes (Rata 2000, p.146). These people may

also receive criticism regarding their Māoritanga as a consequence because they may be unsure of their identity (Webber 2008, p.28)

As the physical appearance of Māori differs significantly there can no longer be stereotypical facial characteristics for what a Māori person should look like. Many people of Māori descent have more than one ethnicity and it often depends on which parent's gene is dominant within a child as to which physical characteristics they will possess (Genetic Science Learning Centre 2008). Amongst the participants *Wahine* (19) is of Samoan and Māori descent, however, she has strong Samoan physical features. Samoan is her first language and was her main cultural influence during her childhood. As a result many incorrectly assume that Samoan is her primary ethnicity even though she feels more connected to her Māori family (*Wahine* (19) 2009).

Both *Wahine* (22) and *Wahine* (24) have a more pale skin tone. *Wahine* (24) has never been questioned about her identity as a Māori person, regardless of her physical features. *Wahine* (24) stated:

I had a huge *taonga* around my neck...and I always had my guitar with me, even though I'm white, you could tell [that I was Māori]. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

The possessions such as a greenstone necklace and guitar are modern Māori identity markers. The way that *Wahine* (24) acted, as well as her Māori name, meant that nobody questioned her Māoritanga regardless of her physical appearance.

On the other hand, *Wahine* (22) is quite different. Despite also having a pale skin tone *Wahine* (22) had a largely European upbringing and does not overtly present herself as Māori like *Wahine* (24). As a consequence people do not realise that she is of Māori descent. She further explained:

Lots of people don't realise that I am Māori. Like when somebody called me racist, and then somebody else was like, "Why would [*Wahine* (22)] be racist? Her boyfriends Māori." And I was like "I'm here too and I'm Māori"...because I don't look [Māori]. (*Wahine* (22) 2009)

It was at this point that many of her peers became aware of her Māori ethnicity and only because she informed them of such. Because *Wahine* (22) does possess her mother's physical features and acts in a way that would be seen as stereotypically European people assume that she is only European. This can have a negative effect on the way she perceives her own Māori identity as she may not feel worthy of constructing a Māori identity. If others do not consider her to be Māori it can hinder her desire to start developing her own Māori identity.

Conclusion

This chapter began by showing that there was no need for Māori to be labelled as such prior to the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand and that identity was based in relation to one's *iwi*. Important aspects of Māori society included *whakapapa*, *tikanga* and language in relation to the distinct dialects of each *iwi*. However, the arrival of Europeans forced an ethnic definition to be formed to differentiate between the Indigenous people of New Zealand and the migrants. European influence and settlement forced Māori to rural areas, in order to maintain their Māoritanga. As time passed, and the need for urbanisation arose, Māori became distanced from their *tūrangawaewae* and as subsequent generations were born into urban areas they were unable to connect with their tribal area.

Dunedin is a European-dominated city chosen as a residence by many migrant Māori for employment and education opportunities. Over time many of these Māori became distanced from their *tūrangawaewae*, *marae* and *whānau* although their emotional connection with these things may have stayed intact. However, their children were born away from their tribal area and grew

up in Dunedin meaning that they may have never developed these connections. The experiences of the participants show how they understand what it means to be Māori living in Dunedin. The participants believed that there are certain aspects of Māoritanga that are important to one's Māori identity, such as language and *whakapapa*. However, all five asserted that knowledge and ability in these areas were not essential for one to claim that they are Māori.

The participants offer insight into how dominant beliefs of what being Māori entails can affect the development of Māori identity. Many Māori are now distanced from their tribal areas. Parents move to Dunedin for employment and better financial and social environments in which to raise their families. Not only did they become distanced from their *tūrangawaewae* and *marae* but they are in a place in which European standards are dominant. This produces the problem of identity retention and construction. How can somebody form a cultural identity without having contact with the cultural aspects of that ethnicity in their home environment? In Dunedin one of the main ways in which young Māori are able to connect with their Māoritanga is through schools. Outside of the home, the school is the second biggest influence in a child's life. The following chapter will examine some of the struggles that Māori have endured throughout the education system and how this has impacted on the construction of Māori identity in schools.

Chapter Three

Mātauranga Māori in Mainstream Schools

Although Maori returned their attention to [traditional] knowledge by 1850, it was never fully regained. (Simon 1994, p.54)

The arrival of Europeans to New Zealand caused a massive shift in the formal education of Māori as literacy became the primary focus of missionary and government schools. Māori language and customs bore the brunt of the impact as they were rarely seen as being important to the continued existence of the people in New Zealand. Formalised education in New Zealand began shortly after the arrival of settlers with the establishment of schools by missionaries. Gradually European colonisers identified that through schooling they could assimilate Māori into the European population. In the past century many aspects of the New Zealand education system have developed with both positive and negative effects for Māori students.

As this dissertation is looking at identity formation within high schools, this chapter will include various features of the history of Māori education in New Zealand. It will begin with a brief overview of Māori education before the arrival of Europeans. Following this, it will discuss the effects of European settlement and education schemes, such as missionary schooling, assimilation and curriculum issues. This chapter will also include more positive aspects of the education system that have been established and incorporated in the past thirty years including the incorporation of Māori language and customs into the mainstream education system. Māori-medium schooling systems such as *kōhanga reo* (language nest, Māori language immersion early childhood center) movement and *kura kaupapa Māori* will also be discussed.

Te mātauranga Māori tuturu – Māori education before the arrival of Europeans

It has been a great effort for Māori to maintain traditions that were established long before the arrival of Europeans. With European arrival, a new language appeared which was asserted by the new arrivals as essential for the continuation of the Māori race. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Māori had established successful methods to educate children in the areas that were necessary to their society. Knowledge was stored through art forms such as *whakairo* and *tā moko* (tattoo). However, education and learning was primarily transmitted orally and was therefore dependent on memory (Naylor 2006, p.12).

Learning began in the womb through the singing of *oriori* (lullabies). These were used to inform the child of their *whakapapa* and historical events that would be of importance to the child (Matthews & Paringatai 2004, p.105). As the children were born and grew older, they were told stories about their ancestors so that they became familiar with their *whakapapa* enabling them to pass it on to their own families. Knowledge regarding concepts such as *tapu* and *noa* were incorporated as well as general rules of *tikanga*. Knowledge of the *whenua* (land) was just as important as the other aspects of their education. Children were expected to know where the land of their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* ended and all aspects within. This included the names of the mountains, rivers and trees that were situated within their *rohe* (area) (Metge 1976, p.22).

As they aged, children would help with everyday manual tasks that were crucial to the survival of the *hapū* or *iwi* which can be seen as informal education. For males, this included duties such as fishing or hunting to provide sustenance for the *whānau*. Females assisted with *raranga*, where they made *whāriki* (mats) and *kete* (baskets) (Naylor 2006, p.11). Children also helped with the gathering of food and as a result of this they learned about astronomy. This allowed them to

identify the different parts of the seasonal year that were important for fishing, hunting and the cultivation of crops. Children were also expected to learn about plants and their positive and negative attributes, as plants were used for medicinal purposes as well as *kai* (food). The survival and functioning of the community was of great importance to each *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*. It was important that children could fill the roles of their parents as they grew older. *Whānau* observed the development of children in relation to their knowledge of these important areas. Those who showed skill and talent were selected for the more formal side of traditional Māori education (Mead 2003, p.307).

This formal aspect was taught by *tohunga* (priest, skilled person), who were experts in their specific areas. This expanded on knowledge regarding *whakapapa* and spiritual lore. Elsdon Best (1986) discusses the Māori school of learning, in which children were chosen to learn the myths and history of their people. The *whare wānanga* (house of learning) was a building within the community that was used to teach these children. Students from distinguished families were selected to receive the valuable knowledge from the *tohunga*. These students were assessed by the *tohunga* to test their worthiness and skills in memorising the material given to them. At times they were only given one opportunity to hear a substantial piece of information before they were required to recount the information back to the *tohunga*. This ensured that they could bear the traditions of their people and accurately hand them on to those that followed (Best 1986, p.6). These schools were extremely *tapu* and following *tikanga* was an important aspect of learning as it was seen as a prestigious honour. The formal aspect of traditional Māori learning emphasised the importance of *tikanga*, *whakapapa* and *whānau* and it was through education that these were maintained (Mead 2003, p.307). Since the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand Māori education has never been the same.

