

Cultural Learning in Young Maori Offenders and Their Families:

A Preliminary Model

Patricia Te Wairereahiahi Young

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Abstract

It has been acknowledged that many Māori individuals have become disconnected from their cultural heritage, and this includes young people who have come to the attention of the police, and their families. Community remedial programmes have been funded by the Government through the Ministry of Justice and New Zealand Police to work with young Māori offenders. There is an expectation that by including compensatory cultural components to address assumed weak cultural links through Māori cultural activities, these programmes will be able to rectify the impacts of colonising activities. In this research 23 young Māori people who had attended a community youth programme and 19 parents/caregivers were interviewed about what was important to them and about the place of Māori cultural activities in their lives. Interviews with 14 programme provider staff, four New Zealand Police staff, five community stakeholders and a Judge from a Rangatahi Court explored what they saw were the experiences for the young people and their families. The interviews were semi-structured and interview data was analysed using Grounded Theory to generate a Theory of Māori cultural learning and model of a Māori cultural framework within which Māori cultural socialisation occurs. Findings identified three family composition groups as reflecting aspects of multi-realities for the participant families which were highlighted by membership of whanau family groups; presence of family leadership; participation in Māori cultural community and location of family residence. The differences between the family composition groups had resulted from a breakdown of Māori community and disruption to the function of Māori cultural activities which also impacted on the structures and process of Māori cultural socialisation and transmission. These findings are discussed as are implications for the providers of remedial programmes for young Māori and their families, Māori families, whanau and communities. Suggestions for future research are also made.

Dedication

This research is dedicated to all who have gone before us

Of special mention are three people who were with me
when I began this journey
but who have since passed on

Putu Mihaka
Huia Lyons
Mary Harte-Barry

May our future generations benefit
from the legacy that those
before us have left

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Māori cultural socialisation, whereby Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices were transmitted for learning by an older generation to a younger generation, has not been well documented in the literature. It appears that this process was historically part of a way of life, that existed from prior to the arrival of settlers through to the breakup of Māori communities that occurred with the movement of Māori individuals and families into urban centres. Embedded in the way of life, much of this learning was implicit within daily activities. Children and young people learned by observing what was expected of them, what had to be done. However, with the movement of families and dispersing of people from Māori communities, patterns of socialisation and cultural transmission appear to have become muddled as a result of the interruption to daily Māori cultural life. Māori families have been introduced to and taken on new ways of living and new values that have challenged the socio-centric and interdependent values that have held whanau (wider or extended family groups), hapu (sub-tribal groups) and iwi (tribal groups) together over many generations.

The move into urban centres by Māori families has been identified as leading to social problems for those individuals and families (Waitangi Tribunal, Waipareira Report, 1998) and reference was made to there being a disconnection between hapu life and the natural support networks and assistance available through those connections. Other injustices, disparities and inequities for many Māori individuals and families have been described by authors, for example, Reid & Robson, 2007, which are also loosely associated with the geographic distance created between a family group and their whanau and hapu. However, those associations have not been fully explored in terms of what has been disrupted, lost or disconnected.

The patterns of cultural socialisation occur within a structure and system of family, whanau and community function. For many Māori family groups, whanau and hapu, the structures and systems were disrupted, and in some cases destroyed by

the arrival of Settlers and the development of new settlements and introduction of new ways. Processes for intergenerational transmission of cultural information were less able to convey Māori cultural subtleties and nuances (Moon, 2003) to young people as a Māori tribal way of life faltered over generations. The nurturing process of family, whanau and hapu in which young people had historically been able to learn implicitly have, for many family groups, been broken as Māori communities emptied in favour of bright lights, greater opportunity, and a better life (Waitangi Tribunal, Waipareira Report, 1998).

Where some young people have experienced difficulties in their lives, remedial programmes have been developed as a mechanism to fill a gap and provide support and assistance. Knowing how best to match the cultural content within the remedial programmes with that of the young peoples' families led to this research. The aim was to determine the cultural values, beliefs and practices underpinning the cultural identification for some Māori young people and their families to understand the different realities of Māori families. Examining the cultural and historical context for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand was an important step to better this understanding about how Māori cultural socialisation and learning occurs across the different realities of Māori communities, hapu, whanau and families.

How this thesis is organised

This research report presents an exploration of how the processes of Māori cultural socialisation have been altered following colonial settlement and proposes a theory that accounts for the experiences of some of those family groups and young people who have become distanced from their whakapapa or genealogical base.

A description of remedial programmes follows in Chapter 2 and outlines the purpose of some of these programmes, in particular for young Māori and other Indigenous groups. The reasons a need for the remedial programmes has developed is described in Chapter 3 – Cultural-historical context, by exploring the scope of what has been lost from a Māori cultural way of life and the mechanisms

that have contributed to this loss. Over many years there have been a number of reactions and responses to the increasing loss of tribal ways and some of these are briefly described.

Processes of socialisation are at the core of the research questions and this area is explored in Chapter 4 – Cultural socialisation and cultural identification. The first part of this chapter sets out how socialisation is described in the literature and this is then related to patterns of cultural learning, in particular for Māori young people living in close knit whanau and hapu communities. Cultural identification and the processes by which this is developed is explored in the second part of this chapter. The model of Orthogonal Cultural Identification (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-91) is described and is then linked to the processes of socialisation for young Māori.

Chapter 5 – Collective Qualities, outlines the collective or socio-centric qualities and values that are core to living within a collectively oriented family group, whanau and hapu community.

The method used for this study is described in chapter 6 and sets out the research objectives and research questions upon which the research was based. The next five chapters present the Findings of the research. Chapter 7 sets out the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning and an ideal scenario in which it can be applied. While Chapter 8 considers the factors by which the theory can be related to a contemporary setting. The next three chapters apply the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning to the three family composition groups: Chapter 9 – Whanau family composition group; Chapter 10 – Wider family composition group; and Chapter 11 – Nuclear family composition group. Finally, Chapter 12 presents a discussion of the research and findings using the research questions as a basis for the discussion. This chapter also outlines limitations of the research, offers suggestions for further research and a conclusion.

Chapter 2 – Remedial Programmes

Introduction

The questions that led to this research arose following an evaluation of five community youth programmes that had been funded to address youth offending behaviour (Young, Burns, Malins, Thomas, 2006). These remedial programmes were tailored for young Māori, although most of the programme providers accepted youth of other ethnicities. As part of their funding contracts, the programme providers were expected to deliver compensatory 'cultural components' to address what was generally seen as a cultural need among the young people accepted onto the programmes. While this cultural need was not seen as causing the offending behaviour, including different types of cultural activities in the programmes was viewed as a possible pathway to the facilitation of participants in some cultural activities. It was expected that this cultural participation would result in an increase in pro-social behaviours. However, what became evident through the programme evaluations was the variance between the aims and objectives of the programmes with regard to the cultural activities and the life experiences, attitudes, and importance felt about the cultural components by the young people themselves and their parents/caregivers. It was apparent that research was needed to reach a greater understanding of this variance and the place Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices played in the lives of the young people and their families. It was also important to provide more accurate information about the types of cultural activities that could be useful to include in programmes for young Māori and their families.

Remedial programmes and compensatory cultural components

Remedial programmes with compensatory cultural components have been developed as a response to the apparent disparities, inequities and disadvantages that Indigenous people have experienced following the arrival and settlement of colonists. Evidence of the disparities, inequities and disadvantages are shown as statistics in many areas, for example, unemployment, ill-health and mental unwellness, mortality figures, low levels of educational achievement, criminal offending and incarceration, misuse and abuse of substances, and dysfunction and

violence within the family. Over decades efforts have been made to try and counter these disparities, inequities, and disadvantages, and address identified gaps and needs by developing remedial programmes for Indigenous groups. The nature of the programmes varied with some adding cultural components to an established programme, others using strategies or processes based upon cultural ways, while others developed from a cultural base using the ways of the Indigenous group where the need has been identified. The focus for programmes is sometimes on addressing the perceived cultural need, a culturally sensitive approach or process, or the cultural safety of the client group.

To provide a broad scope for understanding the nature of the different approaches taken in remedial programmes, I have included programmes from a range of sectors: health and mental health; disability; education; substance misuse; social work; child care – after school; child abuse; teenage pregnancy; youth justice; and programmes for family – family court; family violence; family support and parenting. I am also using the term ‘programme’ quite broadly, in order to capture how cultural values, beliefs and practices of the different Indigenous groups have been utilised in the attempt to redress effects of colonising activities.

Programmes for Indigenous people described in the literature highlighted different approaches. An emerging approach used within programmes was based upon an Indigenous cultural worldview and way of life to which it was expected that Indigenous people could relate and in which they would prefer to participate. By far the more common approach was for programmes to address the impacts of colonising activities for Indigenous people evidenced in the negative statistics. Within this approach there were programmes where cultural practices were incorporated as part of therapy, and programmes that dealt with individual needs and in which the practitioner endeavoured to use an appropriate approach.

The range within programme delivery appeared to try and cater for differing world realities in which Indigenous people now live and which programme providers need to address in service provision. There is an assumption that because someone is

born into an Indigenous grouping they will relate to the Indigenous cultural content within a programme. This type of assumption does not necessarily take into account the broad life experiences that many Indigenous families are exposed to and the cultural context within which they live. The following programme descriptions offer only a sample of what was covered in the literature.

Indigenous worldview

Use of an Indigenous worldview within programmes required adherence to the cultural values, beliefs and practices of the group. The cultural ways of the groups highlighted the relationships not only between people, but also to the land and spiritual connections. Philmer Bluehouse and James Zion (Bluehouse & Zion, 1993) presented an account of changes made within the Navajo Nation with a return to the use of traditional methods of justice. Core Navajo values were incorporated into all aspects of their way of life and used to keep peace and harmony. Strengthening family and clan relationships was a key aspect of this initiative.

In a recent paper, Joe Roe (2010) depicted an Indigenous worldview that is common for many Australian Aboriginal language groups; it linked the spiritual, physical and emotional natures of persons to the land from which they came. This approach aimed to promote cultural practices and strengthening of relationships to overcome the weakening of these linkages that had occurred through colonising activities leading to ill health.

Barriers to using an Indigenous worldview within programmes that included historical or traditional cultural ways were considered to arise from an emphasis due to lack of an evidence base (Goodkind, Ross-Toledo, John, Hall, Ross, Freeland, Coletta, & Becenti-Fundark, 2011). Evidence-based designs are often based on non-Indigenous sample populations, and this suggests an area of further research and programme development. Goodkind, et al. (2001) identified effects of colonising activities had contributed to a mistrust of people in authority as a key factor among American Indian and Alaskan Native young people experiencing health disparities.

They suggested a move to Traditional intervention approaches to overcome these feelings.

Addressing impacts of colonising activities

The programmes outlined in this section focused on addressing impacts of colonising activities for Indigenous groups that resulted from the breakdown of cultural communities, family structures and extended family interactions. With the aim of providing opportunities for programme participants to learn about and practice aspects of their cultural ways, each of these programme included some culturally based activities.

The first article provided an example of a health promotion programme for Australian Aboriginal people living in the Kimberley region of Western Australia (Davis, McGrath, Knight, Davis, Norval, Freeland, & Hudson, 2004). The reported success of this programme was attributed to community involvement and the cultural foundation of Aboriginal beliefs, practices and language. From this basis participants could draw upon Western knowledge to help them make decisions about their own health.

The second and third articles related to the same project called Hui Malama o ke kai, a positive youth development programme based in Hawai'i (Akeo, Bunyan, Burgess, Eckart, Evensen, Hirose-Wong, Majit-Gorion, Takeshita, Takeshita, & Vasconcellos, 2008; and Hishinuma, Chang, Sy, Greaney, Morris, Scronce, Rehuher, & Nishimura, 2009). This project combined a suite of activities within the Waimanalo community by engaging multiple agencies to enhance youth development and act as a prevention strategy through offering culturally-based activities. While fundamentally an after-school programme the overall project included 'ohana, family and extended family members and the wider community. Cultural protocols were observed in all cultural activities, and were driven by cultural values that the young people were encouraged to learn about, participate in and value as part of their everyday life. The Waimanalo community saw the need

for a programme to cater for the needs of their young people, and this was supported by the university and wider local Hawai'ian community.

An evaluation of a New Zealand youth justice initiative, Ngā Kooti Rangatahi (Rangatahi Court) was the focus of the fourth article (Davies, Whaanga, 2012). An aim of Te Kooti Rangatahi was to empower rangatahi (young people) to “achieve their potential” (Davies, Whaanga, 2012, p. 9). Operating on marae (meeting area) Te Kooti Rangatahi observes tikanga (protocol, ritual) of the marae during the court process. This initiative aims to help rangatahi gain an understanding of their cultural heritage and identification to redress issues of lack of self-esteem, confused self-identification and resentment and anger. An original intention had been for the young people to be supported by tikanga programmes to build on what Te Kooti Rangatahi were undertaking. The additional programmes were not readily available thus limiting the effectiveness of the Te Kooti process.

The final article for this section relates to an evaluation of five community programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand, conducted between 2003 and 2006 (Ministry of Justice, 2007; Young, Burns, Malins, & Thomas, 2006). These five programmes were part of a larger strategy involving eleven other Government funded programmes aimed at reducing youth offending. A case management approach was used with each programme provider required to also include cultural compensatory components to increase pro-social behaviour. The cultural components varied across the five programmes and ranged from “te reo Māori, tikanga (as relevant to specific situations), some Marae protocol, kapahaka, learning about whakapapa, telling of historical stories, learning about the Treaty of Waitangi, collecting kai, hospitality, and some sporting activities” (Ministry of Justice, 2007, p.15).

The evaluation found that there was no clear logic or purpose for the inclusion of the compensatory cultural components. There appeared to be an unstated assumption that the inclusion of cultural components was somehow linked to the reduction of offending by the young people. Associated with this assumption was

an additional assumption that the young people did not have strong cultural links and lacked a 'culture' and therefore needed to learn about 'being Māori'. Overall the cultural components did not reflect the diverse life realities of the young people and their families. It was this piece of evaluation work that led to the questions guiding this thesis.

Cultural practices as part of therapy

Introducing participation in cultural practices and beliefs as part of programme therapy was encouraged by the authors of four articles – two Māori programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand, one Native American and one for Aboriginal Canadians.

In the early 1980s a programme, Whai Ora (Rankin, 1986), was developed in Aotearoa New Zealand for Māori patients and staff within a psychiatric hospital as a step to "redress the spiritual and psychological balance" (p. 39) that had been disrupted by colonising activities. Re-establishing an individual's psychological balance was seen to be achieved by increasing their understanding about their cultural heritage and their links to the land, spirituality, and their ancestors. The programme was a prototype and had specific aims and objectives but ended with the closure of the psychiatric hospital in 1998. Deinstitutionalisation and community care became the preferred model of care in the mental health sector.

In the second article, Huriwai (2002) stated that the development of culturally congruent interventions was seen as culturally affirming for Māori clients in programmes addressing alcohol and drug problems. Huriwai posited that processes of acculturation explained the loss of Māori cultural ways, and suggested that processes of enculturation through culturally congruent interventions could help to address the detrimental effects of that loss. Huriwai does conclude that further research was needed, particularly in terms of a culturally meaningful curriculum for a programme given the diverse realities among many Māori.

Another author, Joe (1997) identified that the diverse realities among Native American families was a factor which needed to be considered in programmes and

services for children with disabilities. Joe identified that people with disabilities had always been nurtured and included within Native American families and this had been evident in much Indigenous art and recounted in oral history and legends. However, as increasing numbers of families relocated away from their tribal areas and became more assimilated into Western notions of family and individual advancement, their attitudes and perceptions of disability had changed. This author also highlighted the difficulties in obtaining adequately funded programmes and services for children with disabilities given the funding pathway from Congress to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Services. The utilisation of cultural ways in these types of programmes and services became a secondary consideration.

Gone (2011) explored the use of Aboriginal practices alongside the use of Western therapies in a substance abuse centre based on a First Nations reserve in Canada. The Centre was considered an environment that allowed members of their client group to learn about their Indigenous cultural ways while also learning about and dealing with their use of substances. The healing environment also assisted the clients to learn about and to heal “deep personal pain as a result of traumatic experiences earlier in life” (p. 195). These hurts were attributed to colonising activities. Living within the community of culture allowed clients access to Indigenous cultural ways of learning within a therapeutic context.

Individual orientation

Programmes within this section have a focus on individual needs rather than being an examination of the context from which many of the issues for individuals may have arisen. The three articles in this section referred to counselling services. The range of Māori realities was outlined by Hopa (1996) in relation to services that support family groups through changes. She likened the nature of relationships within Māori family groups to the warp and weft of the social whariki, composed as they are of interpersonal and inter-generational relationships that give meaning and provide the connectedness and sense of belonging. In her analogy, she indicates that as the structure and function of Māori society changed as a result of

colonising activities, so the social whariki had torn. As a consequence, Hopa said some Māori families had applied new meanings to the concepts of the social whariki, while others ignored it altogether. She identified that whanau had adopted different meanings and that this reflected realities of life. She also questioned how cultural transmission would occur when many families struggled to cope with day-to-day survival.

The second article, the author (Ralph, 1997) found that being of Aboriginal descent was beneficial for work in conciliation counselling with Australian Aboriginal families in the family court system. Ralph suggested that it was important to determine the ability or competence of members of the family groups to relate in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal spheres as the level of ability determined all aspects of the counselling interview. Language use, body language, socio-cultural context, family experiences as a result of colonising activities that have impacted upon Aboriginal family life, had all contributed to the nature of interaction with Aboriginal families.