He wā uaua – History of education in New Zealand since the arrival of Europeans

After the arrivals of Abel Tasman and Captain James Cook, there was a steady arrival of Europeans that voyaged to New Zealand. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the government established an education system that sought to accommodate for the needs of an emerging European nation. Many were under the pretence that these schools were also attempting to cater for Māori needs yet they had little success. They were instead focussed on Europeanising Māori rather than maintaining any sense of uniqueness that Māori possessed.

Missionaries were one of the groups who instantly had an influence upon the education of Māori. In the early 1800s it was assumed that Māori needed civilising; they were ‘othered’ and seen as savage human beings, the very opposite of the superior European race. Schools were founded by missionaries and churchmen but these often resembled the English and Scottish school systems that these missionaries were coming from (Simon 1994, p.39). Initially missionaries learned the Māori language and this was the medium of instruction in the schools that they established. However, English was gradually introduced as a method to religiously convert Māori to assist in the civilising mission. Māori also wanted to learn English, as they knew it would lead to further trade opportunities with Europeans. The new ‘technology’ that Europeans brought to New Zealand was also of great interest to Māori (Simon 1994, p.51). It was during the era of missionary schooling that the loss of the Māori language began. Missionaries and settlers understood that through schooling, colonisation and assimilation could be possible. Boarding schools were soon set up in order to extract Māori children from their homes. At these boarding schools Māori pupils would no longer be immersed in Māori customs and language and therefore the process of assimilation would be accelerated (Simon 1994, p.55).

The Treaty of Waitangi allowed the government to initiate their efforts of assimilation and education was a fundamental part of their strategy. In 1852, the Constitution Act was established which allowed for the formation of self-governance within New Zealand. The country was split into six regions and provincial councils were established. Church schools that were unable to provide adequate schooling for children were surrendered to these councils (Simon 1994, p.40). Europeans were then able to use these schools as a method to ‘educate’ and further assimilate Māori. It was believed that the English language was crucial if Māori were to be integrated into a European society (Barrington 2008, p.19). The process of assimilation was the result of a well developed belief that Europeans were superior to other ethnicities and that they “perceived themselves as representing the pinnacle of civilisation” (Simon 1994, p.50).

Although Māori did want to learn English they were unaware of the long term affects that their compliance with Europeans would have. They recognised the potential that learning English would have because it could expand on the knowledge that they already held. However, Europeans were determined to extinguish Māori culture and the language by enforcing European habits, practices and values upon them in schools. The Native Schools Act was established in 1867, which furthered the assertion of government control on the education of Māori. Missionary schools were replaced by Native Schools in which the Department of Native Affairs could keep a close eye on Māori (Hokowhitu 2004, p.192). Through the Native Schools system European ideals could be imposed on Māori students leading them to think that their long-standing Māori customs and traditions were inferior.

Māori also began to accept European beliefs about the education of Māori students. The idea that Māori were better suited for manual training began in the missionary schooling period. Whilst at school, Māori children became accustomed with European habits and religious beliefs, yet Māori were still considered non-academic and were instead pushed towards physical activities. At some schools Māori children were not being taught academically but were instead being used to farm the land. Those in charge justified this as preparing them for the life they would one day step into (Hokowhitu 2004, p.193). It has also been said that the government did not want to surrender an excessive amount of European technology as they did not want to give Māori the chance to overcome the conformity being forced upon them (Simon 1994, p.60). In other words they wanted to keep the status quo of subordinating Māori to a minority position.

Aside from being taught about agriculture and how to be a homemaker, Māori were taught other manual skills such as carpentry. School was a place to create law-abiding and obedient citizens who would eventually become the backbone of the New Zealand labour workforce. In response to the world wars, Māori students were also taught physical education to ensure that they would be physically able to defend their country against the threat of invasion should another war occur (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.135).

Many Māori fought for a change in the physical and manual labour type of education Māori children were receiving. Very few Māori students were taught academic subjects. Native district high schools were established to accommodate for Māori students in remote areas who had no access to secondary, district or technical high schools. Before this, many Māori children who finished primary school were either unable to continue their education, or had to attend denominational boarding schools. It was in these schools that Māori were extracted from their

homes and lost their knowledge Māori language and culture and essentially their Māori identity. Fortunately at schools such as Te Aute College, in the Hawkes Bay, Māori boys could attain an education of the same scale as European and still maintain their Māoritanga (Simon 1994, p.63).

In the 1900s the European response to Māori receiving an academic education was mixed. Many Europeans opposed schools that offered Māori an academic-orientated education rather than based on practical subjects, as this was the area Māori would ideally be employed in upon leaving school. It was suggested that Māori boys who excelled in academic subjects, such as maths and science, should instead be shifted to ordinary mainstream secondary schools and many were adamant that Māori were not suited for scholarly subjects (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.53). It was assumed that whilst at boarding school Māori children should be taught in ways that would enable them to give back to their community, and only a small amount of students would be given an education worthy of gaining entry into a respected profession (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.66). These ideas were challenged by both Europeans and Māori. Parents did not want to see their children forced into a rural-based curriculum. They wanted their children to have the same opportunities as Europeans (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.53). Yet the struggle remained, and Māori children continued to be categorised and forced into labour-based schooling.

In the years surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, two important aspects pivotal in the education of Māori children were largely ignored: Māori language and culture. Not only was there a noticeable absence of these things in the classroom, policies were also constructed that made their existence illegal within the confines of the school. Māori children in the early 1900s were punished for using the Māori language within the school grounds and were physically punished if they did so. It was the belief that “a second language would be learned more quickly

and effectively if the first language was not used at all” (Simon 1994, p.62) that drove this. Many Māori supported this idea, as they wanted bilingual children and assumed their children would still be able to learn and converse in Māori at home. However, these children were then frightened of using the Māori language and consequently saw no value in using it in the home which led to a significant decrease in the number of native speakers. These children did not want to pass on the trauma they suffered to their children, and believed they were better off solely learning English and living like a European. As a result, by 1960, only 2.5 percent of Māori children could speak the Māori language and by 1984 it was estimated that this number had dropped even further to 2 percent (Ka’ai-Oldman 1988, p.24).

As a result of the main urbanisation period between 1945 and 1975 many children did leave the native schools and were forced to attend state schools in more populated areas (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p. 69). In 1955, more Māori children were enrolled in public schools than native schools, although it was not a comfortable situation for these children as there was severe racism and discrimination in these schools towards Māori. There was a desire amongst some to shift Māori schools under the control of the Education Board in which essentially these schools would become public schools like other mainstream schools (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.77). This was an outcome of two reports: the Hunn Report in 1960 and the Currie Report 1962. These reports were conducted regarding the ineffective education of Māori in the Native Schools; that transfer of these schools into Board control had taken too long and the integration of Māori needed to be accelerated (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.75).

Schooling for Māori in the nineteenth, and most of the twentieth century, shows a struggle to maintain Māoritanga which continued until the 1960s (Jenkins 1994, p.150). Research conducted

by the Education Department such as the Hunn Report and the Currie Report showed devastating statistics regarding Māori academic achievement. Because of the influx of Māori students into state schools it had become more obvious that schools and teachers needed to accommodate better for Māori students. Before the 1900s, although there were rules for Europeans in terms of compulsory schooling, there were none for Māori. After realising that schooling must be made compulsory for all students during the 1940s a law was passed that made it illegal for children to leave school before the age of 15 (New Zealand Council for Educational Research 1972, p.40). Many Māori were not reaching post-compulsory education, whether it be secondary school or tertiary level, and were instead entering into unskilled, low-paying jobs. The Hunn Report emphasised that through education Māori people would get better employment, attain better housing, and greater health (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993, p.72). Hunn (1960) also emphasised that it was through integration that these would be achieved as segregation was delaying Māori development (p.25). From the 1960s onwards Māori were beginning to be recognised as an ethnicity that deserved respect and attention within New Zealand. However, the efforts to change former attitudes were not so successful and attempts to incorporate Māori language and customs were also lacking.

Te whakaoratanga o te reo me ōna tikanga – Revival of language and customs through education

The education system had failed Māori students. The Māori language and culture had been pushed aside and European values were the cultural capital of state schooling. The curriculum had failed to cater for Māori as the content was not a reality of their home environment. To resolve the problem mainstream educationalists initiated a series of programmes designed to incorporate Māori-focused ideas into the classroom.

Ngā whakamātauranga Pākehā - Mainstream attempts

One of the state's first serious attempts to incorporate Māori language and culture into schools was the 'Taha Māori' programme which began in 1975. The programme was established to reinstate some value in learning the Māori language and culture. This aim was somewhat unattainable as the Taha Māori programme was "a Pakeha defined, initiated and controlled policy which serves the needs and interests of Pakeha people" (Smith 1990, p.183). Taha Māori programmes were conducted in English and entailed features of Māori culture. Teachers were provided with Māori songs on cassette tapes that could be taught to children, and units that could be included into their curriculum. In reality they did not cater for Māori students as they were at such a tokenistic level that Taha Māori programmes left the Māori students yearning for more. Instead they gave European students the opportunity to learn about Māori culture. Taha Māori was a façade as it was constructed to keep Māori happy rather than aid in any real development of the Māori language and culture. A focus on a genuine incorporation of Māori culture and language was needed and the Taha Māori programmes limited any chance of children developing fluency in the Māori language (Jenkins 1994, p.156).

The education system therefore initiated bilingual education. In these schools children could develop their Māori language skills but continue to be educated in the mainstream school curriculum. Bilingual education began at Ruātoki School, a primary school in the Bay of Plenty, in 1977. It expanded further in the 1980s, however, there was only a small amount of qualified teachers who were experienced in mainstream education as well as possessing fluency in the Māori language, therefore, non-Māori teachers or those with little fluency were sometimes pushed into the bilingual units (Jenkins 1994, p.158). This undoubtedly lowered the language abilities of the children.

The Taha Māori programmes and bilingual education initiatives, as a mainstream attempt to incorporate Māori culture and language into the classroom, can be seen as tokenistic and weak. The education system was merely trying to gain Māori as an ally without having to exert too much effort or make any real drastic change. Although many bilingual units have been successful in maintaining Māori language and culture it has not been without its difficulties. It is often dependent on the individual schools or teachers to ensure that Māori students are getting an adequate opportunity to the Māori language and the mainstream curriculum.

Ngā whakaaro Māori - Māori initiatives

It eventually became clear that it was Māori who needed to restore and rejuvenate the Māori language and culture in New Zealand. Māori wanted, and needed, to create a parallel education system as an alternative option for their children that was separate from mainstream education and was Māori-driven (Jenkins 1994, p.162). Jenkins (1994) asserts that, “by learning Maori they could and would validate their own identity” (p.164). It was believed that in order to restore the Māori language as a language of importance in New Zealand they must begin by teaching the youngest generation. In 1982 the first *kōhanga reo* was established. To ensure that these children were learning the Māori language successfully it was used at all times and in all places (May 2004, p.30).

Although *kōhanga reo* was for pre-school aged children the whole community played an important role and an emphasis was placed on *kaumātua* (elders) to teach the children. The traditional method of knowledge transmission could be reinstated after being lost during the period of urbanisation, as it was *kaumātua* that were teaching the children using Māori

pedagogies and in the Māori language. The parents of the children were just as vital to the operation of *kōhanga reo* as they were responsible for the general care of the children “so that the nannies’ major responsibility was to teach” (Jenkins 1994, p.170). The parents were in charge of the administration of the *kōhanga reo* and as a result they acquired clerical skills that enhanced their abilities to obtain jobs in other areas of the workforce.

It soon became apparent that *kōhanga reo* graduates needed an educational institution other than mainstream primary schools that provided a continuation of the pedagogical processes that they were introduced to during their time at *kōhanga reo*. The bilingual and Taha Māori programmes were not enough to maintain fluency in the Māori language and many students were not comfortable in these schools because the pedagogies of the classroom and the teachers were not conducive to their learning style. The first *kura kaupapa Māori* was set up at Hoani Waititi *Marae*, in Auckland in 1985. *Kura kaupapa Māori* are similar to mainstream education systems with the main difference being that the culture of the school operates under *tikanga Māori* (Jenkins 1994, p.172). *Kura kaupapa Māori* are different to bilingual units because students are immersed in the Māori language and are taught in a holistic way using Māori epistemologies (Jenkins 1994, p.172). The establishment of *wharekura*, as an appropriate Māori immersion secondary education option completed the *kaupapa Māori* (Māori ideology) based schooling alternative (Reedy 2000, p.161). *Wharekura* are essentially extensions of *kura kaupapa Māori* rather than individual schools, which ensures that the resources of the school are still maintained on the one site (Harrison 1998, p.110).

These Māori initiatives have had a positive effect on the academic achievement of Māori on a national scale. It has been difficult to replicate the same success seen nationally as a result of a

more appropriate alternative parallel education system for Māori in Dunedin. *Kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* have struggled to maintain a high standard of education in Dunedin with limited teaching resources and funding available to them. There are two *kōhanga reo* in Dunedin and, although they are both relatively successful, they still struggle to find qualified teachers who are proficient in the Māori language and who are willing to work in a sector that is at a lower pay rate than their mainstream counterparts (Valentine 2009). The only *kura kaupapa Māori* in Dunedin is located in Fairfield, a 15 minute drive from the centre of town. The only bilingual unit is at Brockville Primary School. It is ultimately the choice of the parents as to whether their child attends these schools. Not all parents are able to afford the cost of time and money to transport their children to the institutions available in Dunedin and for many the choice to do so is simply not a reality. Mainstream secondary education is the only option in this area, unless parents are willing to send their children to boarding school or likewise. For students in Dunedin it can be demanding to retain their sense of being Māori when Māori-medium education is difficult to access.

Te mātauranga i ēnei rā - Education in the 21st Century

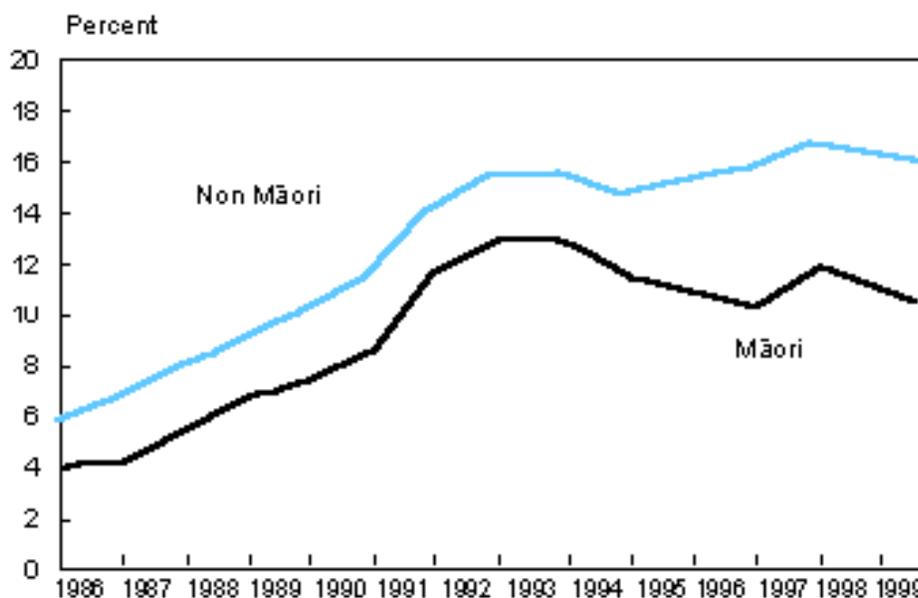
Fortunately the education system in New Zealand recognised the impact that mainstream schooling was having on Māori. The need to raise the achievement of Māori in education was realised

The success of New Zealand depends on Māori success and the success of Māori depends on their success as Māori. It means that Māori culture is recognised and validated and incorporated into the learning process. It means that personalising learning is happening and that the curriculum is relevant to Māori identity. We also must have an assessment system that helps foster success – so that success breeds success and mana builds mana. We must all step up to achieve Māori success and realise the potential of Māori youth. (Ministry of Education 2008)

Māori achievement has finally been identified as an important aspect of the New Zealand education system and that the curriculum needs to include material that is beneficial to the

development of Māori identity, as in the past aspects such as *tikanga* and language were removed. The Māori renaissance in the 1980s had a positive effect on Māori staying in secondary school. The following graph shows an increase in the retention of Māori in secondary schools:

Figure 5: School retention rates for 14-18 year olds (1986–99)



(Source: Ministry of Education 2009)

The above graph shows the increase of Māori and non-Māori staying in school between 1986 and 1992 showing a change in emphasis that has been placed on retention in high school. After 1993 the statistics begin to show a downward trend which picks up again towards the end of the 1990s. Although there has been a significant improvement, Māori are still not being retained in schools at equivalent rates to non-Māori (Ministry of Education 2009).