The third article was written for non-Māori counsellors and O'Connor and Macfarlane (2002) highlighted the importance of having a focus on a Māori worldview including creation stories, the structure of a marae and relationships, and whakapapa within the counselling relationship. The authors acknowledged that some Māori had become distanced from their cultural heritage and the aim of the paper was to provide counsellors with some guidelines in terms of being able to relate to them as clients. One example given was the use of the family therapy genogram intervention (a therapy tool that represents the nature of the biological and social connections of a family group) with the aim of facilitating or encouraging a possibly reticent Māori client inter-relating with other family or whanau members as part of a healing process. This suggestion did assume that the reasons behind any family, whanau relationship breakdown could be dealt with adequately through the use of a genogram.

Summary

Remedial programmes have been implemented in an attempt to address the disparities, inequities and disadvantages experienced by Indigenous people. This includes many Māori individuals, families, and whanau some of whom have experienced difficulties since the arrival of settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand. In the first approach the programmes included the promotion and continuation of an Indigenous way of thinking and being in the world in an attempt to strengthen the core cultural ways of living. The second approach had a focus on catering to particular problems Indigenous people had experienced. Programmes used the cultural ways of the Indigenous group concerned as a foundation for programme activities with the aim of more easily relating to the cultural understanding of their client group. Finally, the third approach worked at an individual level highlighting cultural realities of Indigenous clients different from those of mainstream clients, which needed consideration within the therapeutic relationship. The cultural components of each of these approaches were intended to mitigate the wide range of issues resulting from colonising activities.

However, in each of these approaches there is no clear link or logic between the disparities, inequities, and disadvantages that they are meant to address or the causes of the disparities, inequities, and disadvantages. Anecdotally, the disparities, inequities, and disadvantages exist as a result of colonisation (Durie, 2001; Reid & Robson, 2007) and these are demonstrated in many statistics in these publications. Remedial programmes have been operating for many years, decades in some instances, and if there are to be improvements in effectiveness in using cultural components there needs to be a greater understanding of the historical-cultural context to determine why the disparities, inequities, and disadvantages exist. The next chapter explores the historical-cultural context for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand to try and obtain a better understanding of the colonising activities and how they have affected Māori cultural communities and the function of Māori cultural activities.

Chapter 3 – Cultural-historical context

Introduction

The patterns and processes of Māori cultural socialisation have shifted from what they were pre-contact with Settlers. It is necessary to understand how these patterns and processes have changed over time in order to grasp the nature of the issues confronting Māori families in today's society. To provide a structure in which to appreciate the nature of 'shift' in how Māori cultural ways have been socialised and transmitted over generations, some background information is set out in the following sections. Firstly, an overview is given of an Indigenous way of life, albeit from an historical perspective. This section aims to highlight the features that contributed to cultural community function and the creation of a learning environment in which a young person developed their Indigenous worldview. The second section describes the nature of the drivers of change that occurred following the arrival of Settlers, and how these drivers effected changes to Māori society and the processes of cultural socialisation. The third section describes the responses and reactions of Māori to the changes and how these activities aimed to redress the losses of cultural function.

A note needs to be included here about the time period to be covered for this cultural-historical context. Overall, I am trying to capture activities and changes that occurred within Māori society over time, that is, over 150 years and many generations. It is necessary to try and provide an overview of the changes in order to give an indication of the severity of changes to Māori society and the degree of loss and weakening in the function of Māori cultural ways that occurred over this time. The picture over time has been presented in three different sections. The first section – *Historic way of life for Indigenous groups* aims to convey a view of life for Indigenous groups pre-contact. While this image is very general, the aim is to convey the key structures, processes and the nature of values, beliefs and practices that made up the worldview for each respective group of Indigenous people.

The second section – *Drivers of change to a Māori way of life* presents a brief overview of the period of time from the arrival of Settlers through to the mid 1950-1960s. There are two purposes for covering the whole period: (a) to highlight the rapid changes to Māori society that occurred with the arrival of Settlers, and (b) to end with the period of time in which the grandparents of the young people who were participants in this research were raised. This time period would have impacted on the inter-generational aspect of cultural socialisation that would have contributed to the nature of the worldview the parents/caregivers of the young people were raised in, and would likely have influenced how the young people were raised.

The third section– *Responses and reactions to changes of Māori worldview* presents an overview of how people and organisations responded and reacted to some of the changes that occurred. Some reactions occurred early during the time of the Settlers’ activities with the establishment of the Kotahitanga Movement and the development or re-establishment of the Runanga movement. However, many of the responses occurred later and derived from the Māori renaissance that evolved from the protest movements of the 1970s and developed into the Māori renaissance in the 1980s. The focus in this section centres on the later developments.

The final time period to be covered is contained in the findings chapters, which track the experiences of the young people and their parents/caregivers.

Historical way of life

A combined historical perspective on the way of life for the Indigenous groups of Australia and the Americas, Canada and the United States of America, along with Māori groups of Aotearoa New Zealand has been presented in this section. The purpose of this approach is three-fold:

- a. It has been deemed unwise to present an account of a way of life for Māori (and probably other Indigenous groups) from the literature as the written accounts may be incorrect or inaccurate (Ward, 1974). Many of the written

accounts were by Pākehā missionaries and Settlers who may not have fully understood the subtleties and nuances (Moon, 2003) of a Māori way of life. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is of value to gather some accounts of the key features of the way of life for Indigenous groups before contact in order to highlight the genesis of the structures of kinship groups and community, the patterns of group functioning, and the values and spiritual basis that held the communities together.

- b. The ways of life for Indigenous groups have similar features. There was a great deal of congruence on key aspects across the groups, in particular the collective values held. Different cultural practices across the groups are evident reflecting different living environments. Considering key features of the way of life for Indigenous groups together offers a more robust understanding and appreciation of what has been in place and functioned as socialisation for communities, family and kinship groups and individuals before contact with Settlers.
- c. The Indigenous groups in the four countries experienced colonisation by Settler groups and the Settlers remained creating a Settler state (Lawrence, 2010). The social and cultural losses for these Indigenous people have created similar effects which, to me, suggest that patterns and processes of cultural socialisation have been similarly affected.

Bearing this in mind, the following description presents key features of an Indigenous way of life that would have contributed to the socialisation of children and young people, the transmission of lifeways, and the developing of a worldview that was particular to their way of life. The key features included have been identified in literature where searches were related to the socialisation and transmission of cultural ways for Indigenous groups¹. This section is not intended to be a deep historical portrayal, but instead aims to provide a basic description in order to try and capture what has been lost as a result of colonising activities.

Indigenous groups had a way of life that allowed them to sustain life in their respective environments exploiting nature for subsistence (Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004¹) - all groups were living in tune with the land and all it contained.

¹ The following numbering system in superscript will be used in the text to locate references with Indigenous groups: 1-Australian Aborigine and Torres Strait Islands; 2-Native American/American Indian groups; 3-Native Hawaiian; 4-Native Canadian/Aboriginal Canadian; 5-Maori. It is acknowledged that within each of these larger groupings there are many different tribal, clan and Nation groups.

Land, plants and animals were viewed as having symbolic meaning (Hiroa, 1987⁵; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004⁴) as sacred relatives (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998²). The connections between people, their family groups, community structure and their environments held and sustained their values and spirituality (Marsden, 1975⁵; Mead, 2003⁵) ensuring they were “inseparable and omnipresent” (Red Horse, 1997, p.245²) which reflected the creation stories (Hiroa, 1987⁵; Roe, 2010¹; Walker, 1978⁵). The health of the land, all that it offered (plants, trees, animals, waterways), and human health were viewed as interdependent (Warburton & Chambers, 2007¹ Schwimmer, 1966⁵).

The interdependence of land and the people within each Indigenous group was also reflected in the structure of each community. Kinship systems made up Indigenous communities (Berndt & Berndt, 1988¹; Kral, et al., 2011⁴; Papakura, 1986⁵; Red Horse, 1997²; Schwimmer, 1966⁵). While the composition of community structures varied across the Indigenous groups, each had structures of leadership, seniority rankings, knowledge held and practiced, roles held and spirituality practiced. Communities had an optimal size of between 150-300, which appeared to be related to management and function (Papakura, 1986⁵; Red Horse, 1997²). As communities increased in number, family groups moved out to create new communities. The structures reflected how the community functioned and for each Indigenous group a set of values underpinned family and community activities (Hishinuma, et al, 2009³; Kral, et al., 2011⁴; Papakura, 1986⁵; Red Horse, 1997²; Rezentes, 1996³; Roe, 2010¹; Schwimmer, 1966⁵). Decision making was located within the community function with agreement sought through discussion within the groups, aiming for consensus. Balance and harmony were important within the groups. In order for each group to survive, it was important to maintain cohesiveness within the communities, therefore it was equally essential for the members of those communities to work together in a cooperative and collaborative way (Baldrige, 2001²; Kral et al., 2011⁴; Ralph, 1997¹; Rogers, 2001²; Winiata, 1967⁵).

For each Indigenous group, Elders played an important role in the collective or socio-centric function of the community. They presided over ceremonies, imparted wisdom, practiced medicine, organised trade, settled disputes, and gave advice (Kral, et al., 2011⁴; Red Horse, 1997²; Warburton & Chambers, 2007¹; Winiata, 1967⁵). Kinship relationships within the family groups and communities were guided by values and contained in the cultural practices that maintained mutual interdependence (Red Horse, 1997²). Working together for the good and well-being of the whole group ensured that there were roles and responsibilities for all (Baldrige, 2001²; Kral, et al., 2011⁴; Mead, 2003⁵; Mihesuah, 2003² Ralph, 1997¹; Red Horse, 1997¹; Schwimmer, 1966⁵; Suina & Smolkin, 1994²). Members of the extended family including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins provided care for children (Baldrige, 2001²; Kral, et al., 2011⁴; Papakura, 1986⁵; Red Horse, 1997²). Helping children to grow, or the growing up of children as it was referred to by some (Ralph, 1997¹) provided nurturing and guidance which reinforced for the children a range of cultural values, mores and folkways (Baldrige, 2001²; Hishinuma et al., 2009³; Smiler, 1998⁵). Children learnt by observing adults and older children (Papakura, 1986⁵; Rangihau, 1975⁵; Red Horse, 1997²; Schwimmer, 1966⁵).

Summary of historical way of life

Overall, the picture of an Indigenous way of life offered children and young people a supportive and nurturing environment in which they were naturally imbued with the cultural values, beliefs and practices of their particular communities. The structures of these cultural communities were integrated into people's way of life on the land as well as being part of their values, beliefs and practices. These structures denoted the places of elders, leadership and the responsibilities that these people had in ensuring the core cultural values of the group were threaded into the processes of their way of life. These cultural communities helped to maintain interdependent and cohesive family groups that sustained their cultural values, beliefs and practices through their way of life. Together with this came the meaning, purpose and place of spiritual beliefs and practices, along with their role within their family and community, which were incorporated into a developing

worldview. This was the learning environment in which the children and young people were socialised, learned and developed their worldview. For each Indigenous group the arrival of Settlers altered the delicate balance of their way of life and introduced different socialising pathways as the young were exposed to a wider range of values and ways of living life.

Drivers of change to Māori way of life

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Settler activities drove changes within Māori society. The drivers of these changes can be seen from two perspectives: on one hand, for Māori there was a need to adapt to survive; from the Settler's point of view, the drivers for change were economic and political – they wanted their settlement to be successful. Māori were used to adapting to different situations and circumstances (Hiroa, 1949; Winiata, 1967) as over generations most iwi and hapu had relocated as their living situations changed. Some hapu were used to moving with the seasons for planting, fishing and hunting (King, 2003). But Settlers wanted land and the resources (King, 2003; Ward, 1974) that came with that land for trade and economic advancement. This drive for change brought about the development of institutions with accompanying infra-structure that allowed Settlers to achieve their goals. Māori, iwi, hapu and whanau were obliged to compromise and adapt to survive. As a consequence of this, the processes of Māori cultural socialisation and transmission from one generation to the next were changed.

The societal infra-structure that was introduced by Settlers included five institutions: political, economic, legal, education, and religious (Winiata, 1967). For the purposes of this research I am considering the impact of the institutions separately from the incidents of land wars and land confiscations both of which had marked effects on iwi, hapu and whanau – these effects were cumulative. This is an area of history to which I cannot do justice within this thesis, however, I wish to highlight the specific challenges that were created for Māori by the activities of each of the five institutions. The land confiscations contributed to huge upheaval for the Māori communities concerned, but as well as that, the five institutions continued this disorder with the sanction of the government – initially the Settler

government and then later the government of the Dominion. These institutions supported and enhanced Settler developments, but for many Māori people the development generated increasing disenchantment and resistance (Mahuta, 1978). Increasing resistance led iwi who had previously battled, to join forces to try and counter Settler developments (King, 2003; Mahuta, 1978; Ward, 1974; Winiata, 1967). A number of movements are covered in the literature, the protests coming from within these movements provided solidarity for Māori in the face of “denial of mana” (Winiata, 1967, p. 59) by Settlers through the introduced institutions.

In order to provide some background to the manner in which changes to the Māori way of life occurred during this period of our history, the next sections will present brief descriptions of each institution and focus upon the mechanisms related to the socialisation and transmission of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. Detail concerning each institution will cover some of the developments that led to changes in the structure and function of Māori society and the introduction of new values and ways of being (Winiata, 1967). These institutions encompassed some of the layers of colonising activities that Settlers undertook. Each of these layers increased Settler impact on Māori society and cultural practices, to the point that they became part of the way of life for Māori people.

Five Institutions

In describing the five institutions (political, economic, legal, education, and religious) the focus will be on the intended purpose for each with regard to the Māori population, and the layers of cumulative effects the activities of the institutions had upon the people and the structure and function of Māori communities. It is not my goal to give a detailed description of the history, but rather to provide an outline of the overall effects resulting from the activities undertaken. Each description is necessarily brief and aims to give examples of the types of actions taken and their effects.

Political Institution

In the early days the Political Institution is about the overall power and control wielded in the name of the British Crown and also the organisation that later

became the Government of Aotearoa New Zealand. It covers the political actions taken by Settlers and followed by Māori as they quickly learned how the activities of the political institution worked and became more astute in their own responses.

The political environment that Settlers created in the new British colony was bounded by two distinctly different worldviews. Settlers ensured effective colonial rule for the British Crown while embedding British values into the infra-structure of the emerging outpost. As a result the foundational values and rule by which the country was to develop and function were set. All other institutions adhered to the pattern of those values and rules. As part of these patterns, conventions for leadership were grounded in majority rules and this contrasted with the process of consensus decision making as observed by Māori.

Government policies drove developments for Settlers and changes for Māori. In response Māori iwi and hapū had to rapidly learn and adjust to the changing situation. Immigration was an important strategy for the new government (King, 2003) and this magnified the changes for Māori. At first accepting of the new arrivals, only belatedly did Māori realise these new arrivals threatened their way of life (King, 2003). Purchasing or obtaining of Māori for Settlers was another government policy to impact upon Māori. Land was needed for the new immigrants and as the extent of Māori land loss was realised, iwi and hapu started joining forces to regain some control of their respective communities (Winiata, 1967). Combined organisation such as the Kotahitanga and Runanga Movements, the Kingitanga and religious oriented group provided for a in which Māori could unify and resist Government actions.

By the early part of the twentieth century four Māori had become Members of Parliament (MPs) and were well placed to act in the interests of Māori. Each of these MPs had been raised within strong Māori communities and educated at Te Aute Māori boarding school. The Māori boarding schools had a strong focus on emulating Pākehā structures with the goal of improving Māori society (Cox, 1993). The benefit of being raised within a Māori community and education in a Pākehā

school ensured they were well equipped to manage the dynamic of both Māori and Pākehā arenas. Individually they were expected to mediate between Māori and Government, and quell the resistance, in particular, that of Kotahitanga, while also still meeting the needs of Pākehā (Butterworth & Young, 1990; Cox, 1993; King, 2003). As well as working to mediate land sales or leases between Māori and Pākehā, the Māori MPs were involved in activities striving for improvements in health and hygiene for Māori and later to develop Māori land through farming schemes (Butterworth & Young, 1990).

Effects – Political Institution

The impacts of the political institution led to changes for Māori that had flow-on effects. Over time these effects had a cumulative influence. It is possible to only highlight some key aspects of these effects. One of these relates to the influence on Māori leadership. Government authority displaced any power or right that had previously sat with the respective iwi and hapū chiefs or rangatira. As a consequence the mana, status and authority of Māori leaders was undermined disempowering iwi and hapu leadership and also the structure and function of each Māori community.

Another aspect of Government authority could be seen in the positive changes to community infra-structure with the introduction of housing and hygiene initiatives. These improvements provided an illustration of the power and status of those who worked in government, a contrast to the established iwi and hapu leadership. While this may not have been the intention of those Māori who worked for government such as the four Māori MPs, a subtle message of superiority of Pākehā ways would have been conveyed. This would have been matched by the negative perceptions of Māori housing and facilities available in Māori communities (King, 2003; Winiata, 1967).

Subtle double messages were also conveyed with the positions of the four Māori MPs. In the first instance, their positions in government supported the challenge to Māori leadership – that the government wielded power greater than the leadership

of iwi and hapū. Secondly, the Māori MPs were an illustration of success and achievement of Māori in the Pākehā world. However, these MPs had all benefitted from growing up in a Māori world, while also having the advantage of a Western education. Future generations would not necessarily have the benefit of growing up in strong Māori communities where Māori values and ways of life predominated. Success in the Pākehā world encouraged two of the Māori MPs (Pomare and Buck) to strongly promote a Pākehā way of life, while at the same time conveying a negative attitude towards some aspects of Māori life. Māori spiritual beliefs were seen to be “pernicious” (King, 2001, 2003), and the ways of the tohunga primordial, primitive and needing to be done away with (Cox, 1993). Pomare preferred the ‘new’ scientific views of life that supported the Pākehā view (Cox, 1993). The Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 was introduced to eliminate the spiritual aspects of Māori cultural life. This is only one example of legislative change that affected a Māori way of life.

Māori resistance to the increasing changes to Māori life continued to grow. The effect of being unheard, of feeling disempowered, of the loss of self-determination and having seemingly little effectiveness as individual iwi and hapu, all combined to motivate the different groups to overlook their prior rivalries and unite to preserve their way of life (Hill, 2004). Despite this pan-tribal approach iwi and hapu were not able to overcome the challenges from all sides of government action, that is, all of the five institutions that were driving change across the country.

Summary of Political Institution

The patterns and conventions of the Settler government conveyed their values and beliefs which challenged some Māori while others adapted, learned the new ways and joined with the government. Resistance to changes became the focus for many other Māori, and the combining of iwi and hapu who had previously been rivals provides a strong indication of the strength of that opposition. Despite the challenges of changes such as land loss, the qualitative improvements to life in areas of housing and hygiene benefitted families while also demonstrating the power of the Settler government. This duality of benefit and loss appears to have

undermined the leadership in Māori communities, while at the same time endorsing the superiority of Pākehā ways.

Economic Institution

The Economic Institution in Aotearoa New Zealand underpinned the activities of early Settlers and became a feature of the nation persisting to the present day. In establishing themselves in a new land Settlers had sought “the promise of prosperity and healthier environments, prospects of social advancement without the hurdles of a class system, and for investors, opportunities to enlarge capital” (King, 2003, p. 170). While Māori had been trading for some time, it was as a result of the Settlers that a monetary society became embedded within the structure of the new community of Aotearoa New Zealand and became a necessary part of the economic and political landscape. The advent of a money society altered the nature and importance of being part of a Māori community, with values shifting from relationships to money.

Before large scale settlement of the country some iwi had been involved in contact and trade with whalers, sealers and other European traders who frequented the coastline settlements. Because of this contact and trade Māori obtained access to new technology such as tools, plants, or boats, and new ways of living (King, 2003). A few Māori were also employed on boats that came into the coastal ports and then travelled to other countries. Some of the contact and experiences were not positive; some Māori sailors were treated with violence and disdain (O’Malley, 2012). O’Malley also points out that some Māori had little interest in the monetary value gained from trading, preferring instead items not generally easily obtained, such as muskets and axes. Māori were entrepreneurial and took on commercial enterprise early after European settlement. Some iwi were exporting goods such as flax to Australia from the 1820s, while others were trading in produce to larger towns and settlements (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; King, 2003). Some of these enterprises were curtailed when the lands upon which they had been built were taken by force.

In the mid-1800s the Government wanted to develop infra-structure; construction of roads, railways, bridges and telegraph commenced (King, 2003) and to achieve this embarked upon a policy of immigration. The purpose of this immigration policy was to have a labour force of men to undertake the construction of the infra-structure projects, and to ensure there were enough women to maintain the balance of the growing population. This action boosted the population of the country by 100,000 in the nine years between 1871 and 1880 (King, 2003). Unfortunately, diseases brought into the country by immigrants left Māori susceptible to infections to which they had no immunity and as a consequence the Māori population declined (King, 2003). Increased demand for the purchase of Māori owned land also occurred as a result of the increase in immigration. The processes by which land sales were managed is covered in more detail under the Legal Institution section which follows.

The arrival of the British brought not only the mechanisms of the colonising government but also large trading companies looking to invest, expand and make money. This again increased demand for land and resources for labour-intensive farming, timber and tourism industries with the associated infrastructure required to service the expanding enterprises. Pākehā increasingly moved into smaller rural areas, in particular to develop farming enterprises which impacted upon Māori and resulted in increased contact between the two groups (King, 2003).

From the 1930s onwards, growing industry was creating jobs and new opportunities on a larger scale than previously. This growth led to opportunities through which Māori could earn a living. Demand for unskilled labourers in labour intensive industries occurred mainly in urban centres which required individuals and families to relocate from more rural areas for employment. Adjustment of Māori families to new living conditions and expectations in urban settings was difficult for some. Participation in the monetary society whereby income had to be matched with expenses and costs was not always well managed (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998). Stress and anxiety were experienced by families as the new living situations were devoid of the type of support and guidance from whanau to which families had been

accustomed (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998). Access to the bright lights, alcohol and gambling in towns and cities provided short-term relief from the anxiety and stress, but also led to damaged relationships and other difficulties (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998).

The nature of the collective style of living and working that had been central to a whanau, hapu way of life was markedly altered by the new requirements of a money society (Moon, 2003; Rangihau, 1975; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949; Winiata, 1967). A clear example given by Winiata (1967) described the differences a family could experience by farming their own land under Apirana Ngata's Land Development Scheme. He used an example where land had previously been leased to Pākehā farmers for a small rental but as a result of the development scheme Māori owners were able to farm the land themselves.

The increased standard of living which resulted gave them prestige with their neighbours, and with the European. Many left the communal villages to live in nuclear family homes on their farms, equipped with all the amenities that gave modern comforts. The children were sent to school better clothed and better fed, and altogether there was a new outlook on life, a new conception of themselves as Maoris, and a new appreciation of the European and his institutions (p. 155).

So while the monetary society raised the quality of life for Māori, there were trade-offs or costs which affected the core aspects of a Māori way of life. Prestige was gained in terms of Pākehā measures, housing, amenities and modern comforts, in place of traditional markers of Māori community such as the practice of manaakitanga, skill at whaikorero or other roles and participation within Māori cultural community and activities.

Effects – Economic Institution

A number of effects of the Economic Institution were evident, creating different ways of thinking about and being in the world of Māori communities, some of which directly contradicted Māori values, beliefs and practices. Some of the effects were direct, impacting on the well-being of the people, other effects were more indirect, as they challenged underlying cultural values and beliefs, which in turn adversely impacted on those cultural practices.

Two examples of the direct adverse effects of the Economic Institution were the high mortality rate from introduced diseases and changes to the style of trade. Diseases, to which Māori had no immunity, were introduced by immigrants, leading to increased Māori mortality (King, 2003). Māori methods of dealing with illness were not effective and this must have created doubts and uncertainties among Māori. Support was sought by some from the new Christian churches (see Religious Institution) when Māori karakia and cultural practices had no effect on the sick (King, 2003; Winiata, 1967).

Changes in the style of trade shifted from bartering for goods to the exchange of money for goods. This indicated a change in value towards material goods as a basis for the newly burgeoning capitalist society. Valuing material goods continued to grow with the increasing emphasis upon Māori engaging in paid employment and they relocated to urban areas. The change in values created challenges for some Māori: moving to urban centres for employment created geographic distance from their support networks; many had to learn about money management, as well as managing relationships outside of their whanau and hapu communities (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998).

Some indirect effects of the Economic Institution related to collective function of the community and Māori cultural practices. As mentioned above, some hapu communities had successfully utilised trade for their benefit, although the success of this varied across and within districts (Ward, 1974). In some instances whole communities were able to take advantage or gain from their involvement in trade (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

As Pākehā goods, dress, and ways of living became more available to Māori, their living conditions improved and this led to a way of life that was more sought after (King, 2003). Winiata (1967) stated that acquisition of housing and modern commodities raised the status of and gave “prestige” to those families who were able to attain them. This shift in status would have impacted upon the nature of

the hierarchy, structure and relationships that had held those communities of whanau and hapu together for generations. The aspirations and values of the people in those communities would have changed. Previously maintenance of the place and function of relationships, roles, positions, and responsibilities for the community would have provided aspirations. The change of values resulted instead in families aspirations to acquire the material goods that other families had.

The two sets of values – valuing collective relationships and responsibilities, and those valuing materialism, created tensions. These types of tensions in values would likely cause discomfort that would need to be managed and dealt with. Winiata (1967) highlighted criticisms that predicted a negative impact on the Māori collective way of life. However, he also identified that the availability of money could assist with the upkeep of marae, while also increasing the Māori standard of living. But with the change in values and greater emphasis on Māori obtaining paid employment, and all that encompassed, there has been little understanding in the nature of the values and beliefs that have socialised and transmitted to following generations. Relocation to urban centres for employment suggested access for Māori to potential advantages and benefits. However, because few Māori possessed academic qualifications or training, employment was found in low paid jobs. It has been these areas of employment that have been most affected during times of recession and with shifts to automation (King, 2003) resulting in Māori unemployment. This meant that relocation had for many Māori not only reduced their level of support and active participation in their home communities, but also meant no work. Māori communities in rural areas were also depleted of people with the relocations to urban areas.

The changed emphasis in values has also resulted in other shifts in Māori cultural practices. Contributing koha when visiting whanau in their homes and how this is practiced has changed over time. In the past, collecting kai, or cooking or baking kai to take when visiting people in their homes was a usual practice. However, over time this has changed to visiting a shop or supermarket to buy a packet of biscuits, or some other type of food, to take instead (personal communication, Kaumatua,

17 May, 2012). When attending tangi the type of koha to be given altered from contributing food to giving money. This was presumably because people became too busy with their employment to go and collect kai, and the time for attending a tangi had to be fitted around working hours. There were two other changes to this situation: the first being that some individuals attended tangi alone or in small groups rather than as larger hapu and whanau groups. The second change related to a change in rules about arriving at a tangi after dark to allow those in employment to attend after finishing work for the day.

Summary of Economic Institution

The introduction of a monetary society brought about considerable changes to Māori communities and created tensions in values for Māori. Māori gradually adapted to the expectations of living in a materialistic society but this also resulted in changes to Māori cultural practices. Employment to sustain family life increased in importance and this competed with the importance of maintaining relationships through active participation in Māori cultural activities. These types of dilemmas were likely to create discomfort and worry for some Māori people, and addressing this would have been difficult, resulting in changes to cultural practices.

Legal Institution

The Legal Institution covered all legal rules that were put in place from the early Settler government onward and which were naturally based on the foundational values and rules of imperial British rule. The most influential aspect of the legal institution, which will be the focus of this description, is the acquisition of Māori land through sales or confiscation, by fair means and foul.

The Native Land Court was set up and operated in Aotearoa New Zealand between 1864 and 1909 to facilitate land sale to Settlers. Described as the land-taking court (Williams, 1999) it effected the substitution of customary collective title of Māori land to that of individual ownership. This scheme required an administrative process in which shares in multiply-held land were allocated to listed 'owners'. Native Court administrators allocating shares used patterns of tribal position and seniority to decide upon the number of land shares per person (Butterworth &

Young, 1980). People considered to be of higher rank within iwi and hapū were allocated more shares than “those of lower rank” (Hiroa, 1949/1987, p. 383). This administrative process shifted the stratification within Māori society from a perceived ranking based on whakapapa, birth, hierarchy, order of birth, seniority within family and whanau, to a societal stratification of a material nature. It was a material good that became possible to use for financial gain. As a consequence this process created disadvantage for those people who were considered to be of ‘lower rank’ within Māori society, while giving advantage to others. The families who received greater numbers of shares in land were given more say in decision making about the land – decisions by vote were based upon numbers of shares, as well as advantage if those shares were to be sold.

Further changes were made to land legislation with the introduction of the Native Land and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1920 (King, 2003). This Act allowed the government to shift focus from Māori land sales to Māori land development. This shift in thinking was to enable Māori to live and work on their own land. An administration process of land share consolidation needed to combine shares from different blocks of land into one block. Despite some whanau losing some land of ancestral significance (Ballara, 1998; Butterworth & Young, 1980) the consolidation process was viewed as positive. Land blocks that could be farmed by some family groups allowed them opportunities to become economically viable. However, there appears to have been no consideration given in the literature to the individuals, family groups and whanau who received no advantage from this scheme. It is perhaps an area that still needs to be examined. Much Māori land was leased to Pākehā farmers for minimal rentals and the Māori ‘owners’ received dividend payments. Lease arrangements were seen as beneficial by Pākehā so Māori land was not left to remain ‘unproductive’ (Ward, 1974; Williams, 1999). This terminology reflects the differences in worldviews: Settlers wanted to utilise the land and create economic advantage, whereas Māori had used the resources of the land, for example, by planting, gathering and hunting, as well as valuing the intangible aspects of the historic and ancestral values the land held for them. The land development scheme where farming enterprises were developed for a few

Māori families to operate aimed to shift the thinking away from subsistence living to participating in the new monetary economy of the country.

Effects – Legal Institution

Three effects of the Legal institution relating to land are highlighted here but there are likely to be others. These effects impacted upon the structure of Māori communities, presented competing values, disrupted cultural function, and damaged family relationships.

Individualised shares: Creating individual share allocations based upon rank and seniority and share consolidation created inequity. Hierarchical structures based on birth or whakapapa provided Māori knowledge of their place and role within their whanau, hapu and/or iwi. Seniority based on birth order and placing within a family had its purposes and functioned as it was supposed to, to retain order. Children and young people were raised knowing and understanding their place within their family, whanau and hapu community structure. Even if a person was born of parents and grandparents of more lowly rank, if that person strived to learn, achieve and succeed in a particular area of skill they could improve how they were viewed within their hapu and iwi. Using this ranking to divide up land as a material possession solidified stratifications within the Maori community and made these concrete to fit in with the class-like structure of Pākehā society. Earning mana was no longer based upon birthright, and a person's ability to be worthy of the status of someone of rank, the size of land shares had become an indicator of a person's position within the Māori community, no matter the nature of the person's ability within that position.

Individualisation of land ownership through share allocation also altered the perception of how land was valued. A monetary value was created through having individualised shares in the land and this together with leasing and selling of land blocks shifted where the importance of land lay for Māori. No longer was land the repository of ancestral history, for which Māori people were the kaitiaki or caretakers whose role it was to use and care for the land in the interests of future generations, land now had monetary value which could be converted to material

purposes and worth. The shifts in value may appear to be subtle but had an influence on group function as the notion of working the land for the subsistence of Māori was eschewed for monetary gain.

Conflict: Previously for Māori, conflict over land was battled at an iwi level, however, with individualised land shares, conflict could occur at a personal or family level. In some instances, land shares were sold or traded by those who either had not been entitled to the shares or who had no right to sell and gain financially from the shares (Ballara, 1998). Resolution of such disputes was difficult because they were no longer issues of the hapu collective group, but had instead become part of family group and, sometimes, whanau function. Consequently, this was and still can be a challenging situation for many family and whanau groups. Succession to land shares has also caused conflicts in some families as the shares have become smaller with successive generations: land use has changed and benefits from shares have not been seen as being equitable as expected. Instead of the land providing the mechanism for maintaining cohesiveness among iwi, hapu and whanau, it now had a monetary value which led to unresolved conflicts and divided families.

Loss of land: Multi-faceted effects of land loss were experienced by whanau, hapu and iwi. Land losses affected the structures and processes of Māori community and would have included effects on their home base, villages, marae and significant cultural sites. These losses would have created feelings of instability that affected patterns of daily life. Upon the loss of their land some iwi and hapu relocated themselves as a group to other more isolated areas in order to give themselves time and space to regroup and consider their future path (King, 2003; Ward, 1974). Land loss disrupted how people understood their connection to whakapapa, their life stories and history of their iwi, hapu and whanau. Their interactions with the land were also diminished in their daily lives. As a result, other activities filled in those gaps, shifting the meaning and values that had been attached to the land.

Summary of Legal Institution

The use of the Legal Institution to alienate Māori people from their land is one example of colonising activity. Land loss and changes to land tenure altered the structure of many Māori communities as well as prompting changes to the meaning and function of Māori cultural ways in relation to land. Land always was, and still is, very important culturally to Māori, but altering the basis upon which land was valued, profoundly changed the meaning, importance, and purpose of land. These changes destabilised the processes of the maintenance of community structure, and disrupted the way people maintained their connection to the land and the history of their ancestors and significant sites. All the features that were culturally valued and fundamental to the socialisation of cultural knowledge and ways were changed to a having monetary value. This situation has set up a duality, where the created reality of monetary value exists, but is at odds with the implicit and historic meaning and value of land that has been retained by some, in knowledge, stories, place and whakapapa. The messages of cultural learning create inconsistencies which could lead to uncertainties, weakening the strength of that cultural knowledge. When weakened cultural knowledge is combined with a damaged community structure and disrupted cultural processes over generations, it suggests that these inconsistencies have likely been passed down intergenerationally, and have continued to weaken the structure of Māori community and the cultural function of Māori.

Education Institution

The Education Institution commenced with the earliest mission schools that were set up to civilise young Māori. Along with religious teaching, the schools aimed to introduce Māori children to European ways of behaving, thinking and being (Penetito, 2010; Sissons, 2005). Education for the children of Settlers was provided by provincial board-controlled schools, while schooling for Māori was continued by the Department of Education by the establishment of Native schools in 1867 (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Sissons (2005) stated that schooling for Māori aimed to “transform tribally distinct peoples into a homogenous class of English-speaking labourers and tradesmen” (p. 86).

Māori communities were required by the Department of Education to formally request that a Native school be established within their community. Each community had to play an

active role in building and running a Native school (Sissons, 2005) which kept costs low for the Department of Education, but more importantly, obtained the necessary commitment by the community. Sissons (2005) viewed this as Māori “becoming willing participants in their own assimilation” (p. 97), or in Penetito’s (2010) words, “subjugation” (p. 51). Māori parents encouraged their children and grandchildren to be educated so they could learn “Pākehā ways” (Kaa, 1998, p. 106; Smiler, 1998, p. 70). Schooling within the Native schools focused on training boys to be good farmers and girls to be good farmers’ wives (King, 2003). To this end, teaching focused on healthy, hygiene and manual dexterity. English was the primary language used for teaching with the aim of encouraging its use (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Penetito, 2010; Sissons, 2005) and to counter the use of te reo Māori. This action was presumably to also more effectively breakdown those connections to a tribal identity among Māori students. As part of this strategy Māori language use was banned in schools in the early 1900s and this ban continued to the 1950s. Some individuals reported being punished for speaking Māori at school (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Making schooling compulsory also countered the practice of Māori parents keeping their children out of school to participate in community and cultural events (Sissons, 2005). The consequence of this decision reinforced the strategy to separate Māori children from a Māori cultural way of life.