In 2006, statistics were released that showed both a positive and negative trend in the secondary schooling education of Māori students. The number of Māori at high school in New Zealand between 2000 and 2008, the time period for this study, has been steady. Statistics show that the

achievement of Māori in gaining qualifications enabling them to attend university has risen (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Percentage of school leavers qualified for university, by ethnic group (1993-2006)

Year	Ethnic Group				
	Māori	Pasifika	Asian	NZ European	Total
1993	7.5	9.1	46.8	29.8	25.1
1994	7.9	10.0	48.1	31.3	26.6
1995	7.5	11.0	46.9	31.4	26.4
1996	7.9	9.9	52.2	32.7	27.7
1997	8.2	10.3	54.0	34.0	29.3
1998	8.9	11.0	56.3	33.8	29.3
1999	8.5	9.1	54.1	31.5	27.5
2000	7.3	9.5	52.2	30.4	26.7
2001	7.4	9.7	53.6	29.9	26.0
2002	7.7	8.5	52.2	31.2	27.0
2003	8.9	9.4	54.1	33.2	28.7
2004	11.7	14	56.2	37.1	32.1
2005	11.9	14.5	58.5	38.1	32.9
2006	14.8	16.8	63.0	41.3	36.3

(Source: Ministry of Education 2009)

The table above shows that the percentage of Māori qualified to attend university has doubled between 1993 and 2006, but that does not necessarily mean that they have chosen to obtain a tertiary degree. However, in comparison to Asian and New Zealand European children, Māori are still significantly lower. Whilst it is heartening to see an increase in qualification attainment rates, the following table below shows that Māori are still ahead of the other main ethnic groups when it comes to leaving school with little or no formal qualifications.

Figure 7: Percentage of school leavers with little or no formal attainment, by ethnic group (1993-2006)

Year	Ethnic Group				
	Māori	Pasifika	Asian	NZ European	Total
1993	33.5	24.8	10.8	10.9	16.0
1994	34.6	23.7	10.3	11.1	16.3
1995	35.4	24.3	14.6	12.8	18.1
1996	39.0	26.6	9.7	13.6	19.1
1997	37.7	26.2	8.8	12.2	17.6
1998	38.2	27.4	6.9	12.6	18.1
1999	35.0	26.7	7.6	12.3	17.2
2000	32.5	24.4	7.4	12.5	16.5
2001	33.4	24.8	8.0	12.4	17.0
2002	34.9	26.3	9.1	13.8	18.2
2003	30.2	21.4	7.4	11.5	15.3
2004	25.4	15.9	5.2	9.6	12.8
2005	25.0	15.2	4.6	9.9	12.9
2006	21.8	12.2	4.5	8.8	11.1

(Source: Ministry of Education 2009)

Fortunately this table does show that there has been a downward trend since 2002 of the percentage of Māori school leavers who are leaving school with no qualifications. Unfortunately this is still rather high in comparison to Asian and New Zealand European students who had only 4.5 percent and 8.8 percent respectively in 2006 who did not gain any formal high school qualifications (Ministry of Education 2008). The statistics regarding achievement and failure of Dunedin Māori students compared to the national level is also of interest. In 2005, 17 percent of Māori students gained University Entrance, where as only 9 percent of Māori nationwide left secondary school with the same qualification. However, 34 percent left without little or any qualification, compared to 25 percent nationally (Ministry of Education 2008).

The Ministry of Education also provides information regarding the number of students who are learning the Māori language as a subject for more than three hours per week. In 2007, 8.1 percent of Māori students in mainstream education were studying the Māori language. In 2008, 19,158

students studied the Māori language which equates to approximately 2 percent of the entire high school student population (Ministry of Education 2008). Given that language is an extremely important marker of identity it is surprising how remarkably low these figures are. This does not mean that the language is losing its recognised importance amongst Māori but it may indicate that the Māori language is in danger of no longer being a marker of Māori identity. These statistics are related to Māori education on a national scale. The population of Māori students in Dunedin is only a small proportion of New Zealand. In 2006 there were over 30,000 students that attended either primary or secondary schools in Dunedin and only 9.9 percent of these identify as Māori in comparison to the 21.9 percent of students who identify as Māori nationally (Ministry of Education 2008). In the same year only 410 students were learning the Māori language for three hours or more a week. Most of these students were in Year 9, 10 and 11 with only a small number of students carrying on in Year 12 and 13 (Wilson 2009).

Conclusion

The education of Māori has changed immensely over the past 200 years. Prior to European arrival, Māori had an established and successful education system which included both formal and informal aspects of traditional knowledge that was transmitted orally. The arrival of Europeans to New Zealand essentially changed this traditional method of Māori schooling. The effects of missionaries and the successive laws and acts that were established led to the eventual assimilation of Māori into European standards. Throughout the main urbanisation period and soon after Māori were stereotyped as a physical and un-educateable group of people that were destined for employment in the labour force. The Hunn and Currie reports emphasise how the government wanted to assimilate Māori into mainstream schooling but at the cost to the Māori language and culture.

There were attempts made to reinstate Māori culture into schooling which included the establishment of Taha Māori programmes and bilingual units. Yet these were only limited efforts made by the New Zealand education system to incorporate aspects of Māori language and culture. The parallel *kaupapa Māori* based education system that was set up to revive the Māori language and culture have proven to be much more successful than European attempts, however, they have not been available for all Māori children, particularly those in Dunedin. Academically, children in Dunedin are still performing above the national average in regards to achieving university entrance but they are also above average in leaving school with no qualifications. This may be symbolic of the lack of a quality *kaupapa Māori* based schooling alternative on offer in Dunedin.

The education system in New Zealand has had an immense effect on Māori and the construction of Māori identity. Through urbanisation and the removal of Māori language and culture from the education of Māori, the development and construction of Māori identity is a difficult process. The following chapter will examine how students in Dunedin have been affected by their schooling in this area.

Chapter Four

Ngā Akonga o Ōtepoti

Without *kapa haka* [and] learning Māori at school, I wouldn't have been able to do it anywhere else (*Tane* (24) 2009)

The above statement represents those Māori in Dunedin who have had limited contact with their culture. Throughout the research process of this dissertation, it has become apparent that the experiences of Māori students in Dunedin vary. For some students, school has been the only place in which they have been able to construct and develop their Māori identity. Others, who have a strong Māori background, have had different schooling experiences which also relate to the growth of their Māori identity.

This chapter will look at the effects that secondary schools in Dunedin have had on Māori identity. It will begin with an examination of how high school affects the identity of adolescents. The stereotypical notions of Māori students at secondary school will then be discussed in relation to how these may influence the development or construction of Māori identity. Finally, the experiences of the participants will be analysed to identify how their secondary schooling affected their Māori identity. This will include school support systems, teacher and peer influences, expectations of Māori students, the curriculum and how these could have either a positive or negative effect on Māori identity development.

Te kura tuarua me te tuakiritanga o ngā tamariki – Schooling and the identity of adolescents

Despite the construction of identity beginning in the home, it is in schools that many children start to learn how they fit into society and the external pressures that can be placed upon them. In the early stages of schooling, children begin to question who they are and where they come from

(Sheets 1999, p.98). By secondary school it is assumed that children are well aware of their family's history and therefore their own cultural background (Phinney 2008, p.49). It is during this period that children make decisions about their cultural identity. Numerous studies have been conducted regarding the development of ethnic identity (Phinney 1990; Cross 1978; Kim 1981). These studies also provide models to explain the development of one's ethnic identity. Once at secondary school, it is thought that children will begin to explore ethnicity and make decisions about the role this will have in their lives (Phinney 1990, p.502). There is no expected age at which children are likely to begin the path of exploration regarding their identity. Few may not have been exposed to cultural issues and as a result may be unaware of their ethnic identity (Phinney 1990, p.502). This may be the case for Māori who have been distanced from their tribal area. As they do not experience racial issues in relation to those Māori cultural indicators discussed in Chapter Two, either at home or in the community, they may also not assert their Māori identity.

In Dunedin, New Zealand European is the dominant culture. As a consequence many Māori people have been pushed to the side and assimilated into the mainstream culture (Simon 1994, p.51). This can have a detrimental effect on the beliefs of smaller ethnic groups who accept the values and attitudes of the dominant culture whilst at the same time internalising negative views of their own group that are held by the majority (Phinney 1993, p.66). There are generally two outcomes of this. Firstly, children from minority groups instead adapt and become familiar with the habits of the majority culture. Secondly, the children misbehave and utilise the stereotypes placed upon them whilst continuing down a destructive path of negativity (Good, Dweck & Aronson 2007, p.116).

It is through interactions with teachers and other children that often lead to expectations being expressed regarding one's cultural ethnicity. The classroom environment often reflects the teacher's views about society which then guides the students into creating similar opinions regarding social attitudes (Branch 1999, p.23). In relation to the influences of other children within the schooling environment, it is believed that "peers may also play a crucial role in a child's development" (Maxwell 2002, p.267). This includes the way children compare themselves to others about suitable and accepted behaviour. Children then generate their own beliefs about what is expected of them, which could either have a positive or negative effect on their ethnic identity development (Oyserman, Brickman & Rhodes 2007, p. 94). The impact that teachers and peers have on students and their identity is significant.

Me mahi pēnei, me ako pēnā – Expectations of Māori in school

Throughout the history of Māori schooling since European arrival, much emphasis has been placed on the physical abilities of Māori and how they would benefit from being educated in more manual-focused subjects (Hokowhitu 2004, p.193-4). Jenkins (1994) states that it also became accepted by society, that Māori would filter into the lower socio-economic community, with low employment rates, and high criminal statistics because of their education, or lack thereof (p.15). The result of these lowered expectations has had a damaging effect on the education of Māori students as the belief that Māori were deficient and uneducatable became widespread (Jenkins 1994, p.152). This implies that it was Māori who were unable to cope in the mainstream school system and not a failure of the education system to provide adequate education for Māori. It is these beliefs, which are often found within the classroom that can have a considerable effect on the cultural identity development and construction of children. If

children endure negativity within the classroom relating to their ethnic identity, they are likely to embrace the correlating stereotypes.

Ngā kura o Ōtepoti – Dunedin schools

The participants interviewed for this research attended four of the twelve high schools in Dunedin. Both single sex and co-educational schools were included in this research and all four schools ranged from Year 9 to Year 13. *Wahine* (19) attended Otago Girls High School (OGHS) which is located close to the Octagon in the Central Business District of Dunedin. OGHS has a system in which those females who are situated within the zone are eligible for selection to this school. *Wahine* (24) went to Queens High School (QHS) which is located in South Dunedin and is a single-sex girls school. Her parents chose QHS for the school's ability to sustain areas of importance to Māori language and culture. *Tane* (23) went to Kings High School (KHS) for the majority of his secondary schooling. KHS is situated next to QHS in South Dunedin and is the male equivalent. Both of these schools attract students from mainly the southern area of Dunedin. *Tane* (23) attended KHS as it was close to his home before shifting to Logan Park High School (LPHS) in his final year for sporting opportunities. *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (22) also attended LPHS for their entire high schooling period. This school is a co-educational school based in North Dunedin close to the University of Otago, and is generally attended by students who live in the northern area of Dunedin. The siblings of *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (22) both went to LPHS and it was a natural progression for them to also go there. Whilst students usually enrol in schools within their area it is not unusual for children to attend schools in other parts of the city.

Te Kura mō ngā akonga o Ōtepoti – Schooling for Dunedin students

High school experiences have a significant impact on the identity development of children. Adolescents encounter many different influences whilst at high school and there are a variety of features of schooling in Dunedin that have had an effect on the participants involved in this research. These include the school support systems, teacher attitudes and expectations, peer groups, the curriculum and extra-curricular activities. The important aspect of these features is that they can have both a positive and negative effect on Māori students. The following tells of the participants' experiences at high school in Dunedin and how these impacted on the construction or development of their Māori identity.

Ngā mea tautoko o te kura - School support systems

In this section, school support systems refers to the specific systems in place to help Māori in school as well as other methods of support available in schools for Māori students. In a European-dominated environment, support systems for Māori students are very important. Essentially they are catering for Māori in relation to Māori cultural issues. Interviews with the participants revealed that there were both similarities and differences in the forms of school support systems available for Māori. Some were optimistic and encouraging of what their high school provided for Māori students, others were not.

The understanding of *Wahine* (24) regarding QHS was that it was supportive to a point and she had varied opinions about her school. For example she stated that:

There was racism within the school, but it was pretty much as good as you could get at that time with the people that were running it, because once you've got a frame of mind, it's really hard to change that. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

Wahine (24) was not deterred by racism towards Māori within her school and continued to develop her Māori identity. She was Māori Prefect at QHS for her sixth and seventh form years, which made her an integral part of the support system for Māori girls at her school. Although being the Māori Prefect was a positive step for Māori students at QHS as it allowed support for these students it did take its toll:

I did have a lot of stuff that they expected me to do, like supporting students and stuff like that and it did get too much for me...they do tend to rely on you. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

The school was unaware of the stress that was placed on her but once they were informed of this they took steps to relieve the pressure. This shows that the school relied heavily on students like *Wahine* (24) to cater for Māori students. Furthermore, teachers and the school did not have to shoulder much responsibility for supporting Māori students. *Wahine* (24) continues to think positively about her former high school and their support for Māori students for the way they treated their students, “the school was really good, because if you had things to say, they’d actually listen” (*Wahine* (24) 2009). No matter what mistakes the school may have made in this instance, they would always attempt to rectify the situation and listen to the opinions of students.

Tane (23) had quite negative experiences at KHS in relation to his ethnicity. He stated:

It’s quite a hard school for Māori to be at...they made it quite hard for Māori students to succeed there. (*Tane* (23) 2009)

In this instance *Tane* (23) is referring to the high academic achievement that KHS strived to achieve and how this affected Māori students. To his knowledge, KHS endeavoured to maintain a high standard of education and if a student was not up to their standard academically then they would tend to push that student to the side and forget about them (*Tane* (23) 2009). *Tane* (23) did

not recall any support systems available for Māori students at KHS, however, his experience at LPHS was much different. According to *Tane* (23),

Logan Park was probably a better school for Māori to get an education and [they] made it easier because they didn't have a big reputation to live up to. (*Tane* (23) 2009)

Although they did not strive as high academically as KHS, they still expected their students to achieve. Having experienced both school systems *Tane* (23) obviously believed that LPHS provided a more valuable environment for Māori students.

Wahine (22) and *Tane* (24) also admired the efforts of LPHS. *Tane* (24) stated that, “they had lots of activities like *kapa haka*...they did as much as they could” (2009). *Wahine* (22) also mentioned *kapa haka*, but placed emphasis on the positive environment that was created for students by building a *whare nui* (meeting house) (2009). Both QHS and LPHS have a building that they call a *whare nui*, which is a building separated from the school. It is a place where Māori principles are followed and upheld and is a positive environment in which students could assert their Māoritanga. For students such as *Wahine* (22), who have little involvement in the wider Māori community of Dunedin, it is one place in which she could feel comfortable expressing her Māori identity. It is also a place in which Māori values and practices can be used and learned in relation to *tikanga* on a *marae* or during *pōhiri*, as there are limited opportunities to do so outside of school in Dunedin.

Additionally, *Wahine* (22) also stated that LPHS was supportive of Māori students “considering how few Māori there were at [this] school compared to other schools” (2009). There were opportunities for Māori students to talk to their Māori prefect and Māori teachers, as well as feel a comfortable Māori environment in the *whare nui*. The *whare nui* was not purely for Māori

students; rather it was a place in which students could be in a Māori environment. Therefore, the school support systems provided the students with a positive outlook regarding their Māori identity.

Although *Wahine* (19) was heavily involved in the Pacific Island activities of OGHS, she was still aware of what was available for Māori students. OGHS provided an opportunity for students to be involved in *kapa haka* and Ngā Manu Kōrero Speech Competitions. In her sixth form year, a Māori Prefect was selected to help support Māori students, which was seen as a positive step for the school (*Wahine* (19) 2009). She also asserted that, “the school was pretty good when it came to racism and stuff, it wasn’t really tolerated” (*Wahine* (19) 2009). Despite the establishment of roles such as the Māori prefects late in her schooling, OGHS was still a place where she could feel comfortable about her ethnic identity development.