In their (1999) book, *Culture Counts: changing power relations in education*, Bishop and Glynn presented their rationale for Māori young people continuing a path of under achievement in the education system. They found that not only had the Education Institution been successful in separating young Māori from their cultural way of life, a number of other factors played a contributing role in continuing to limit expectations for Māori students. These included: the content of the teaching curriculum, individual teacher aspirations for young Māori, non-acknowledgement of value transmission in the teaching process, and a mismatch between the worldviews of teachers and students. Bishop and Glynn also identified that Māori students may have difficulty relating to values of “individual competition, individual achievement, and self-discipline” (p. 36), values to which they felt Pākehā children could more easily relate.

Bishop and Glynn (1999) believed that there were other aspects of education that undermined Māori cultural beliefs:

The education system promoted self development and individual betterment through the mastery of abstract concepts presented in written texts that were alien to New Zealand. These values stood in sharp contrast to the experiences of many Māori children who had been socialised into family, community and peer groups where both group competition and cooperation were dominant, where the complementary nature of abstract and concrete thought, physical and social achievements, and religion and culture were emphasised. Socialisation of Māori children emphasised the interdependence of the group and the individual (p. 36).

Penetito (2010) proposed a type of measure to ascertain whether education was successful for young Māori:

People feel good about an education if it satisfies at least two basic criteria: firstly, if it holds up a mirror to them and they can see themselves growing and developing in a way that is meaningful for them: and secondly, if it helps them to project themselves into the immediate world around them as well as into the world at large (p. 35).

However, with the distancing of so many generations of Māori from a Maori environment what does a young Māori person see when looking into a schooling socialising mirror? In what ways are home and school alike or different after so many generations of drastic change in Māori society?

Effects – Education institution

Schooling for Māori set up a duality which in many respects posed a dilemma for Māori families. Many Māori parents would have understood that educating their children offered the possible advantages of achievement and advancement within the Pākehā world. But on the other side of the socialising equation, the individual values of competition and rivalry conflicted with the nature of cooperation and collaboration which were valued and expected within Māori home environments. The content of the school curriculum also did not reflect the world in which Māori children lived and found meaning. As a result of these discrepant factors, the schooling experiences of the early generations of Māori were probably difficult. Over time, and as a reflection of socialisation and the mechanism of transmission of cultural ways from parents to children, it is possible that the effects of parents' schooling experiences influenced how they raised their children and prepared them for school. Parents who had experienced the banning of te reo Māori and who were physically punished for speaking it, could have influenced the attitudes that their children took into their own schooling experiences (Castellano, 2008).

The goal of the Education Institution was to confine Māori aspirations to a limited scope of possible areas of employment and this appears to have largely succeeded with generally low rates of academic achievement for Māori. As noted, the content of the teaching curriculum had a focus on knowledge, images and concepts that young Māori may not have related to easily. What was taught at school would have contrasted markedly with their family life and would have created tensions for the children (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) affecting their schooling experience. Teacher-student interaction was another area of contention in the schooling arena that focused upon how teachers related to Māori students. Some have reported negative experiences during their schooling (Nehua, 1998; Te Awakotuku, 1998) in which negative notions of Māori inferiority and deficient cultural background have been highlighted, creating difficulties for Māori students (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). How have these negative experiences influenced the way younger generations have viewed or valued schooling? Why or how did some Māori succeed in education? Why is there such a difference in outcome? Did schooling make children more compliant? Did home life reflect the views conveyed within the schooling system?

Summary of Education Institution

Overall, the Education Institution effectively separated young Māori from their cultural way of life and compounded the effects of other institutions that effected a breakdown of Māori community and Māori cultural function. Promoting a Pākehā way of life while ignoring and/or denigrating a Māori way of life in the schooling system tapped into the core of destabilising the structures and processes of Māori cultural society and, in particular, cultural socialisation and transmission. But despite the force of this destabilising process and though some Māori children did not succeed in their schooling experience, others did achieve and succeed well. The reasons for this are most likely to be the same as they were for those early Members of Parliament, Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir James Carroll, Maui Pomare and Sir Peter (Te Rangi Hiroa) Buck: they had been raised within a strong Māori community and had retained the cultural values, meaning and relevance in their lives.

Religious Institution

The arrival of missionaries around 1814 marked the commencement of Christian evangelising (King, 2003) and was also the start of the Religious Institution within Aotearoa New Zealand. This institution has always comprised different religious groups (King, 2003), however, the purpose and effect were the same – to influence, change or eliminate aspects of the historic Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices that made up a Māori way of life.

Early missionaries aimed to civilise Māori and this began with the introduction of horticulture, agriculture and trade; also they taught Māori about European manners and morals, as well as Christianity (King, 2003). Initially, conversion of Māori to the Christian beliefs was slow but missionaries used a variety of ways to encourage the uptake of the new beliefs and these included: missionaries learned te reo Māori and began preaching in Māori; a copy of the New Testament in te reo Māori was produced in the 1830s; and the position of some chiefs was used to influence, reward and reinforce conversions to Christianity with material goods (Ward, 1974; Winiata, 1967).

Conversion to Christianity came at a price for Māori with requirements that affected the structure and function of Māori communities. Members of the respective church groups required changes of the treatment of slaves, rivals or those who had breached cultural rules (Ward, 1974). Altering these practices went to the core of social control in these communities and impacted how the chief was viewed. This subtly altered the function of the community structure for these groups (Winiata, 1967). Practices were also affected by the demands of missionaries. Revering spirits of tipuna, ancestors within whakairo, carvings and pou, flag poles or totems was banned by missionaries in some areas. Some where tipuna, meeting houses have no carvings to fulfil that component of acknowledging those in the spirit realm.

In light of the opposing demands of Māori by missionaries, understanding the motivation to convert to Christianity, lies in the complex and dynamic situations of

that time. Many negative experiences must have left many Māori feeling powerless. For example: experiencing a marked increase in human losses in battles or feuds following the introduction and use of muskets; the high mortality rate from introduced diseases; and the continued loss of land and social disruption that occurred with the arrival of more Settlers (Winiata, 1967). Observing Christian ways was regarded by some Māori as a solution to their problems, which were identified as population decline, social disturbance and comparative material want (Ward, 1974). Even though Māori did convert to Christianity, many continued to hold onto their own beliefs and practices, adjusting to functioning with both sets of ways of being (King, 2003).

As a direct response to the activities of the Settlers there was also the development of Māori religious or protest groups, for example, the Paimarire, also known as the Hauhau movement (King, 2001; Ward, 1974; Winiata, 1967), and the Ringatu or Iharaia movement (King, 2001; Winiata, 1967). These movements were created by dynamic and charismatic leaders as counters to the chaos and uncertainty that had been left by the disintegration of Māori communities (Winiata, 1967). They can also be seen as protest movements in response to the actions of Settlers, however, this seemed to apply more to the Hauhau movement than the Ringatu Church. As groups they provided a structure, routines and rituals, and rules and processes by which Maori lived their daily lives (King, 2001; Tarei, 1978; Ward, 1974; Winiata, 1967).

In the early years of settlement a pattern was set of Māori altering their way of life in order to survive difficult and changing circumstances (Winiata, 1967). Over time representatives from other religious institutions arrived offering their particular set of beliefs which were taken up by Māori at differing rates. Arguably, the pattern continues today.

Effects – Religious Institution

The effects of the Religious Institution need to be considered in relation to the wider social and historical context given the activities of the driver institutions and

their effect on changing Māori society and functions. Many Māori people adopted Christian practices because they were in search of solutions to issues that were current and inexplicable to them. Maintaining their own belief systems and ways of being while also practicing Christianity may have slowed the rate of loss at which Māori belief in Atua and observation of relevant protocols and use of karakia were practiced, however, in combination with the effects of the other institutions for many this did occur and these beliefs were lost. The effect of the loss or weakening of belief in Atua and their role in keeping all aspects of Māori community together (Patterson, 2000) had flow-on effects. Loss of belief in Atua inherently affected beliefs held within the narrative of creation stories and all of the meaning that these give to the value of whanau, the role of seniority, the highlighting of virtues modelled in the stories to which younger people could aspire, through to the kinship community or collective to which Māori belonged. Relationships to place involving land, waterways, flora and fauna were also closely linked with the belief in Atua and the observation of protocols and interaction with each of these. Following the pathway set out by their ancestors lays the foundation for the concept of 'tika', Māori ethics, and these guide tikanga (Perrett & Patterson, 1991). Thus loss of belief in Atua had a marked impact on how individuals, family groups, whanau and hapu community functioned.

The non-practice of the relevant protocols involved with the belief in Atua in the lives of Māori that gradually increased after the introduction of Christianity, would mean that more young people would not have been raised to practice these beliefs. Some may have come to know about Atua while not observing or practicing the protocols, while others may not have known about them. Where denigration of a Māori way of life had occurred together with loss of land, relocation and punishment for speaking Māori at school, it is likely the effect was that some Māori did not want to know about Atua or the practices associated with them.

Summary of Religious Institution

The beliefs of the Religious Institution tapped into the spiritual aspects of Māori cultural beliefs and values, and provided support for some Māori during times of

difficulty. This added another dimension to the duality of beliefs that arose within the other institutions. Some Māori took on the Christian beliefs of the Religious Institution while also maintaining their own Māori spiritual beliefs. The tension between the two sets of beliefs, in combination with the effects of the other institutions, seems to have increasingly created an environment in which it was permissible to shift from one set of beliefs to the others. With regard to the Religious Institution, the shift ultimately weakened the strength of Māori community structure because the structure was built upon historical beliefs grounded in the spiritual realm of Atua, tūpuna or ancestors, and other worldly beings such as patupaiarehe, or fairies or nymphs.

The colonising processes which the five institutions introduced, presented other beliefs and ways of being, of which the Religious Institution was one. However, together these beliefs appear to have had the effect of making it permissible to take on these other wider beliefs, or to put it another way, they helped to lessen the importance of maintaining Māori cultural beliefs.

Summary of change to Māori way of life

Colonising activities brought about through the drivers of change appeared to have a dual impetus, one that weakened the structure of Māori community, while the second altered the content and value of Māori cultural beliefs which in turn altered Māori cultural function. In effect the Māori structures and processes that contributed to a Māori worldview were changed. Each of the five institutions applied layers of different values, ways of thinking, and behaving where the emphasis was upon the preferred Pākehā way of being instead of a Māori way of being. Over generations these changes were transmitted not only by the continued actions of the wider society, but through socialisation within family; they were transmitted within family. This was most evident with schooling.

The degree to which weakening of the structure of Māori society had occurred was indicated by the extent to which Māori family socialisation through non-Māori values, beliefs and practices was impacted. The breaking down of the adherence to

Māori cultural beliefs grounded in the historic spiritual domain, meant that the features of the Māori way of life that held the meaning and value of Māori beliefs became less effective within family groups, whanau and Māori community. This in turn affected patterns of Māori cultural socialisation as families and individuals interacted more with non-Māori community and participation within Māori community lessened. All of the core socialising mechanisms that rewarded and reinforced the maintenance of socialisation had been grounded not only within the family group but also within the relationships and interactions of the community and these had been fundamentally changed. No longer did most Māori live upon their land, most had relocated to urban centres for employment and to earn money. Money altered the nature of relationships as its value was integrally tied to making a living, sustaining family and accumulating material goods. These values and practices become part of family socialisation patterns. Overall, the nurturing communities that had sustained Māori people for many generations had been fundamentally altered, and there was an increasing emphasis on taking on the values of non-Māori.

However, some families remained within their own cultural communities and some had retained sufficient land to enable them to remain within their own rohe. For these families the connections and patterns of cultural socialisation were better maintained with continued participation. These different avenues highlight some of the different life realities and life pathways for different Māori families, whanau. Given what had been lost for many Māori families, whanau and hapu, increasing initiatives and developments occurred to recapture some of those losses. These developments became known as the Māori renaissance and cultural and te reo Māori revitalisation.

Reactions and Responses to drivers of change

While resistance to the continued infiltration and disruption to what had been an historic way of life for Māori groups persisted, institutional changes to that way of life were maintained. Resistance to Pākehā ways was driven in a number of ways from the Kotahitanga movement, religious movements, and by the more recent protest movements of Nga Tamatoa and the Waitangi Action Committee (Walker, 1990). A pattern of some Māori groups calling for the maintenance of Māori ways, Māori values, Māori beliefs and an overall sustaining of a Māori way of life had been established; Māori as a people had not died out as predicted (Schwimmer, 1966), and what has been called a Māori renaissance was brought about (King, 2003).

Over the last forty years a number of initiatives and developments have occurred in which aspects of being Māori and the Māori way of life have been promoted, encouraged, endorsed, and validated. It seems unthinkable that in Aotearoa New Zealand, their country, Māori have had to act so determinedly to maintain their own cultural heritage. The effects of these initiatives and developments have together countered some of the damaging and unhelpful impacts of five institutions that drove the changes to a Māori way of life and altered the life pathways that Māori people could follow.

These initiatives have been grouped into sections with a brief description about the intent of the activities to redress the impacts on the Māori way of life. The list of initiatives is not exhaustive, but is an illustrative of how Māori have reacted and responded to Māori cultural community changes.

Te Reo Maori

The use of te reo Māori, the spoken Māori language had diminished due to the predominance of the Pākehā ways promoted through the five institutions. Māori language revitalisation was seen as being key to retaining Māori cultural ways, that is, if people spoke Māori they would know about and follow cultural values, beliefs and practices. Te reo Māori was made an official language of Aotearoa New

Zealand in 1987 and this has helped to support and sustain Māori language initiatives. The creation of Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission facilitates the oversight, development and promotion of te reo Māori. Māori radio and Māori television have a role to play in promoting te reo Māori and encouraging greater levels of learning and use of te reo. While the use of te reo Māori has increased, there have been recent opinions stating that it is a dying language (Penetito, 2010).

Education

Education has been seen as a crucial avenue for Māori development. A number of education initiatives have been developed since early in the 1980s. Kohanga Reo, Māori language nests for pre-school children and their families were established in 1981, aimed to revive te reo Māori. The first Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori centred primary school, was established in 1985, and aimed to continue children's learning in te reo Māori. Kohanga and Kura Kaupapa also had a goal to improve overall educational achievement for young Māori. Māori tertiary education institutions, Whare Wananga - Awanuiarangi; Raukawa; Aotearoa and Māori private training establishments offer a range of education programmes and courses for adults, including te reo Māori, with the aim of improving educational outcomes for Māori. Many of these educational institutions combine education with the promotion of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices.

Social and Health Service Industry

Government restructuring and decentralisation of government services in the early 1990s (Stephens, 2008) lead to a growth in the number of iwi social and health service organisations. This development occurred primarily in response to the recognition of the place of the Treaty of Waitangi in addressing the needs of Māori. An offshoot of this development was the growth of Māori training programmes to increase the numbers and capability of Māori health workers.

Political

Continued involvement in the political arena has led to increased participation by Māori leading to a Māori political party and more Māori parliamentarians. The Māori electoral roll allows people of Māori descent the choice of registering to vote

in the Māori electoral regions. Settlement of Waitangi claims has also contributed to greater political participation as iwi and hapu have had to lobby, negotiate, and compromise with seasoned politicians. The Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kokiri has maintained a presence for Māori within the government sector.

Māori Media

The scope of Māori media has increased: Māori television; Māori magazines, for example, Tu Mai and Mana magazines; a Māori publisher, Huia Publishers; and Māori radio stations have been set up across the country. This broader exposure has presented an increased and positive profile of Māori to the general public and has been able to present Māori-centred perspectives and attitudes.

Performing Arts

Over many years Māori have been involved in performing arts: Māori theatre, films, and the television and music industries have developed. The respective aspects of the performing arts provide a forum in which Māori perspectives can be aired, issues presented, and a Māori worldview portrayed. All of this contributes to a positive and vibrant Maori performing arts profile.

Māori Cultural Arts

Māori cultural arts offer a forum for the expression of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. The cultural arts include kapa haka; Māori carving – focusing on Māori traditional carving skills; there are Māori artists – for example, traditional weavers, painters, sculptors, mixed media artists; and fashion and graphic design artists. Māori cultural arts have continued to build on older life ways and retained knowledge and skills in the respective areas. These arts have also incorporated te reo me nga tikanga.

Sports

Sporting activities have played a large part in Māori life and many Māori sporting heroes have been used to promote healthy lifestyles. Waka ama as a sporting activity builds on older life ways and knowledge about the use of waka. This activity also incorporates te reo me nga tikanga. Some iwi areas run sporting events to promote healthy lifestyles and create an opportunity to develop collectivity for hapu and whanau.

Business

Māori owned and operated businesses have increasingly developed over time and operate across a number of different sectors, for example, tourism, farming, hydro power generation and horticulture. Some of these businesses have developed directly as a result of iwi and hapu Waitangi settlements, with others driven by Māori entrepreneurs. Some of these enterprises are extensive and have contributed to building economic standing for their iwi.

Summary

Combined together, the effects of the initiatives and developments have shifted the focus for Māori as a whole from surviving the colonising activities to becoming part of the global society. And yet, it is obvious that despite some change for Māori there still exists a need for some Māori made evident by the necessity for remedial programmes.