Ngā waiaro o ngā kaiako - Teacher attitudes and expectations

The influence and social attitudes that teachers possess can have on students is critical to a student’s development, both academically and personally, and they are also pivotal in affecting student identity development. If a teacher has negative beliefs regarding an ethnic group, it can also affect the students’ perceptions of themselves (Branch 1999, p.23). Students can either submit to these negative stereotypes or take a positive outlook and attempt to defy these expectations.

Wahine (22) and *Tane* (24) both admitted that they were disobedient students in their early secondary schooling years. Despite falling into the stereotypical notion of being ‘naughty Māori students’ it was their teacher’s belief in them that enabled them to move beyond these character

moulds. The teachers of *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (22) knew that they could change their behaviour and succeed regardless of their former actions and ethnicity, which would have differed if they had attended a school that would neglect misbehaving Māori students, such as KHS. *Wahine* (22) stated that she hung out with a group of students of mixed ethnicities that did not behave well at school:

I was naughty up until I was about fifth form, because one of the teachers...our English teacher, told me to stop hanging out with the people I was hanging out with. So I did, and I started hanging out with some nerds, who were actually quite cool and still are. (*Wahine* (22) 2009)

Upon reflection *Tane* (24) understands the actions of his teachers towards students like himself.

He stated:

None of them were mean to me...they were firm but fair, that's a good way to describe it. They didn't growl at me...unless I deserved it and by seventh form I had a really good relationship with them. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

The experiences of *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (22) highlight the disregard of ethnicity within their school, and that each student was identified as an individual rather than by the colour of their skin or their ethnicity. The experiences of *Wahine* (22) show that she fell into the stereotypical category of a misbehaving Māori adolescent. However, she does not necessarily believe that being of Māori descent was the reason that she got in to trouble, and was instead one of her personality traits. She states "I don't know if it was because I was Māori, but I was naughty, I think it was just because I was naughty" (*Wahine* (22) 2009). Both students had experiences that at the time they may not have understood, but which they can reflect back on and see how they were beneficial for their educational development and achievement.

The experiences of *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (22) indicate that LPHS did not judge people based on their ethnicity, which was very similar to the interactions of *Wahine* (19) with her teachers. She

stated that OGHS “[was] alright actually, [I] never had a problem. [The school] treated me as if I was the same as every other student” (*Wahine* (19) 2009). Once again this reinforces a positive aspect of secondary schooling in Dunedin as she was not categorized or singled out because of her ethnicity.

Although the relationship that *Wahine* (24) had with her teachers may have been collegial towards the end of her schooling, they were not so positive at the beginning. *Wahine* (24) was often subject to racial stereotyping.

Because I forgot what true Māoritanga, true Waikatotanga was, I started playing up to that stereotype of the dumb Māori and it wasn't until later, when I got into my senior years at high school, that I actually realised I was doing exactly what they wanted me to do...down here it's like they don't understand, so they make up things, and they look at things, so they generalise that to one particular group and that happens to be Māori...and you make things up that you want to believe. And when you force that onto other people, then they start to believe it too. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

Wahine (24) had lost touch with her Waikatotanga and what being Māori meant to her. She recognised the assimilative tactics that were being forced on her and that she was following the stereotypical behaviour of an uncontrollable Māori teenager that the majority expected her to be. She was able to rediscover herself, and in the process defy the stereotypical characteristics expected of Māori students and still be able to achieve well at school. Fortunately she overcame these expectations and beliefs and she sympathises with teachers who were unable to deal with these situations:

When you've got a whole classroom, and you've been teaching for so many years, if you've had bad experiences with certain minority groups, then you use that, you hold on to that and apply it to the next class. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

Wahine (24) recognised that it is difficult for some teachers to change their view about certain students. If teachers have had negative experiences teaching Māori students they are then likely to treat Māori students that follow them in a similar way.

Despite feeling sympathetic to these teachers, *Wahine* (24) did have a memorable negative encounter with a teacher:

One time, a friend and I were walking down the hallway and we were talking *te reo*, and we didn't actually notice, but our teacher walked past us. She ended up complaining to the principal about us. So the principal called me in, and by that time I was sixth form, and I told the principal, "Well if she wants to know what we were saying, then they should do *te reo* classes." And that's what they did, the principal set up *te reo* classes for the teachers. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

The students speaking Māori in the hallway was an uncomfortable situation for the teacher, even though the Māori language is an official language of this country. Although there were previously rules about speaking Māori in schools, these were abandoned in the mid twentieth century (Hokowhitu 2004, p.196) and it is surprising that these opinions are still prevalent amongst some teachers in Dunedin. *Wahine* (24) asserted her right to be able to converse in Māori at school and the school was obliged to agree and support the Māori students in using their own language.

Of the five participants interviewed four of them described a feeling that they were expected to know certain aspects of Māori culture or language at their respective schools because they identified as Māori. Because of her fair skin, and not openly claiming Māori ancestry, many were unaware that *Wahine* (22) was of Māori descent and therefore they did not assume that she had a sound knowledge of *te ao Māori*. For the other four participants despite having expectations placed on them that they should know certain information about Māori culture they did not resent those who did so.

As *Wahine* (24) had a strong upbringing in *te ao Māori* she was more confident in her abilities to be able to deal with these expectations. She saw her position as one of education:

At first I was like...they want to know what I think, but...after a while it starts to get quite tiring, and you have to keep reminding yourself that they don't know, and they either do want to know, or don't, but either way, we should be there to support them even though it can be very tiring sometimes. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

Despite how draining this may have been on someone so young, it shows the willingness of *Wahine* (24) to share her culture with others and that she saw how they would benefit from it.

However, not all the participants were so confident in being able to deal with these expectations in this way. For *Tane* (23) being questioned or expected to know certain things about *te ao Māori* sparked an interest to learn more, particularly as he did not have the abilities to be able to answer their questions (*Tane* (23) 2009). A positive outcome was created in relation to a notion that may seem offensive to others. He never felt *whakamā* (embarrassed) about situations in which he did not know the answer and they only increased his desire to want to learn more.

On the other hand, *Tane* (24) was not so encouraged nor did he have the background that *Wahine* (24) did to be able to answer the expectations appropriately. He found the expectations placed upon him as a Māori person unfair:

Like it's cool that people can ask you...we got it a lot at teachers college, but it does sort of make you feel like token, getting you to do stuff because you're a Māori person. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

Wahine (19) was similar in her opinions about this issue. When asked what sort of aspects of *te ao Māori* she was expected to know and how she reacted to this she replied:

Just *tikanga* and stuff like that, especially with Pākehā teachers. When we studied [the] Pacific in Social Studies and stuff, they expect, because I'm Māori, expect me to know it. They don't realise

that I had another upbringing...Sometimes it made me feel a bit awkward, quite uncomfortable...I'd just pull out the "I'm actually Samoan too". (*Wahine* (19) 2009)

Wahine (19) was able to hide behind her Samoan ethnicity in order to avoid having to answer questions about Māori topics and is similar to other minority cultures who hide in order to avoid attention (see Brayboy 2004). In a sense *Wahine* (19) and *Wahine* (22) have done the same thing. *Wahine* (22) used her European ethnicity and her mainly European upbringing to avoid uncomfortable situations regarding *te ao Māori* much in the same way as *Wahine* (19) used her Samoan identity.

These expectations could essentially have a detrimental effect on those who have not yet developed their ethnic identity. For example, one may feel unworthy of constructing a Māori identity because they do not know certain aspects of the culture. All of the participants were sympathetic towards their schools' and their teachers' unawareness that not all Māori have knowledge about the numerous elements of the Māori world. For some it did not hinder their desire to find out more about their Māori identity, yet for others it did not spark an interest either.

Ngā Waiaro o ngā Hoa – Peer attitudes and influences

The influence of peer attitudes and influences in schools can have a substantial effect on the identity development of children and adolescents. It is in school that students compare themselves to their peers and decide what type of behaviour is acceptable and expected of their ethnic group. For minority groups, this can lead to the construction of a negative perception of one's ethnic group if their peers have had negative experiences (Oyserman, Brickman & Rhodes 2007, p. 94). The influence of peers on the participants had a different meaning for each person.

Peer pressure was not a significant aspect of their relationships with their friends, yet the experiences that they did have essentially impacted on their identity as Māori.

Whilst at high school *Tane* (24) had friends who were mainly of Māori and Pacific Island descent. *Tane* (24) was the only participant who felt like he was influenced by his peers. He admits that he misbehaved in the early years of his secondary schooling, and he believes that this was a direct result of the people who he associated with (*Tane* (24) 2009). At the age of 14 he was experimenting with alcohol, which was not something he had been introduced to before associating with this peer group. The teachers of *Tane* (24) realised he had potential to succeed and as a result of their intervention he decided to change his habits.

In fourth form, a light switch kind of went on, and I thought if these people are my friends, they won't care if I change, and the good thing is, my true friends did stick around and are still my friends now, and they understood why I wanted to change and stuff, it was good. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

The experience of *Tane* (24) shows that when someone overcomes the fear of peer pressure they will still have those same friends and that they may also be able to exact change in them. As a young student he did not have to cave in to the expectations of the majority culture or his peers. He learned that Māori students did not have to be disobedient at school and that he could create a more positive identity as a Māori person (*Tane* (24) 2009).

In the senior years of *Tane* (24) many Māori students switched schools for better opportunities in areas such as sport. He was fascinated by the connection that these students had with their Māoritanga and that they could do that even at quite a young age (*Tane* (24) 2009). Although he identified as Māori and had friends of the same ethnicity, he was still unaware of the extent in which Māori students from Dunedin could be in touch with their Māori identity. His eyes were

opened to the fact that one could develop and build a strong sense of Māoritanga in this area, which also allowed him to get in touch with his own Māori identity.

Wahine (19) had a range of peers throughout her schooling. No matter which ethnic group she surrounded herself with, *Wahine* (19) never found herself as the subject of discrimination, as her friends never saw race as an issue.

They tended to vary, when I first started off they were mainly Pākehā, but as I became a senior, more girls from other schools came, and so I started hanging out with them, which were mostly P.I, but then it was mostly Pākehā. (*Wahine* (19) 2009)

Wahine (19) was never categorised within her own group, it was those outside of her peer group that often labelled *Wahine* (19) and her peers. *Wahine* (19) was involved in Māori and Pacific Island events within the school and was often categorised as being Samoan or Māori by those outside of her peer group and thus she was subject to the stereotypes relating to both of these ethnicities. Having a Samoan last name and dominant Samoan features, *Wahine* (19) was also often seen as only Samoan rather than also being of Māori descent. Fortunately this never damaged the beliefs of *Wahine* (19) in her own identity as a person of both Samoan and Māori descent.

Wahine (24) was never embarrassed of her Māori identity and rather than be influenced by her peers she enabled other Māori girls to connect with their Māoritanga. However, it was not always easy for *Wahine* (24) as some of these students would, at times, question the truthfulness of her words or actions:

They'd been brought up down here, were born down here, and so I found it quite hard...I didn't actually become their friend until later on in high school...because I'd been brought up so strongly in one way, they found it hard, and I found it hard to relate to them...Because they didn't know

[*tikanga*], they kind of looked at me like, “Who do you think you are?”...it took them a while to realise that what I was saying wasn’t just coming out of thin air...all they knew was to take your shoes off, don’t sit on tables...They didn’t associate respect, they had respect for Māori elders, but they didn’t have respect for Pākehā and that. I think I helped them kind of connect with that. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

The experiences of *Wahine* (24) reflect another positive aspect of peer relationships. She was able to change the way in which other Māori girls perceived themselves and others. Formerly, these students saw the world in a negative light when this changed it also allowed them to bond with their Māori identity.

Te marautanga me ngā akonga Māori – The curriculum and Māori students

Although all five students admitted to enjoying hands-on subjects, they also had different opinions regarding the curriculum. *Wahine* (24) enjoyed subjects like art and music and believed:

They kind of liked to push the Māori students into those sort of things, like I wasn’t scientifically inclined, but I knew quite a lot of Māori students that were really bright. But because they were Māori, they were pushed into music and art and sports and stuff. And yeah...it sucked. (*Wahine* (24) 2009)

The stereotype of Māori being physically-inclined was reinforced on Māori students. Some students were not as fortunate as *Wahine* (24) to see that they had potential in other areas of education, and only believed in what they were told they could do.

Tane (24) also enjoyed subjects of a similar nature.

I enjoyed doing stuff like woodwork, P.E, not so much the written P.E stuff, but the fitness, physical side of things. It sucks that people think Māori people are kinaesthetic and are hands on and can’t learn. But I think with me it’s true, but I think it’s just how I am. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

As a teacher *Tane* (24) is now aware of the expectations that people have of Māori students, such as the inability of Māori to achieve academically. He therefore places emphasis on the idea that

his interest in physical activities had nothing to do with his ethnicity. Rather than being influenced and channelled into those particular subjects he believed that he enjoyed them because it was who he was.

Wahine (22) enjoyed classes where she could use her creativity.

I enjoyed art and drama...[but] not so much to do with the curriculum, but I think, because they were more relaxed classes, and you could be more creative. I didn't enjoy science and maths. I just don't have that sort of mind. I don't like things with lots of rules that you have to go by. (*Wahine* (22) 2009)

Regardless of the resemblance of the schooling of *Wahine* (22) to the expectations of Māori, she insisted that her ethnicity was not responsible for her artistic personality and that it was a result of her childhood and that her creativity is derived from her European mother who is an artist (*Wahine* (22) 2009). Even though the upbringings of *Tane* (24) and *Wahine* (22) were mostly of a European nature they identified as Māori to an extent which could have been used as a tool to classify them as suited for hands-on subjects. Their opinions show the inappropriateness of stereotyping and categorising children. Although they do enjoy kinaesthetic subjects they both feel that there is no connection to this being because they are of Māori descent but instead related it to their upbringing.

All five participants had some involvement in learning the Māori language whilst at secondary school. *Tane* (23) and *Wahine* (24) both admired the teaching staff at their schools. At KHS, *Tane* (23) scarcely enjoyed any subjects at school other than Māori because of the teacher. If it were not for his Māori teacher, there was little else that he enjoyed at school. In other situations this could have led to *Tane* (23) dropping out of school or created further irritation towards his school, and the education system in general.

Prior to secondary school, *Tane* (24), *Wahine* (22) and *Wahine* (19) had little involvement with learning the Māori language. All three cherished the opportunities they were given to do so at school:

Because I didn't...we didn't do anything Māori at home, everything I learned about Māori culture and customs was at school, so that was a big part of it...and I did enjoy taking Māori classes because I thought it was important. (*Wahine* (22) 2009)

Without *kapa haka* [and learning] Māori at school, I wouldn't have been able to do it anywhere else. (*Tane* (24) 2009)

Previously I never learnt Māori, so learning basic Māori helped me learn more about myself and my culture and stuff. (*Wahine* (19) 2009)

All three clearly stated that they had limited opportunities to learn about the Māori language and culture before they started at high school. None of them grew up in a household with strong Māori language and customs nor did their parents provide them with the opportunities to be involved in various Māori focused activities available in the wider Dunedin community. It can therefore be concluded that high school was the place in which their Māori identity was developed. Chapter Three looked at the inadequacies of the Taha Māori programmes, however, for students such as *Tane* (24), *Wahine* (22) and *Wahine* (19), these classes were important as they allowed them to develop a sense of who they were as Māori.

The experiences of the participants provide understanding into how secondary schools in Dunedin can affect the development and construction of Māori identity. It can be assumed that with the lack of contact with one's *iwi* that it is difficult for Māori to maintain a sense of Māoritanga and, in the absence of a culturally strong home base, it is high schools that can either increase or hinder one's desire to connect with the Māori culture.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at how schooling can affect the development and construction of Māori identity. This included the influences that schooling support systems, teachers and peers can have on how a student perceives their own ethnicity and ethnic identity. There are many stereotypes and expectations that are placed upon Māori students as a result of former beliefs imposed by the majority society. In the past, Māori were channelled into manual rather than academic subjects, which continues to be the case for some Māori students. Other stereotyping and expectations are evident in both the opinions of teachers and peers regarding Māori language, culture and society. Teachers may have previously encountered negative experiences with a minority group such as Māori, and therefore expect that other Māori students are the same. Students may have experienced racial discrimination and believe that this will always be the same for Māori no matter what the environment. As a result, a student may take these expectations on board, and assume that being Māori means they will not achieve. Ultimately this can affect Māori students who do not have a strong relationship with their Māori identity and instead may neglect the opportunities to develop and construct their Māori identity, because they associate being Māori with failure.