In all of these developments there is an implication that all Māori have been able to access the same types of power and resources as the people who have been instrumental in bringing about business and social advancements. However, there are still many Māori who are in need of assistance through programmes like the remedial programmes available for young people. The consistently high rates at which Māori people are identified in negative statistics is another primary indicator that power and resources are not universally available to all Māori people.

The focus must then be on the nature of the differences between those who can access power and resources and those who cannot. To help determine the fairness or injustice of this situation it is necessary to explore the historical reasoning that could have led to this situation (Charmaz, 2005). Could it be that these differences began during colonising activities such as the individualising of land shares and consolidation of those shares into blocks of land where some people of rank were allocated more than others? Could differences have commenced when some families were able to access education while others could not? Could the differences be related to the fact that some families, whanau, hapu and iwi lost their land through mass land confiscations by the Government of the time and

while some whanau and hapu were able to remain connected some were lost to their collective groups? Could it have been through the introduction of new ways of living in a monetary society and competing values that favoured some but not others through education and employment? This wide range of possibilities paints a very complex picture, but the diverse realities of privilege and disadvantage among Māori as a whole are just that, very complex. Within this range of possible contributors to the diverse realities for Māori, there are also some intricate psychological aspects which must be considered. The processes of colonising activities have disrupted Māori family and Māori community structures and this has shattered cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission.

Chapter 4 - Cultural socialisation and cultural identification.

Overview

This chapter covers a range of factors set out in the literature that relate to cultural socialisation and cultural identification. Historically, psychological scholarship has developed within North America which has meant that psychology as a discipline has developed norms based upon American cultural values and way of life (Pickren, 2009). Over time increasing recognition of the need to examine cultural differences has been acknowledged. Much of this work has been undertaken through cross-cultural research in order to try and establish universal measures of 'culture' (Greenfield, 2000). However, developments in psychological scholarship have shifted from considering variables as antecedents, to thinking of 'culture' as a process (Greenfield, 1997). Within these developments, consideration of cultural aspects in relation to Indigenous people has been influenced by research that has not always taken the historical context into consideration (Davidson, Sanson, & Gridley, 2000; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). As a result Indigenous people and their cultural ways have been viewed as deficient, limited and/or deviant (Davidson, Sanson, & Gridley, 2000; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). Cultural meaning to a particular Indigenous group has not always been considered (Greenfield, 1997; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009), as research has been conducted "on" them, rather than by them or with them (Dudgeon & Pickett, 2000; McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). As a consequence of these shifts in thinking about the inclusion of 'culture' in psychological research, and the way in which research "on" Indigenous groups has been conducted, the literature review for this thesis has taken a wider view. I have had to scan the literature to find the areas that best relate to the historical and cultural context for Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand. The following points aim to clarify this explanation.

Points of clarification

There are two areas that require clarification. The first relates to the shifts in thinking in psychology and how this thinking relates to this topic – cultural socialisation and transmission and how these shifts contribute to the development of cultural identification. Psychology developed largely within middle-class

European North American society (Super & Harkness, 1994) and as such was grounded within Euro-American middle-class values (Lonner & Malpass, 1994; Pickren, 2009). Many psychological concepts, terms and theories that were developed within this cultural context aimed “to help explain, predict and (maybe) control human behaviour” (Lonner & Malpass, 1994, p.2) through universal application. This approach did not consider cultural or historical context (Dudgeon & Pickett, 2000) and as a consequence was not entirely appropriate for people living in cultures and contexts in other parts of the world. Lonner and Malpass termed this approach to be culture-bound and culture-blind. Dudgeon and Pickett (2000) term the “acontextual image of humanity” as assimilationist. Indigenising of psychology is a development in which diversity of cultural contexts and ways of life will increasingly be incorporated into psychology scholarship. However, there has been some criticism about the lack of inclusion of the perspectives of people of Indigenous groups within the indigenisation of psychology (Bhatia, 2010).

Psychological scholarship that examines culture has developed from an ahistorical and decontextualized base (Okazaki, David, & Abelmann, 2008) and has not been incorporated or integrated into areas of work undertaken within psychology (Reyes Cruz, & Sonn, 2011). Okazaki et al., (2008) paid particular attention to the impacts and legacies of colonialism and the impact upon the cultural groups that had the focus of colonial action, highlighting the need for greater attention to be paid within psychology to how colonial and post-colonial forces have impacted upon the lives of individuals. In this thesis, it is necessary to also consider family, whanau and hapu communities.

One other point which needs to be flagged in this clarification is the conflating of culture with nation within acculturation and some cross-cultural literature (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). While this review does not have a focus on acculturation or cross-cultural literature, many of the studies referred to use cross-cultural methods. A national view of Māori culture, as with other Indigenous cultural groups, is not possible because of tribal differences that exist. However, there are similarities

that broadly cross the groups as outlined in the first part of the previous chapter setting out the features of a 'historical way of life'.

The second point of clarification relates to the term 'culture'. Māori culture is at the core of this thesis, in particular the way in which aspects of Māori culture are socialised and transmitted to children and young people over time. In the literature reviewed, different authors have used slightly different definitions of culture, primarily aiming at providing the definition best suited to the work they have undertaken. This approach appears to have emerged because of the general lack of agreement of a single definition of the meaning of culture.

A range of definitions of culture are presented here to try and capture some of the key aspects of how culture is generally understood. These cultural aspects can then be viewed in relation to the historical 'way of life' that has altered so markedly, or as some consider, has been lost (Oetting, Swaim, & Chiarella, 1998), in the belief that without the "enclaves that remain truly isolated, the traditional definition of culture as a stable descriptor of a small, static tribe is relatively meaningless" (p. 132).

Oetting, Swaim, and Chiarella (1998) described their view of culture after completing their observations of small stable communities.

The traditional attitudes, language, values, beliefs, ceremonies, and typical behaviors of members of these remote communities defined their culture, and the definitions would apply to behaviour across generations (p. 131).

After reviewing definitions of culture Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble, and Beauvais (1998) identified some key points that had generally been agreed upon.

1) Culture is a body of knowledge, attitudes, and skills for dealing with the physical and social environment that are passed on from one generation to the next. 2) Cultures have continuity and stability, because each generation attempts to pass the culture on intact. 3) Cultures also change over time as the physical, social, political, and spiritual environments change (p. 2081).

Rogoff and Angelillo (2002) defined a working view of culture that includes the function of cultural processes as being key to a culture:

We regard culture as a patterned configuration of routine, value-laden ways of doing things that make some sense as they occur together in the somewhat ordered flux of a community's ways of living. Cultural processes do not function in isolation or in mechanical interaction among independently definable entities (p.216).

This definition aimed at moving away from the use of 'stand-alone variables' usually used to try and understand the workings of a culture, and the authors suggested that examining culture in an integrated manner facilitates understanding of the meanings of each aspect of cultural ways. While they argued for this integrated approach with regard to the choice of analysis taken within research, the same approach applies in regard to viewing the way of life of an Indigenous group, that is, as a whole and not as discrete parts.

Markus and Kitayama (2010) adopted an approach that considered the study of culture where culture is located within the psychological processes shaped by the worlds, contexts, or sociocultural systems that people inhabit. Their view is that as cultural content changes, so a person's psychological functioning changes. The sociocultural context contains four nested, interacting components of culture – 1. the self, person, 2. daily situations and practice, 3. institutions and products, and 4. societal factors and pervasive ideas. With this view of culture in mind, the characteristics, or rather, the "untidy and expansive set of material and symbolic concepts", that Markus and Kitayama use to describe culture include: "world, environment, contexts, cultural systems, social systems, social structures, institutions, practices, policies, meanings, norms and values, that give form and direction to behaviour" (p. 422). Markus and Kitayama do not consider what may bring about the changes within a cultural context, but this has been an important aspect of colonial activity for Māori, even though the model was designed to measure culture.

I have included these broad descriptions of culture and what it encompasses because there appears to be a shift in how culture is viewed. The compartmentalising of culture as single variables (Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002) that are

considered and measured without an understanding of context has moved toward bringing together all of the structural and functioning parts of a cultural community that make up a cultural group's way of life. Understanding culture involves understanding how the sources of influence, those of the historical, social and political contexts are shaped by socioeconomic status and other neighbourhood and contextual factors (Cauce, 2008). Culture attributes meaning to life, provides roles for its members and guides the experience and expression of emotion in situations of sadness, conflict and difficulty (Stevenson, 2004).

Bearing in mind a broad description of the term culture that includes not only the ways a family group functions but also the structures and ways of the wider family and community, the next sections will describe the features of the cultural context and the processes that facilitate the socialisation and transmission of cultural ways within family groups and community.

Introduction

Following the colonising activities that have impacted upon the structure and function of Māori society and function of Māori culture, there is now need to examine in more detail the area of Māori cultural socialisation and the processes that exist for developing Māori cultural identification. This chapter will present findings from literature on the nature and composition of Māori families as the primary context for the socialisation of Māori culture and describe how some people have viewed Māori cultural socialisation.

This will be followed by a brief description of how socialisation is viewed in non-Indigenous, mainstream literature while acknowledging that much of this work has centred upon nuclear families that have an individual focused family orientation. However, the description of socialisation processes examined provides some useful information. Ecological human development models offer systemic modes of examining family socialisation that can be influenced by other systems. These models better match the socio-centric patterns of many Māori families. A description of familism is also included. Familism (Armenta, Knight, Carlo, &

Jacobson, 2011; Calderon-Tena, Knight, & Carlo, 2011) is described as a set of values and style of relationship dynamic within Mexican American and Latino families that aligns closely with Māori cultural values. Some descriptions of family composition and aspects of socialisation by some Indigenous writers are included to help build the picture of Indigenous families at the same time as outlines of cultural community and worldviews are given. These provide the background for a description of cultural socialisation and the development of cultural identification.

Māori family, Māori whānau and cultural socialisation

Historically, relationships were important to family groups that made up whānau and hapu and a knowledge of genealogy or whakapapa was at the core of those relationships (Papakura, 1986). As urbanisation developed different family types were identified (Metge, 1990). Whānau that were whakapapa based were considered the family grouping that maintained close ties with extended family members who remained based in rural areas and who had continued active participation with marae. An extended family type was considered to comprise a senior couple with unmarried children, married children and possibly grandchildren with their children, in other words, possibly four generations, all focussed on the home of the senior couple as their base. A kin-cluster family group comprised people related in a variety of ways including close relationship and indirect linkages that all lived “as one big family” (Metge, 1999, p.66). Metge (1999) also recognised a nuclear family type as being smaller and having a different composition from either of these two family groupings. More recently, two types of whanau have been described as whakapapa or traditional whanau and kaupapa whānau (Durie, 2001; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). Whakapapa whānau are linked by genealogy, as above, to hapu and iwi, while kaupapa whānau have been brought together and bound by a common purpose. These differing views of the make-up of Māori family groupings encompass some of the different life realities and life pathways that emerged following the colonising activities.

The collective nature of whānau and hapu was integrally linked to their structure and function. Irwin (2011) identified two purposes for this collective family

grouping: (1) to provide the structural basis for whānau, hapu and iwi core to the settlement of Treaty claims; and (2) to fulfil a socio-cultural role within whānau through which Māori culture was secured and Māori identity structured. In this way the underlying linkages for whānau membership provided the links to ancestors and land. Irwin (2011) maintained that these links existed even if an individual did not hold cultural knowledge or use te reo Māori. Irwin appears to be talking about Māori who live in urban settings and have little contact with their home marae and extended whānau who have continued participation in hapu.

Socialisation and transmission of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices has not been well documented in the literature. One recent article explored what whanau talked about in their everyday lives and the degree to which this contributed to whānau socialisation (Tomlins-Jahnke & A. Durie, 2008). The authors trialled a qualitative research method stating that their findings were indicative only – their participants were a small sample of four family groups. This study, while small indicated that despite the families living in urban centres and at distance from their cultural communities, they had retained some inherent cultural knowledge and practice.

A set of capacities to foster healthy development of whanau has been proposed by M. Durie (1997): the capacity to care – manaakitanga; the capacity to share – tohatohatia; the capacity for guardianship – pupuri taonga; the capacity to empower – whakamana; and the capacity to plan ahead – whakatakoto tikanga (cited in Tomlins-Jahnke & A. Durie, 2008, p. 8). The above study provided some indication of how these values and practices are socialised and transmitted, however, this is an area that needs further research and explanation to account for differing Māori realities.

Some of the many life realities possible for Māori were captured in Witi Ihimaera's (1998) book, 'Growing up Māori'. The differing experiences of respective writers were reflected in the way they described their lives, the way they were raised and the values and practices they came to know. One child experiences described a

childhood that reflected the historic ways of living in a small, close-knit community where learning about Māori cultural values came with learning the roles and responsibilities expected for contributing to the way of life and how to behave (Smiler, 1998). A vastly contrasting life experience was related by a young woman who realised her Māori heritage at the age of 17 years while on a school trip to a marae (Carter, 1998). Other examples of life experience for Māori described types of participation and involvement in Māori cultural life in a Māori community, where much is learned by observing elder role models and from experiences - the community apprenticeship (Rangihau, 1975).

Some other examples of life experiences for young people identified in a mental health study were that culture was important in their lives, though actual participation was limited for them and their parents (Edwards, Jensen, Peterson, Moewaka-Barnes, Anae, et al., 2003). Travel and distance were barriers to retaining contact with their marae and this resulted in limited participation. These young people also identified as having negative feelings about being Māori as a result of negative media representations. Despite this they felt that being part of a collective was positive for them. These young people had been brought up in an urban centre and while relationships with their parents and whanau were positive overall, the socialisation processes undergone were removed from a Māori cultural base, or cultural context, so cultural learning in a Māori setting was limited. These young people and their families had no ready access to a Māori cultural community within which they could become imbued with the subtleties and nuances (Moon, 2003) of a Māori cultural way of life.

The way in which socialisation and transmission of Māori cultural ways has changed with the growing range of life realities, does not appear to be fully reflected in the previous descriptions of whanau. Where some level of connection with a cultural context is retained, it appears that some cultural socialisation can continue within the sphere of the family. However, the young people found that where their parents had not continued participation in a cultural context, they themselves were denied opportunities to learn. It seems that socialisation strategies are important

in terms of whanau or family groups being able to continue Māori cultural socialisation.

Socialisation

There is a great deal of literature on the socialisation of children and within that there is an emphasis on both the role of parents in the raising of their children (Ben Ezra & Roer-Strier, 2009) and on the socialisation of culture within family (Bennett, 2006; Cauce, 2008; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006; Keller, Papaligoura, Kuensemueller, Voelker, Papaeliou, et al, 2003).

Intergenerational transmission of culture using the independence-interdependence dichotomy as an explanation for 'culture', has been viewed as an important component of cultural socialisation (Keller, et al., 2003).

In a review of the literature on socialisation, Bugental and Grusec (2006) presented a comprehensive overview of socialisation of children in which they traced some core thinking about socialisation, and how this thinking has changed over time. One of the changes was a shift in thinking about the inclusion of a cultural view within the socialisation process. Given this broad overview, Bugental and Grusec (2006) stated that socialisation "represents the preparation of the young to manage the tasks of social life" (p. 366). They stated that both biology and social context are acknowledged as being relevant to the social experiences of children. This is a shift from the original notion that socialisation was a one-way path of adults teaching children as passive and accepting recipients of this information (Bugental & Grusec, 2006). Socialisation is a term that includes a suite or menu of "processes that serve many different purposes" (Bugental & Grusec, 2006, p. 367).

Literature around socialisation processes within family was reviewed and presented by Parke and Buriel (2006). They also described some of the shifts in thinking in psychology that included the recognition of differences in life experience for people and families of different socio-economic status; changes in the make-up and function of family groups with women increasingly in employment, divorced and single parent families, and the incidence of step-families (Parke & Buriel, 2006).

Another shift highlighted by Parke and Buriel (2006) was the recognition that evidence of socialisation based upon a single culture, namely the Euro-American culture, was not always valid in other cultural contexts. This shift has enlarged the lens of understanding to include children and families of colour. The use of the term 'colour' to refer to non-white Americans, or Euro-Americans, suggested the recognition of difference was more related to ethnic differences based on colour or race, than on differences in a cultural way of life. This topic is described more fully under Cultural Identification below.

The learning environment

The learning environment was described by Keller and Otto (2009) as being "composed of the environmental settings occupied, social contexts (e.g., number of caregivers), caregivers and teachers, socialization strategies (e.g., disciplinary techniques), and activities (e.g., tasks assigned to children and mothers' workload)" (p. 997). Recognising the learning environment as a part of child development marked a shift in the examination of parenting and child-rearing practices to include the different cultural perspectives of different ethnic groups.

In their (2007) paper, Yasui and Dishion describe the environments in which children and young people from American Indian families are able to learn the raft of cultural values, beliefs and practices that pertain to them despite disruption to the cultural socialisation processes resulting from "a long history of oppression" (p. 153). While Yasui and Dishion do not specifically label these environments as 'learning environments' they identify specific aspects of American Indian life as the environments in which aspects of cultural ways are learned. Similarly, Calderón-Tena, Knight and Carlo (2011) identified the 'cultural milieu' as the learning environment within the familism of Mexican American families where values and practices are learnt and internalised. These expanded views of the learning environment encompass groups broader than the immediate family group. For Māori families these environments could include whanau and hapu relationship groups, as well as the appropriate social contexts that accompany those broader groups, such as any interactions on a marae.

Family

Family offers the primary context for the process of socialisation (Parke & Buriel, 2006; Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems, 2005). Intergenerational relationships are the core of family dynamics (Kagitcibasi, Ataca, & Diri, 2010). The family is a social system that exerts an ongoing influence on human development (Caprara, Regalia, Scabini, Barbaranelli, & Bandura, 2004). These authors examined the interlocking relationships found in the family roles of child, parent and spouse and they determined that perceived efficacy in one role affected capacity to be efficacious in another. While they did not include a cultural perspective to their work, the principle of the study can be transferred to Māori families; for some whanau, knowing about what it is to be Māori, is a challenge. This lack of knowledge or inability could impact how they function in other areas of their lives.

Examining family groups as systems has altered the focus of research from parent-child relationships to the family system (Cox & Paley, 2003). The family system comprises sub-systems (Cox & Paley, 2003; Parke & Buriel, 2006) of parent-child or marital relationships.

Family types have been described as, or differentiated as, first marriage biological parent families and non-traditional families (Ono & Sanders, 2010). Non-traditional family types were based upon parental union and included combinations of remarried parents and step-parents, cohabiting parents and single mother families. These categories did not include single fathers or other carers as parents.

Aboriginal kinship systems have been described as complex and sophisticated (Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2010). These kinship structures set out the nature of the relationships between each person within a group and also determined the context within which processes of cultural socialisation and transmission occur.

Kinship systems determined exactly how one should behave towards every other person according to their relationships, so there were codes of behaviour between each person outlining their responsibilities and obligations towards others (p. 26).

These kinship systems set the bounds of belonging as descent is about connecting to people and place. Place is about land and country and kinship includes relationships and obligations to other people and to place and country.

Socialisation practices

In socialising their children, parents influence their children's behaviour through the nature of their relationship with the child (Bugental & Grusec, 2006). Practices that could be used for cultural socialisation within family groups include "talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family's native language" (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006, p. 149). These everyday practices were suggested when considering ethnic and racial groups in the United States, but do not appear to include Indigenous groups. However, it could be worth acknowledging the existence of these practices in the socialisation and transmission of cultural processes for Indigenous groups.

In discussing the past with their young children parents were thought to play a role in the children's autobiographical recall, of either emotional or cultural content (van Bergen & Salmon, 2010; Reese, Hayne, & MacDonald, 2008). Preparing children for negative interactions such as discrimination or bias, was viewed as an important part of parenting and socialisation for young people of ethnic minorities to help develop coping skills (Hughes, et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Responses and reactions to negative interactions could include defiance, deviance, avoidance, or acceptance by conforming to expectations (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

The ability of a parent to know what and how to include cultural socialising activities and information within a family group has been explored by Tsushima and Burke (1999). Their study explored the relationship between higher, abstract principle-level standards and lower programme-level standards. Their work concluded that a parent's background, resources and empathic ability all played a

part in the mother's identity. The important point was that the parent had an understanding about "the relationship between general principles and their manifestation in situated program activity" (p. 187). In relating this thinking about a parent's background, resources and empathic ability to cultural socialisation, particularly for Māori, a parent would have an understanding of Māori cultural values and also the ability to implement these values within their family group by using appropriate activities. The ability to undertake and achieve this could form the basis of a parent's cultural agency. In support of this aspect of Tsushima and Burke's work, another study (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994) examined internalisation of values. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) concluded that the internalisation of values may be dependent upon three parental characteristics: (1) nature of the relationship between parent and child – respect, trust and rapport; (2) family circumstances – socio-economic, family history and level of education; (3) degree of support networks for the family. This view expanded the dimension of relationships and influences for a family group.

Primary socialisation theory (Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble, & Beauvais (1998) proposes that the transmission of culture occurs specifically through the primary socialisation process, and that this process is embedded within the culture. Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble and Beauvais (1998) suggested that the culture determines who transmits the culture and the norms within the primary socialisation process. The theory identified that there are sources of transmission and that these sources are related to age-stage development. For example, the family group is the only primary socialisation source for preschool children, in particular where family bonds are solid. School becomes a socialisation source when children commence their education, but peers are considered to have minor influence during this time. During preadolescence and adolescence peers become a socialisation source, and here Oetting, Donnermeyer, Trimble and Beauvais (1998) suggested that the introduction of substance use and deviant behaviour typically occur. The adult age stage introduces employment, marriage, family and new associations all of which have a socialising function.

Cultural success can occur when socialisation within a cultural context creates opportunities for both formal and informal interactions and communication. Oetting et al., (1998) suggested that rewards and advantages can be gained when socialisation is positive and works well. Cultural failure, on the other hand they say can have devastating effects leaving a person with no influence or regard in their culture and as a result they may turn elsewhere to meet these needs.

Within this description there are some assumptions about the nature of the cultural community, what it looks like and how it operates. It is not clear what makes one community work well and results in an individual experiencing cultural success, while another cultural community does not work and has a devastating effect on an individual. What are the cultural processes, or the processes that exist within a community of culture through which individuals can be made to feel accepted, part of the group, contribute to the group and feel some level of cultural success? What is it that helps to keep a community of culture together and keep the members of the community taking part?

Human development – ecological models

Two models are described in this section as frameworks in which culture has been embedded (Yasui & Dishion, 2007). This appears to have emerged as part of the response to changing views about accommodating the place of a cultural way of life into research, theory and concepts. Models or frameworks have been developed to help ease this path. They are: the Bioecological Model of Human Development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979, 1986, 2006), and the Developmental Niche Model, (Super & Harkness, 1986, 1994, 2002).

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Model proposes the interlinking of social systems that exist within a child's environment. He proposed four types of systems: (1) the microsystem; (2) the mesosystem; (3) the exosystem; and (4) the macrosystem. In this system the developing person is seen as an active party participating in interactions with the environments of the nested structures, that is, with each of the systems.

Bronfenbrenner defined the microsystem as “a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics” (1979, p. 22). He characterised a setting as an environment where face-to-face interactions could occur with examples being a home, day care setting, or playground. The elements experienced by the developing person in this environment were described as activity, role and interpersonal relationships; these elements facilitate the development of the perceptions, beliefs and understanding that make up a person’s worldview.

The second environment of the ecological model is the mesosystem. This is defined as comprising “the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates (such as, for a child, the relations among home, school, and neighbourhood peer group; for an adult, among family, work, and social life)” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25). Including a range of microsystems broadens the scope of the relationships and networks with which a developing person interacts and experiences their environment. This environment can also be seen as including extended family, whanau, or hapu settings.

The exosystem is defined as “one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing person” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25). Examples given for this type of system include a parent’s place of work, an older sibling’s school class, or the parent’s network of friends. This environment can include public media, television, community groups (Bird & Drewery, 2000) and sporting teams.

Finally, the macrosystem is defined as referring to “consistencies, in the form and content of lower-order systems (micro-, meso-, and exo-) that exist, or could exist, at the level of the subculture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26).

The Developmental Niche Model which emerged following Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model, continued the work of expanding psychological enquiry beyond the laboratory (Super & Harkness, 1986) and aimed to provide a framework "studying cultural regulation of the micro-environment of the child..." (Super & Harkness, 1986, p. 552). It was also the aim of this framework to convey the point of view of the child so as to "understand processes of development and acquisition of culture" (p. 552).

There are three components of the developmental niche model: (1) the physical and social settings in which the child lives; (2) culturally regulated customs of child care and child rearing; and (3) the psychology of the caretakers. It is proposed that each of these components represents a subsystem and all are part of mediating a young person's "experience within the larger culture" (Super & Harkness, 1986, p.552). In 2002, Super and Harkness presented three organisational aspects of the developmental niche that create developmental outcomes: (1) contemporary redundancy, which is described as mutually reinforcing repetition of similar influences from several parts of the environment during development; (2) thematic elaboration, a pattern based on repetition and cultivation over time of core symbols and systems of meaning; (3) chaining, the integration of environmental elements that produces a qualitatively new phenomenon. A set of second-order effects is also recognised as being situated at a personal level where person-environment variables and personal characteristics can create different environments for different children.

Both of these frameworks provide valuable steps towards enabling researchers and academics to integrate culture into the analysis and understanding of environments and family situations shaping human development. With regard to Māori cultural socialisation and transmission these models provide some illustration of the type of environments in which interactions can occur, that is, within family, whanau, or hapu communities. In this way, the developing person (to use Bronfenbrenner's term) can continue implicitly learning and experiencing a Māori way of life. However, neither of these models accommodates the effects that colonising

activities have had upon Māori community and the function of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices.

Familism

Familism is a term that has been used to characterise the features of dynamics within Mexican American and other Latino family groups. Mexican American and Latino family groups are generally described as being collectivist or familistic and the nature of this characteristic emphasises positive interpersonal relations with a special importance attached to family oriented values that are known as familism or familialism (Armenta, Knight, Carlo, & Jacobson, 2011; Calderon-Tena, Knight, & Carlo, 2011). Within familism, family interpersonal relations are highlighted as being supportive of the family, emotionally, physically, and financially. These relationships also involve having a sense of obligation toward family, and incorporating family into self (Calderon-Tena, et al., 2011). Values within familism determine a set of norms concerned with family solidarity, emotional and economic interdependence, and a flexibility of role within the extended family group (Armenta, Knight, et al., 2011). This description of familism is very similar to that of family solidarity in family socialisation as described by Sabatier and Lannegrand-Willems (2005) in their study of the transmission of family values. Sabatier and Lannegrand explored the processes of value transmission across three generations and they also examined the importance of proximity of residence, the frequency of contact and meeting, children knowing their grandparents and young people being expected to take part in family activities and helping their grandparents. Family relationships demonstrated inter-generational transmission of values.

Calderon-Tena, Knight and Carlo (2011) examined how familism may foster prosocial behaviours in Mexican American adolescents. It was expected that as parents modelled prosocial behaviour, young people would observe and learn and gradually internalise the values associated with familism. Young people were also thought to practice prosocial behaviour within the home by helping with child care and household tasks. Experiences with familism were expected to help the young

people to develop empathy and sensitivity to the needs of others. The authors found that familism did contribute to the development of prosocial behaviours.

Higher levels of adolescents' perception of prosocial parenting practices are related to both adolescents' familism values and adolescents' prosocial behavioural tendencies. Thus, adolescent prosocial behaviors seem to be related, not only to the perception of prosocial parenting practices, but to their own internalization of familism values (p. 104)

The practice of familism and the internalisation of familism values appear to support the work by Tsushima and Burke (1999). The “cultural milieu” (Calderon-Tena, et al., 2011) suggested that recognition of the broader systems within which a family is living and interacting reinforces the importance of cultural values, beliefs and practices for effective family socialisation. This holistic view provides support for the development of an Indigenous worldview.

Cultural Community

Rogoff and Angelillo (2002) and Erickson (2002) suggest a shift in thinking about ‘culture’ to thinking about the practices of cultural communities. In this view of cultural practice, cultural communities “are composed of generations of people in coordination with each other over time, with some common and continuing organization, values, understanding, history, and practices that transcend the particular individuals” (Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002, p.222). There may also be an historical narrative related to this community. Viewing people as participants within a community rather than as members of a community, highlights the crucial role of participation in roles and responsibilities, especially in relation to others within that community. Participation in the “common ‘ways’” (Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002, p. 223) is what is commonly regarded as culture.

People who live in American Indian communities are linked by kin systems in which residents of various households are genealogically related (Red Horse, 1997). The kin system is vertical and horizontal ensuring that young people have access to extended family with relationships being maintained through implementation of values in structure and process within the community. Native American community activities were holistic and comprehensive and ensured that the young people were

included to support them to become “functioning, productive adults who would then perpetuate the continuation of a nation” (Rogers, 2001, p. 512). In these communities it was expected that children would learn their role at an early age. This occurred through “watching and listening, [and] they learned cultural norms and rules of behaviour” (p. 512). Children were also taught through experiential learning, hearing stories and through attending and participating in ceremonies. These socialisation processes occurred within the structures of family, extended family and community in the context of their community and place. This helped build a worldview grounded on the values, beliefs and practices of the way of life of their group.

A Pueblo Indian community of culture comprising 20 or more closely knit villages was described by Suina and Smolkin (1994). The people of these villages continued the important practices from historic times that upheld those values and beliefs that maintained their community. This environment provided the cultural context in which Pueblo children and adults learned. Suina and Smolkin identified three processes by which learning took place in this community. Modelling is the first where children “learn through listening, watching, and doing” (p. 117). With consistent access to adults and context, the children learned by example. The second process is through private practice, or learning by doing. Children had opportunities to practice behaviour they had seen and/or heard as a form of preparation. The third process is related to the appropriateness of the context, the person imparting the knowledge, the place and the time. Given the experiences of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and the break-up of Māori communities, this point of view, would or could provide a valuable perspective on Māori cultural socialisation.

Worldviews

Worldviews have been described as “sets of beliefs and assumptions that describe reality” (Koltko-Rivera, 2004, p. 3). Koltko-Rivera has defined a worldview conceptually as:

A worldview is a way of describing the universe and life within it, both in terms of what is and what ought to be. A given worldview is a set of beliefs that includes limiting statements and assumptions regarding what exists and what does not (either in actuality, or in principle), what objects or experiences are good or bad, and what objectives, behaviors, and relationships are desirable or undesirable. A worldview defines what can be known or done in the world, and how it can be known or done. In addition to defining what goals can be sought in life, a worldview defines what goals should be pursued. Worldviews include assumptions that may be unproven, and even unprovable, but these assumptions are superordinate, in that they provide the epistemic and ontological foundations for other beliefs within a belief system. (adapted from Koltko-Rivera, 2000, p.2) (Koltko-Rivera, 2004, p. 4)

Koltko-Rivera reviewed and collated theories of worldview that had been proposed by others and then proposed an integrated theory of Worldview using the dimensions identified within those theories. This collated model included seven groups, each with two or more worldview dimensions: the Human nature group; Will group; Cognition group; Behavior group; Interpersonal group; Truth group; World and Life group. Koltko-Rivera stated that in this integrated theory of worldview a person's worldview is shaped by their experiences with others and this in turn shapes their worldview. The nature of this interaction suggests that experiences with others in a particular cultural context would therefore shape a person's worldview. He suggested that research is needed into how worldviews are formed and developed. I would further suggest that research within different cultural contexts would be beneficial because so much research within psychology is not conducted within a cultural context.

With little specific research existing about the development of worldviews, some authors have touched on this concept in their discussions about a particular cultural group. Pichette, Garrett, Kosciulek, and Rosenthal, (1999) made the statement: "A culture will influence and reflect the worldviews of those who live by its rules" (p. 5). In writing about the occurrence of disability within American Indian groups, Pichette, et al., identified cultural differences between American Indian and non-Indian groups in terms of differing worldviews. The items posed differences across nine areas that matched the differences in terms of how each item was perceived in each worldview. Items included for American Indian were: Group-life is primary; respect for elders, experts, and those with spiritual powers; time and place viewed as being permanent, settled; Introverted - avoids ridicule or criticism of others if

possible; pragmatic - accepts “what is”; emphasises responsibility for family and personal sphere; observes how others behave - emphasis on how others “behave”, not on what they say; incorporates supportive non-family, or other helpers, into the family network; seeks harmony. Items included for an Anglo worldview were: the individual is primary; respects youth, success, and high social status; time and place always negotiable - plans for change; extroverted – seeks analysis and criticisms of situations; reformist – changes or “fixes” problems; emphasises authority and responsibility over a wide area of social life; eager to relate to others, emphasises how others “feel” or “think”; keeps the networks of family, friends, and acquaintances separate; seeks progress (p. 5). By highlighting these differences they identified ways in which people from different American Indian tribal groups experienced different degrees of change in their way of life, which in turn impacted upon how they viewed the world.

Cultural socialisation

Shweder, Goodnow, Hatano, LeVine, Markus, and Miller (2006) presented an extensive review of literature in the area of cultural psychology and human development. While much of this review documented the shift in thinking in and across psychological scholarship, the authors highlighted some key factors within the socialisation and transmission of cultural values, beliefs and practices relevant to this thesis.

According to Shweder et al., (2006) human beings benefit from and carry forward a cultural tradition. Their description continues -

They try to promote, promulgate, and share their understandings and practices with their children, their relatives, and their community at large. They are active agents in the perpetuation of their symbolic inheritance, largely because (among other motives) the ideas and values that they inherit from the past seem to them to be right-minded, true, dignifying, useful, or at least worthy of respect.

They are active agents in the perpetuation of their behavioural inheritance. They try to uphold, enforce, and require of each other some degree of compliance with the practices of their community, largely because (among other motives) those practices seem to them to be moral, healthy, natural, rational, benefit promoting, or at least normal. (p. 720)

Both of these paragraphs assume that the cultural communities are intact and that members of these communities have sufficient intact cultural content, knowledge and skills passed on to them for cultural socialisation to occur.

Shweder et al., (2006) also differentiated between a mentality and a practice. Mentality includes what people know, think, feel, want, value, and so choose to do. A practice can cover a range of domains that are linked to the mentality of the cultural community. This circular understanding the authors termed the 'custom complex' was first coined by Whiting and Child (1953). The important aspect that I wish to highlight here is the close connection between mentality and practice that is implicit in daily life, or

... under the skin, close to the heart, and self-relevant; the mentality will have become habitual, automatic, and can be activated without deliberation or conscious calculation – it will have become internalized (Shweder, et al., 2006, p. 727)

The mentality and practice of the parents and their cultural community determine socialisation and transmission for children and young people. Three aspects were identified by Shweder, et al. (2006), moral direction; pragmatic design and customary scripts for interaction. Moral direction relates to the cultural concepts of virtue necessary for a child's behavioural development; pragmatic design relates to strategies to achieve morally virtuous development, survival, health and economic well-being; and customary scripts for interaction relate to the customary guides for behaviour that are held in cultural expectations. The cultural values and expectations set the tenor or "scripts" for "how to be" and how to participate as a member in good standing in the cultural community and particular social contexts" (Shweder et al., 2006. p. 750). These scripts are embedded in the learning environment and guide the development of a cultural worldview and cultural identification. Guiding expectations of 'how to be' fits the virtue ethics for Māori as proposed by Perrett and Patterson (1991), Patterson (1992), and Patterson, (2000).