Despite encountering negative experiences at school, the students all found ways in which high school aided them in developing their Māori identity. The participants encountered the expectation that just because they are of Māori descent they should know about *te ao Māori*. For some, this had a positive effect and made them want to learn more. It is apparent that through encouraging relationships with teachers and peers that Māori in Dunedin are able to achieve well whilst developing their pride in being Māori. The participants were also provided with positive

opportunities to be Māori enabling them to begin or continue the development of their Māori identity, such as in *kapa haka* and language classes. These were places in which they could be Māori in a positive sense and learn about the principles and customs of Māori society that are absent from the home and community environment for many youth in Dunedin.

Conclusion

He Kupu Whakamutunga

The dominant European influence in Dunedin strongly affects the cultural environment of the city. This dissertation has looked at how this environment has not been conducive to the identity formation amongst Māori youths in Dunedin. The choices of their parents and the limited options available to them in the home and the community has meant that secondary schooling has been a significant contributing factor to the construction and development of Māori identity for those who do not have tribal links to the Otago region.

Chapter One provided an historical overview of Māori and Europeans in Dunedin and Otago. Local Māori have a long historical connection to this area although it is not overtly apparent in the architectural landscape of the city. It was the arrival of Europeans shortly after the Otago Purchase that saw local Māori either pushed to the outer edges of the area or assimilated into the increasingly dominant European culture within the city limits. The Māori history in this area has been somewhat neglected and so have any opportunities to incorporate a sense of local Māori history, language and culture in Dunedin. This chapter shows why it is difficult for young Māori to form their ethnic identity in Dunedin where aspects of the Māori culture is largely absent.

Components seen as central to Māori identity were the main points of discussion in Chapter Two. Prior to European arrival, Māori were defined within their tribe and their role and function as part of this kinship structure, and these remained important identity markers post-European contact. Other identity markers such as *tūrangawaewae* and *marae*, as well as knowledge of *tikanga*, *kawa*, *whakapapa* and language, are all considered some of the more significant features of

Māori identity by scholars such as Walker (1989) and Rangihau (1975). These markers of identity were discussed in relation to the participants and their experiences living in Dunedin which provides insight into how growing up in Dunedin influences the development of one's Māori identity. As all the participants are living outside of their tribal area, they have little access to their *tūrangawaewae* and *marae* and an ability to practice the protocols and cultural processes that go with them. They are also living in a city dominated by a European cultural capital and it is clear that some of the participants were unable to build a Māori identity in the traditional sense. For some though, it is not impossible and they were able to adapt to their surroundings. This chapter showed that those whose parents choose to retain associations with their *tūrangawaewae* and encourage them to learn about Māori language and culture are just as able to construct a Māori identity, although it is not without its difficulties.

In order to understand the mainstream education system the participants were educated in, Chapter Three provided a historical background of the education of Māori in New Zealand. This included an examination regarding traditional Māori knowledge transmission and how there was both an informal and formal styles of traditional Māori education. The arrival of missionaries saw that traditional Māori knowledge was devalued as literacy became the primary focus. The laws and regulations that arose through European education forced Māori to be assimilated into European norms. It was hoped that Māori would become less Māori and more Europeanised but it was also decided that Māori were seen as destined for manual employment, and as such should be educated in that manner. The need to include more appropriate education for Māori was recognised in the 1970s and programmes such as *Taha Māori* and bilingual units were established. However, these did not entirely cater for the development of Māori language and culture, and so *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori* and *wharekura* were formed by Māori.

Unfortunately these alternative school systems were not an appropriate choice for most of the parents of the participants to send them to. This chapter thus showed how Māori have found it difficult to succeed in the education system and how the removal of Māori language and culture essentially affected the retention of Māori identity.

In the absence of a culturally strong Māori home base and limited opportunities to participate in Māori activities in the community, high schools are the most influential social factor on the development of Māori identity amongst youth in Dunedin. Chapter Four showed this by incorporating the participant's experiences as examples of how schooling in Dunedin can be beneficial or detrimental to the development of their Māori identity. There have been stereotypes and negative expectations of how Māori should achieve in schools and how Māori students can be racially discriminated against whilst at school. However, due to positive experiences that were discussed in relation to school support systems, teacher expectations and actions, peer influences and the curriculum the participant's Māori identities benefitted from their attendance at school in Dunedin as they were given opportunities to form and develop their Māori identity in a positive sense.

This research has raised several issues for Māori wishing to develop their Māori identity outside of their tribal areas. Outside of the home environment, high schools are one of the most important institutions that allow this to happen. The question remains how aware are schools of the role they play in the development of their students' Māori identity. A significant proportion of teenage Māori in Dunedin do not have strong connections with their tribal area and they do not understand key cultural concepts that many believe are associated with being Māori. These students still identify as Māori and ascribe to the behaviours that are expected of Māori. If they

had a more substantial understanding of these concepts and incorporated them into their day-to-day lives, they would have a more positive appreciation of being Māori. As schools have a strong influence on the development of their students' identity, if they placed more value on Māori concepts and included them in the philosophy of the school, then students would see that that Māori knowledge was valued; thereby creating a more positive environment for all students.

Despite the participants' positive high school experiences, they still had negative encounters with their teachers. Schools and teachers in Dunedin need to realise that expectations they continue to place upon Māori students are not appropriate for the majority of their Māori students. They expect that ethnicity is linked to cultural knowledge and behavioural problems. If schools were more aware of New Zealand's colonial past and the effects of urbanisation on Māori society, they would not be so quick to assume that Māori homogeneity still exists. Further investigation would allow for these issues to be rectified.

Glossary

<i>atua</i>	gods, ancestor with continuing influence
<i>awa</i>	river
<i>hākari</i>	feast, banquet
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe
<i>hui</i>	meeting
<i>hura kōhatu</i>	unveiling
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>iwitanga</i>	tribal culture and identity
<i>kai</i>	food
<i>kapa haka</i>	Māori performing arts
<i>karakia</i>	prayer
<i>kaumātua</i>	elder
<i>kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori ideology
<i>kawa</i>	protocol
<i>kawe mate</i>	mourning ceremony in which the spirit of a deceased person is returned to their home
<i>kete</i>	basket
<i>koha aroha</i>	gift of thanks
<i>kōhanga reo</i>	language nest, Māori language immersion early childhood centre
<i>kōkā</i>	mother, aunty (eastern dialect)
<i>kūmara</i>	sweet potato
<i>mana</i>	prestige, status, authority
<i>manuhiri</i>	visitors
<i>māori</i>	normal
<i>Māoritanga</i>	Māori culture, practices and beliefs
<i>maunga</i>	mountain
<i>marae</i>	meeting place
<i>moana</i>	ocean
<i>ngahau</i>	entertainment
<i>noa</i>	ordinary, free from restriction
<i>oriori</i>	lullaby
<i>Pākehātanga</i>	European identity
<i>pepeha</i>	tribal sayings
<i>pito</i>	umbilical cord
<i>pōhiri</i>	ritual of encounter
<i>poukai</i>	Māori King Movement Celebrations
<i>pounamu</i>	greenstone
<i>rangatahi</i>	youth
<i>raranga</i>	weaving
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>rohe</i>	area
<i>Taha Māori</i>	programme established in mainstream education to incorporate Māori culture
<i>tā moko</i>	tattoo

<i>tane</i>	man
<i>tangata whenua</i>	local people
<i>tangihanga</i>	funeral
<i>taonga</i>	treasure
<i>tapu</i>	sacred
<i>tautoko</i>	support
<i>te ao Māori</i>	the Māori world
<i>te rā o te tekau mā rua</i>	church services of the Ringatū faith held on the 12 th day of each month
<i>te whānau mai o te tamaiti</i>	child birth
<i>tika</i>	to be correct
<i>tikanga</i>	customs
<i>tikanga Māori</i>	Māori customs
<i>tīpuna</i>	ancestors
<i>tohunga</i>	priest, skilled person
<i>wahine</i>	woman
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	standing place, place where one has rights to ancestral residency
<i>wai māori</i>	fresh water
<i>wai tote</i>	salty water
<i>waka</i>	canoe
<i>whakairo</i>	carving
<i>whakamā</i>	be embarrassed
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whakataetae</i>	competition
<i>whānau</i>	family, extended family
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	kinship network
<i>wharekura</i>	Māori language immersion secondary education
<i>whare nui</i>	meeting house
<i>whare wānanga</i>	house of learning
<i>whāriki</i>	mats
<i>whenua</i>	land

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