Cultural identification

Cultural identification is directly related to the degree to which persons are involved with their cultural community and participate in their particular cultural

activities. This relates to their way of life. Cultural identification has been described as a personal trait (Oetting, 1993; Oetting, Swaim, & Chiarella, 1998) and is characterised by a person's involvement with a group where there was a personal stake in the group and personal involvement in the cultural activities of the group (Oetting, Donnermeyer, et al., 1998). Oetting, Swaim and Chiarella (1998) stated that cultural identification is a quantitative measure: it assesses the strength of a person's links to a particular culture. So it can be an indicator of a person's choices in terms of their participation in cultural activities with their affiliated group.

Development of cultural identification emerges from a process of social learning within a cultural context. A cultural interaction where an individual meets the requirements of their community of culture, and the community of culture meets the individual's cultural needs can lead to a strong cultural identification. Oetting, Swaim and Chiarella (1998) identified key factors related to cultural identification as: individual involvement in cultural activities; living as a member of and having a stake within the culture and the presence of cultural reinforcements that lead to perceived success within the culture.

The model of orthogonal cultural identification (Oetting, 1993; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-1991) was developed to assess the cultural identification of an individual. I have not used the model as an assessment tool, but have instead used the model as a representation of the interactions of a person and their cultural community as described in Oetting's (1993) article. In this model Oetting sets out the patterns of interaction between persons and their culture. One view of the model depicts cultural success, the other depicts cultural decline, or failure, as has been described within primary socialisation theory (Oetting, Donnermeyer, et al., 1998). The usefulness of this model is its ability to conceive of and depict the possibility of difficulties in maintaining cultural identification.

In relation to the application of this model in this research project, I would expect that culture in the model would comprise the structure of whanau and hapu, and represent the community of culture. Within this community of culture the

interactions would be bound by Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices, and these would nurture the development of a Māori cultural worldview. This worldview would encompass the concept of the collective group. The interaction between the cultural group and the person would depict the nature of interdependence and support the function and implementation of Māori cultural values. That is, the observing of principle-level standards and implementation of programme-level standards (Tsushima & Burke, 1999).

In the other view of the model, the historic structure of Māori cultural society and cultural function has been damaged and altered by external activities (more so for some, than others). This model does not easily encompass a full ecological view of human development which could help to represent and explain the colonising activities, but the two views of this model do reflect the possibility of different cultural pathways. This could also represent a worldview that is not fully formed, or not formed at all with little Māori cultural knowledge being passed on.

Summary

There is a large amount of mainstream literature covering the area of socialisation and family and child development. However, the inclusion of a cultural perspective and the way in which cultural socialisation and cultural identification develop is still an emerging area of enquiry. This is particularly so for people of Indigenous groups, and, in this instance, for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Māori cultural society has changed and the processes by which cultural values, beliefs and practices are socialised and transmitted in today's society needs to be better understood. From the literature some important points can be gleaned for consideration regarding cultural socialisation and the development of cultural identification for Māori. Socialisation occurs through a suite or menu of processes, and family and significant others are critical for this socialisation. Within the cultural context of family and others, a learning environment is created in which the structures and function of family, whatever they may look like, are conveyed to children and young people. The systemic structures and processes contain and

facilitate the interactions that nurture kin relationships and instil the mentality and practices of that community into members of the cultural community. Cultural knowledge and practices are learnt by children and young people as they increasingly take on roles and responsibilities within their family group and cultural community. A cycle is created as the learning supports the development of cultural identification while also maintaining the cultural community. Inherent in this learning are the subtleties and nuances (Moon, 2003) of being a member of a collective group where values and qualities historically aided the patterns of socialisation for Māori family groups and communities, though these have been disrupted through colonising activities. The next chapter will explore the values and qualities of a collective group.

Chapter 5 - Collective Values and Qualities

Introduction

This chapter aims to build an understanding of the processes of Māori cultural socialisation and transmission by examining the core values and qualities that underpin and guide Māori cultural collective function. It was necessary to develop this chapter to fill a gap in information around what needed to be learned as a member of a Māori collective group, and how this socialisation linked into Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. It needs to be noted here that core cultural values and qualities underpin both Māori cultural knowledge and the beliefs and practices that are part of that knowledge.

Six qualities of Māori cultural function have been identified from a variety of sources: participant interviews, a review of relevant literature, and my personal life experiences. These qualities had not been articulated as such in the literature, so as with many other processes within the Māori world, discussion, and constructive feedback for these ideas was sought from members of my whanau and support group. In this chapter six collective qualities will be described and the way they relate to Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission within family groups, whanau and hapu community are depicted. Impacts that occurred as a result of the cultural-historical context and how they affected the practice of these qualities will be described.

Historically, a young person living a Māori way of life was raised within a cultural context where they were part of a collective group of immediate family members, whanau and hapu; thus Māori cultural socialisation occurred as a usual part of the way of life. In this way young people were able to learn about the genealogical or whakapapa relationships of their whanau and hapu while also learning to be a member of this collective group. This collective group formed their cultural framework. Within the interactions of these groups a young person was exposed to the appropriate learning environment and had opportunities to learn the specific qualities and values of the collective and how these work to keep the groups

together as a whole. However, since urbanisation and the relocation of families these collective relationship groups have been disrupted. Without the function of this socialisation mechanism, young people are less likely to achieve cultural agency where they are able to make choices and decisions for maintaining Māori culture in their lives. Over many generations young people have been raised in towns and cities away from their hapū areas and whānau members. This has led to a loss of knowledge and skill to do with interacting in a collective group. As a consequence, their knowledge of how to behave and understand meanings behind expectations and obligations had led to lowered levels of participation within collective groups. The culmination of reduced participation in a collective group and in Māori community activities increases the numbers of Māori not growing up with, or knowing how to live in and contribute to or sustain a collective. This lack of functional competence does not bode well for the future of Māori communities or a Māori cultural way of life.

The following sections present a background explanation to accompany the six collective qualities that underpin behaviours and understanding of being a member of a Māori collective group.

Collective cultural group

In today's society of Aotearoa New Zealand, a Māori way of life is generally represented by Māori language, te reo Māori; Māori protocols, tikanga; knowing one's ancestry, whakapapa; participating in cultural song and dance, kapa haka; participating in boating, waka ama; singing traditional songs, waiata; saying prayer, karakia; and attending cultural funerals, tangi. These expressions of Māori culture are more commonly used compared to talking about a Māori way of life. To live a Māori way of life daily would incorporate Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices rather than have them compartmentalised into singular activities. Considering the differences between these two perspectives is highlighted here to point out some fundamental qualities for living as a Māori collective that seem to be taken for granted and not fully appreciated.

These qualities are associated with Māori cultural values and are learned when living as a member of a collective group and participating in a cultural way of life. They are aspects of being Māori that help the collective group to get on together, share, work together cooperatively assist with the maintenance of group harmony, and sustain the longevity of the group. Māori collective groups have been bound together by whakapapa and relationships. The sense of connection within these relationships creates and perpetuates the feelings of expectation and obligation that form the basis of an interdependent function of support; that is the belonging and continuity of Māori cultural ways. Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices provided the framework by which this function of the collective held together. In everyday life the collective groups referred to here are family, whānau and hapū².

How does one learn to be part of a Māori collective group?

Family is the primary context where socialisation occurs (Parke & Buriel, 2006; Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems, 2005). Cultural learning occurs not only within family but also within the family's cultural community (Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002; Erickson, 2002). Māori children and young people learn how to be members of their collective group through their experience of the relationships and interactions of their Māori cultural framework, that is, their cultural community. Their cultural framework comprises three relationship groups: their immediate family, their whānau and their local community, that is, their hapū or their local Māori community group. The family group provides young people with opportunities for learning the fundamental aspects of being in a collective and this learning and associated experiences are expanded in their contacts with whānau and through participation in hapū activities, and opportunities for learning within their whānau and hapū. Learning results from role modelling, experiential learning and direct teaching situations. The goal for the children and young people is to become competent in cultural activities as they grow up. These competencies become expanded when as adults they take on roles and responsibilities within the collective group.

² Iwi groups are not included here as the role of iwi relates to broader collective needs and functions than those of an individual or family group.

There are two aspects to consider when someone is a member of a collective group. Firstly, there is a personal development aspect to learn. Learning how to be part of a collective as a child and young person ensures that knowledge can be learned experientially and implicitly. Young people can learn what it means to be a member of a collective and how to behave in particular situations. On reaching adulthood learning continues as roles and responsibilities are expanded. Gaining competence and a person's developing feelings of commitment encourage ongoing participation within the collective.

The second aspect of being a member of a collective group relates to the nature of relationships and interactions that take place between an individual and members of the relationship groups of their cultural framework. A young person is required to begin learning about the nature of the relationships, the levels of seniority and status and the ways of relating to the members of the relationship groups. It is also important for them to learn how to behave in the interactions and to identify the expectations and obligations that are an integral part of these relationship groups. Learning where and how they fit within these relationships helps them to build competence on the path to achieving cultural agency. Young people whose families have irregular contact with the relationship groups of their cultural framework would have few opportunities to learn about where and how they fit. Invariably they would not have the same chances to build competence in cultural settings and less chance of achieving cultural agency.

What is there to learn to become a member of a collective group?

Historically a child was born into a collective group; whānau, hapū, iwi, and being a member of the group was part of their family way of life. Learning was implicit in their day-to-day activities. The impact of changes that occurred following the arrival of Settlers and colonising activities, has led to the compartmentalisation of Māori cultural activities rather than living as a collective. Identifying collective qualities provides a way to address the gap in knowledge and skill for many young people. The six qualities mirror the collective values: sharing, cooperation and collaboration; openness and acceptance; relationships and interactions; Māori

knowledge and skill; and decision-making. The values embody the aspirational way of being for a member of a collective group and the qualities define the abilities people aspire to develop in order to meet those aspirations. Collective well-being is also achieved as members of the group work to achieve those aspirations.

The collective values aim to describe the human abilities that are needed for a person to function within a collective group. A person is reliant upon certain structures and processes being in place so the required qualities can be learnt, nurtured, encouraged, rewarded and sustained over a lifetime. A person's cultural framework, or collective, provides the structures and the relationships and cultural interactions of those relationship groups provide the processes.

Each of the qualities interlinks and complements each of the others, but they are described separately in the following sections to help illustrate the behavioural expectations and the challenges that have occurred. Depth of understanding about the function of these qualities is gained with practice, and the parameters of the way each quality is implemented are determined within each of the three relationship groups – family, whānau, and hapū. Learning about these qualities and how they are to be practiced as a way of life may traditionally have been implicit and not necessarily articulated as the qualities were transmitted from one generation to the next. Outlining them here represents an effort to more clearly identify the processes of Māori cultural socialisation of which these collective qualities are a significant part. At the same time only general examples are used as a guide. There are likely to be many other examples specific to iwi, hapū, whānau, and family groups that must be learned in these groups.

Qualities of collective function

The six qualities of collective function are: sharing, cooperation and collaboration, openness and acceptance, relationships and interactions, Māori knowledge and skill, and decision-making. This list is not in any particular order or priority.

Sharing

Historically Māori collectives functioned to sustain the wellbeing of their groups, and this occurred through the rich cultural processes that had been proven workable over time (Mead, 2003). Processes whereby members of the group had roles and responsibilities ensured that the basic needs of life were met, and in a circular fashion, the groups and processes maintained one another. Sharing was a core aspect of this process and is closely linked with the other qualities of cooperation and collaboration, relationships and interactions, and openness and acceptance.

The quality of sharing requires people to be willing to give up or give away what they have, to share with others so that all in the group can benefit from that resource. Doing this relies on individuals feeling valued in the group and on a desire to contribute to the wellbeing of the group – an aspect of this belief is that all group members benefit from their sharing. Some resources were considered to be owned by the group to be shared by all in the group (Mead, 1997) and belief in the group ensured that sharing was a usual way of life for them all. This can be compared to the feeling of sacrifice a person may experience when having to share or give up something. However, it is only a sacrifice if there is a feeling of individual ownership of the resource or if an individual feels they have a greater right to a particular resource. If, however, the resource is considered a benefit for the group, and personal, family, whānau or hapū mana could be increased by sharing, then sharing becomes a part of an interdependent way of life.

The quality of sharing can be seen in the cultural value of manaakitanga, hosting of manuhiri, visitors, and in the way families participate within their community, at their marae, and for their hapū. Mead (2003) stated that “all tikanga are

underpinned by the high value placed upon manaakitanga - nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated” (p. 29). Sharing is a two way process with reciprocity an important concept (Durie, 2001). Reciprocity is part of the cultural value of balance (Mead, 2003) and lies at the core of interdependence. So being able to share is an important quality to learn about in being part of a Māori cultural collective group. An expectation exists that members of the group should actively participate and share. The value and belief held about the group by each person are considered to provide the motivation to share rather than any sanction or other punitive action.

Socialisation and transmission of this quality would ideally occur within the learning environment (Keller & Otto, 2009) of a young person’s cultural community. In this type of environment the appropriate structures and processes facilitate opportunities for young people to observe and practice sharing behaviours. Ongoing opportunities within that cultural community would also reinforce the ways in which to share while young people continue to learn about Māori cultural values, beliefs and the practices that manifest those values and beliefs. It is also to be expected that young people would then grow up internalising the values (Grusec and Goodnow, 1994) associated with sharing while also understanding the principles and expectations that govern the behaviours (Tsushima & Burke, 1999), such as in manaakitanga, hosting and caring for others. However, the ability to continue to observe the practice of this Māori cultural value altered markedly as a result of the impact of the growing influence of the competing values of Pākehā society.

Challenges to the function of sharing

A range of challenges have occurred that threaten to erode the quality of sharing within Māori collectives. The challenges have arisen at different levels – at a societal level, within the cultural communities, and at a personal or individual level.

Societal level challenges

Since the arrival of non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand there has been a progressive erosion of Māori cultural ways. However, Māori society had remained

somewhat cohesive up to the commencement of World War II (King, 2003), functioning in parallel with the Pākehā society. Two challenges in particular are used to illustrate how the mechanism of societal change has impacted upon the quality of sharing – land ownership and changes to Māori cultural way of life.

a. Changes to land ownership

As stated earlier, land loss was significant for Māori with the ongoing demand by Settlers. The systematic change of land title from hapū to individual shares in blocks of land altered the underlying concepts and meanings linking Māori to the land. The ancestral and historic connections were no longer the only links after the monetary interest from land shares was introduced. Land was no longer shared and nurtured for the sustenance of family and whanau, monetary gain became possible. Conflict arose among family and whanau as land shares were passed on, claimed or sold – this point is covered further under *Relationships and interactions*.

b. Changes to a Māori cultural way of life

Māori society altered markedly following the Second World War as more families relocated to towns and cities for employment (King, 2003). The established patterns of sharing among family, whānau and hapū as a means of practical and emotional support were disrupted. This change in support patterns made urban living difficult for many Māori families (Durie, 2001; King, 2003; Waitangi Tribunal, 1998).

Overall, the changes to the structure of Māori society and the Māori way of life impacted negatively on the cultural principles and values of which sharing was a fundamental part.

Cultural framework – challenges to sharing

Many factors contributed challenges to sharing for Māori families, one of these being as a result of urbanisation. Relocating to urban centres for employment and what were seen as better opportunities markedly altered the relationship structures between Māori families, whanau and their cultural communities.

Participation in family, whanau and hapu activities, where sharing had been an integral part of daily life, was disrupted as geographic distance and work obligations took priority. Over time the geographic distance combined with little or no practice in cultural activities impacted negatively upon individuals' feelings of belonging and commitment. Children in these families were not exposed to opportunities to learn and parents/caregivers were no longer required to observe the expectations and obligations of taking part in sharing. The place of role-modelling and/or teaching was therefore lost or reduced.

Individual or personal challenges to the function of sharing
Describing his personal learning, Tom Smiler Junior (1998) provided important insight into his experiences of Māori cultural socialisation and transmission. During his childhood, he was able to observe and put into practice, the quality of sharing. These experiences helped him to develop a strong commitment to implementing the practice of sharing in his adult life. However, the challenges in society and to cultural structures of family, whanau and community, have altered the processes for individuals which in turn has changed the practice of sharing. Urban dwelling and paid employment has shifted the emphasis from family and whanau groups working together to ensure well-being, to each family or group of individuals working to earn money to ensure their own well-being. This shift has also changed the values that govern how people live.

Many Māori parents had aspirations to achieve a "better life" for their children (for example, Smiler, 1998) with a desire for them to succeed in a Pākehā world. Implicit in this goal was an unspoken idea that a Māori way of life was not as "good" as a Pākehā way of life for achieving a higher economic standard of living (Cox, 1993). Striving for a "better" way of living introduced competing values for Māori families. The value of sharing and quality of life that accompanied the commitment to that value, was countered by the need to accumulate money and material goods to achieve that "better" way of life. The experience of the changes with respect to how the sharing quality was practiced, was related in a personal conversation with my kaumatua: in his lifetime he had seen the changes from

collecting kai to take for a visit to someone, to calling into the supermarket for a packet of biscuits to take. So, though changed, the principle still existed, even though the depth of its meaning in practice had altered.

Implementing the quality of sharing as a Māori cultural practice had sustained the mana of a person, their family, whanau and community. As sharing practices altered and diminished over time, so too did the level of importance of this value and quality. Cultural structures, processes and support networks had weakened and they were less able to uphold and preserve the practice of this cultural values.

As mentioned above, many difficulties were experienced by Māori families in the new environs of the towns and cities as adjustments were needed to survive where few supports were available. These adjustments entailed coping with negative stereotypes and discrimination while also striving to keep jobs, meet financial obligations and manage family commitments (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998). It would not have been easy in this environment for parents/caregivers who wished to continue teaching their children and young people about the quality of sharing. With fewer opportunities to participate in cultural activities, children and young people therefore had fewer opportunities to learn and practice. The long term effect of this has been two-fold: on one hand more than one generation of children have grown up without a full understanding of this quality; and on the other, Māori cultural communities have not been able to provide the same opportunities for young people to learn. It is possible that the parents/caregivers of young people today do not understand or know how to put into practice the quality of sharing.

Summary

The quality of sharing was historically an all-encompassing feature of life within a small Māori community but it was difficult for Māori to maintain, to continue to foster it because of the major alterations to the collective community structures and way of life. A combination of effects as a result of urbanisation, changed Māori family, whanau and community, and the introduction of competing values, have all contributed to altering the way the cultural value and quality of sharing has been

practiced over generations. Changes to the nature and function of Māori cultural community, style of living, employment and personal goals have all contributed to how sharing is observed and ultimately taught to children and young people.

Cooperation and Collaboration

Inherent within the function of a collective group is a need for group members to work in a cooperative and collaborative way. The all-encompassing goal of this type of activity is for the purpose of maintaining the ongoing well-being of the group as a whole. How well the cooperative and collaborative activity achieved this goal was dependent upon quality leadership in directing, guiding and supporting the activity and the ability of the group members to work alongside one another. Individuals within the group also had to believe in and be committed to the maintenance of the group well-being.

There is an association between cooperation and collaboration and the quality of sharing – work contributing to the good of the collective is work that is undertaken without thought of payment (Buck, 1949). Contributions of effort, time and use of resources, such as tools, were shared with the others in the group for the well-being of the whole group. Historically this cooperative and collaborative function was guided through leadership and this direction was based on whakapapa and rangatiratanga (Mahuika, 1975; Diamond, 2003). When cooperation and collaboration were a usual part of life, group members had their roles and responsibilities, and these contributed to the good of the whole group. Leadership was also built into this usual function.

The quality of cooperation and collaboration required someone to participate in a group task to help complete or achieve that particular goal. Sir Peter Buck, or Te Rangi Hiroa (1949) talked about a process of community cooperation occurring at times of planting and catering for a gathering in a village. He gives examples of people undertaking roles and responsibilities as the commitment to meet the need of the task is associated with expectations and obligations of the group as a whole and their status and mana to do the best they can. Reciprocity was the balancing

function of this cooperative and collaborative effort. It can be assumed that in order to be part of this effort a person needed to have an understanding of what the task was, know if and how it might fit into other associated activities, know where and how resources could be accessed and how to utilise those, and to have an understanding of the overall cultural context within which the activity was being undertaken. The ability to work with others assumed that a person was able to inter-relate and was able to communicate effectively. Cooperation on a task also assumed that leadership was present and effective.

Working cooperatively and collaboratively was a quality that was learned from childhood in communities where children were expected to take part and help out in activities. This learning continued into adulthood as roles and responsibilities changed.

The essence of community apprenticeship was young people learning by participating, becoming carriers of wood, by chopping the wood and by setting the hāngi. As you grow older you moved on to being in charge of the butchers, the hāngi men and the people who gathered the food. You went through all these processes (Rangihau, 1975, p. 165).

Cooperation and collaboration required willingness to participate with others, which suggested that this type of activity was valued positively by the persons taking part, was of benefit and was even enjoyable. Penetito (2000) encapsulated the possible benefits of both cooperation and being part of a collective.

Māori like to do things together, to acclaim their Māoriness to one another, to meet and strengthen their social bonds for each other, to participate in games that challenge and unite, to share food, stories, and histories, and to remember those no longer in the world of light (p. 64).

Cooperative participation can help to sustain relationships and interactions among members of the collective group. By working together people had opportunities to get to know one another, and to learn more about one another's whakapapa and the nature of the linkages between families and whānau with a hapū. Finally, and most importantly, cooperative activities helped individuals to establish a closer

bond with the people of the collective, the place, the land and to the culture of being Māori.

Challenges to cooperation and collaboration

Over many decades the function of cooperation and collaboration within Māori collective groups has been faced with a number of challenges: changes to the structure of Māori communities; reduced opportunities for young people to learn and adults to practice; additional constraints of living in urban centres; and competing values.

Changes to the structure of Māori communities

Changes to Māori cultural structures and processes that occurred as a result of families relocating to urban centres impacted on cooperative and collaborative activities. Opportunities to work their land for the benefit of the group as a whole diminished with the individualisation of shares in land. Buck (1940) gave an example of how individual shares in land created a problem in relation to the value of cooperation and collaboration. He described how a shareholder might wish to put effort and money into work on the land but be deterred by the claims of others who had not contributed a fair share of toil. To avoid situations such as this, land was then leased to Pākehā farmers and the money distributed across all shareholders.

With fewer people living in Māori communities, all of the tasks required to maintain the communities became onerous for the few. According to a report on the status of marae nationally (Te Puni Kokiri, 2012), events at most marae attract enough ringawera/kitchen workers, but the expertise of kaikaranga (women who perform the ceremonial call to visitors) and kaikorero (male speaker) at some marae were insufficient. This suggests that cooperation and collaboration has shifted from maintaining the well-being of the group as a whole to events for specific groups on particular occasions. These types of events may provide some opportunity for younger people to experience and learn aspects of what it means to be part of and contribute to their collective group. However, over the generations the purpose and function of cultural activities has altered to fit the landscape of limited numbers

to sustain many working marae complexes. Many marae struggled to maintain the upkeep of the buildings and grounds with so few people living nearby to undertake the work and pay the expenses. While helpers may be plentiful at marae for specific events or occasions, those people who commit to and work to maintain and sustain the marae complex are few. Seventy six percent of the marae reviewed by Te Puni Kokiri (2012) had 20 or fewer volunteers to maintain their marae complex. This indicates that with a weakened structure, the function of the cultural community is reduced, in this instance meaning that it is a small pool of people who would continue to maintain the quality of cooperation and collaboration for many hapū.

Reduced opportunities to learn and practice

As already mentioned, children and young people have limited opportunities to learn about and practice how to work cooperatively and collaboratively in their collective group. Less contact with members of whānau and hapū means that opportunities to learn about the nature of relationships and how interactions occur were reduced for young people (see more under Relationships and interactions). Reduced opportunities to experience and learn in a cooperative and collaborative context would also likely reduce the influences that could counter the competing values of the non-Māori society in which many young Māori live.

Constraints of urban living

Urban living created constraints for many families when employment, financial hardship and transport difficulties arose if it was necessary for them to travel to their home area to participate in collective activities. A clash of values was created between a commitment to participate and contribute to the well-being of the collective and the need to keep a job, earn money to support family and meet the regular household and family expenses. The added expense of travel, for some, quite a distance to their home area, meant that many families did not, or could not meet the obligations to their collective. Non-attendance at collective events meant fewer opportunities to participate cooperatively and to continue to share the knowledge and skills of this practice with their children and within their family groups.

Holding of tangi is one cultural activity that has changed given the practical and financial limits for some families. Tangi are sometimes too costly for the family to return to the home area so are held in the town or city where the family reside. This experience could alter how the family experiences not only the cultural meaning of the event but also the collective manner of everyone working together for the purpose of honouring the person who has died as well as their family and whānau. Ultimately these constraints challenge underlying cultural values and beliefs.

Competing values

Following the Second World War there was increasing contact between Māori and non-Māori that provided Māori with greater exposure to competing values. The emphasis of Pākehā or western values on individual achievement and encouragement for advancement challenged the notions of working in a cooperative and collaborative manner for the good of the collective group. This clash of values can create difficulties in promoting collective function. A focus on individual input within a collective, collaborative activity can be detrimental to the group activity. For those who have learned to put greater value on individual effort and achievement, there is likely to be less value placed on participation in a group activity, or even on the well-being of the collective group. The humility of individuals taking part in a collective activity as a group of people can sometimes be lost if individuals are more driven to advance themselves in the eyes of the group.

Summary

The quality of cooperation and collaboration builds upon the notion of sharing, through action and working together for the common good. Urban living has altered how cooperation and collaboration occur for many Māori families, whānau and hapū; there are fewer opportunities for children and young people, and adults alike to learn and practice this quality. Distance and changed values that predominate for many families have also impacted on how some individuals interact with their collective group, be that family, whānau or hapū.

Openness and acceptance

Ki te kore te iwi, e kore koe e karangatia – he tangata.

Without the people you are nobody, you have no stance. (Penetito, 2000. p. 62)

In the essence of this quote is embodied the underpinning substance of openness and acceptance – that is, a young person’s cultural framework is comprised of and sustained by people. The collective action of these people builds and sustains the Māori cultural worldview within which children and young people grow with confidence. Without the people and socio-cultural structure of family, whānau and hapū, a person does not have a cultural framework.

The quality of openness and acceptance is located in the confidence and pride of growing up in a Māori world with a Māori cultural worldview where children and young people can develop feelings of cultural efficacy and have a clear understanding of their place in the world. This quality centres on a person’s self-belief and faith in their ability to meet the expectations and obligations that come with being Māori. Knowing their whakapapa provides the basis of the collective group. While these links remain in place, as known for many families, the surrounding cultural rules, parameters and cultural ways of being are not always as well known for some Māori in today’s society.

Living by cultural beliefs and having a commitment to cultural knowledge and cultural ways of being are what give structure and function to the collective group, and to the hapū strength and stability. Moon (2003) said that cultural inclusiveness was the ‘vital lens’ of Hohepa Kereopa’s worldview.

It is fully explicable only when the cultural components, in their infinite subtleties and nuances, are incorporated (p.86).

In discussing Māori education, Wally Penetito (2010) examines agency, albeit from a sociological perspective. He believed that Māori people and Māori culture have survived the “ever-intrusive Western mechanisms of hegemony” through agency

exercised as “rangatiratanga (self-determination) and mana motuhake (an independent spirit)...” (p. 48). Added to these two types of action, Penetito believed that Māori have a belief in a notion “that Māori have a quality that is worth perpetuating” (p.48). He states:

This quality is a heritage passed on through the millennia that embodies what it means to be Māori, what it means to be tangata whenua, what it means to be indigenous to this land. And it is this quality that needs to have its existence as agency, its equal part in the dynamics and power of human life in Aotearoa New Zealand (p. 48).

Without the subtleties, nuances and quality of heritage, Māori cultural ways are not complete. Families who raise their children and young people within this context can develop a world view that provides them with cultural security and identity. The children and young people grow to understand and live by the cultural rules and parameters of the collective group. As such they can be confident in themselves, be open and accepting of differences and challenges to their world view. Young people and adults alike can achieve the openness and acceptance of cultural agency.

Challenges to openness and acceptance

The challenges to openness and acceptance have been subtle and complex, and have influenced the structures, functions and perceptions of Māori at different levels: societal, cultural framework and individual levels. The changes to the perceptions of being Māori and living a Māori way of life appear to have been the most subtle and at the same time the biggest change for many, if not most, Māori. It is this, I believe, which is at the core of challenges to being open and accepting and has come about largely through the breakup of Māori cultural communities. The disruption to the function of Māori communities has brought about a breakdown in the transmission of culture from one generation to the next and as a consequence some people experience reduced levels of cultural efficacy.

Changes that have occurred to the structures and processes of Māori cultural communities have led to the disruption of the transmission of cultural knowledge

(more detail in Māori knowledge and skill section). This disruption has created a sense of instability in some communities, hapū, whānau, and family groups. Transmitting knowledge and skill from one generation to the younger generation through modelling and practice, does not function the way it once did because of the break-up of communities. In today's society individuals have to learn cultural knowledge in differing ways, through education training courses or wānanga, but without the stability of the cultural community context challenges can be experienced. These can be challenges of relevance and appropriateness to individuals' lives.

As a result of these changes, instead of living as Māori with their particular cultural ways, values, beliefs and practices, Māori culture has become largely compartmentalised. Very few Māori people today live in small communities where Māori cultural ways are combined into the community member's usual way of life. For most Māori the separate aspects of Māori culture are discrete features, - a person knowing their whakapapa, speaking te reo Māori, knowing tikanga and kawa for specific events, attending tangi or participating in kapa haka or waka ama. These features occur in a dominant Pākehā society where western values and customs have influence. Because there are not enough Māori communities extant in which parameters are clear in the same way as they were in the past, external influences from a wider society provide constant challenges to the inclusion of those subtleties and nuances so necessary for learning and maintaining Māori cultural function. There is a tension between the two sets of cultural values, beliefs and practices, where a Māori person has to be "successful" in both, and where judgements can be made if "success" in the Pākehā world is not achieved. And these judgements do not take account of the changes to Māori cultural community, the barriers and constraints and difficulties created by geographic distance and financial limitations, or the disruptions to Māori cultural socialisation and transmissions over many generations. How are these judgements conveyed? Statistics that reported poor or negative levels for Māori have been discussed across many areas, for example, economic status (Cram, 2011) , housing (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011), health (Reid & Robson, 2007), education (McKinley

& Hoskins, 2011), and justice (Webb, 2011). These examples convey the level of Maori failure in the non-Māori world. Commonly recognised areas indicating non-achievement in the Māori world are assessed by the ability to korero te reo Māori, and having “access to marae, to Māori land and to whānau” (Durie, 2001, p. 56).

However, life realities in Aotearoa New Zealand necessitate employment and this tends to require residence close to where opportunities for employment exist. This situation does not always or easily allow for the inclusion of Māori cultural activities. But the disjointed compartmentalising of the Māori cultural features means that the quality of openness and acceptance within the collective group is far more difficult to achieve as a whole when the individuals and sometimes family groups and collective communities are not always in close proximity to one another. This pattern of cultural functioning also makes cultural socialisation within families difficult, in particular in the communities in which the subtleties and nuances of the kind identified by Hohepa Kereopa with respect to his way of viewing and living in his world.

Summary

The quality of openness and acceptance is about cultural efficacy, for example, when an individual feels that they are able to achieve a goal; the feeling of efficacy would relate to decisions, choices and actions associated with cultural activities. With feelings of efficacy come openness and acceptance of people and situations. Development of this quality occurs in its entirety with the complementary functioning of the three relationship groups of family, whānau and hapū; in other words, the collective. For many individuals the ability to develop the level of confidence and pride in being Māori within a strong cultural framework has been disrupted by differing levels of functioning within the collective. As a consequence, low levels of efficacy lead to reduced participation in cultural activities and reduced openness and acceptance.

Relationships and interactions

Sustaining relationships and interactions is a fundamental activity for the effective functioning of a Māori collective group. Whakapapa connections provide the basis

for the relationships that hold the three relationship groups of a cultural framework together. It is this cultural framework, or collective, that is the key mechanism by which Māori cultural socialisation occurs. As a quality, the maintaining relationships and interactions within a collective group requires people to reach an understanding of themselves, how they feel about themselves and how they relate to others. Being able to reflect on, adapt and improve the way they inter-relate is an important aspect in the management of relationships and working together with others, as is the knowledge that a person has done well when the well-being of the group is achieved. Apart from personal awareness, being able to communicate effectively is the core skill of this quality. These aspects of this quality are described separately.

Relationships

The Māori collective in this instance centres on the groups where the inter-relationships are based on whakapapa. The historical patterns these whakapapa relationships followed were generally based on lines of seniority, status, heredity, role and personal qualities for their performance. A person's place in the whakapapa line delineated how people related to others over generations.

The words of tuakana and taina (or teina) ... can be used for all time, as long as a common ancestor can be traced, and the children are of the same generation (Papakura, 1986. p. 48).

Mead (2003) included more detail with regard to the tracing of junior or senior lines of relationships.

For example one might be a taina (belong to a younger or more junior line) or tuakana (belong to an older and more senior line). Or one may come directly down the aho ariki, a chiefly line (p. 220).

Mead also highlighted the importance of establishing an individual's identity, whakapapa and birthright as an "essential compliance requirement" (p. 220) within the person's iwi. Knowing about and understanding the nature and importance of these relationships and how individuals related to each other helped to define the roles, responsibilities and the place occupied within the collective group.

Ultimately the combined nature of these roles and relationships contributed to the function of the collective responsibility for any given group.

Individuals were able to grow up within their collective, learning about their place within the group and the nature of their relationship to others within their whakapapa, that is, the others within their own group. Ideally, learning about these relationships would occur in the first instance within young people's family groups and their knowledge would expand as their family expanded their contacts and relationships with members of their whānau, hapū and iwi. The nature of their family's participation would in effect teach the child or young person about relationships, level of importance, seniority, and roles, within the collective.

The nature of the relationships also reflected the nature of the people in each family group, the way they had been nurtured and raised in their childhood families and the socio-cultural context in which the family lived – also important aspects for children and young people to learn. Relating intergenerationally was/is a core aspect of the learning process for children and young people within their family groups. These relationships demonstrate the qualities of respect for elders, honouring their knowledge and experience, and young people's acknowledgement of the experiential learning process. Historically children assumed age appropriate roles and responsibilities as part of this experiential learning process (Haig, 1998; Papakura, 1986; Smiler, 1998) and these activities helped children and young people to learn the qualities of being part of a collective.

Relationships within the collective are bound by whakapapa. The people within the collective are related and this means that it is not a group that a person can easily leave. Being bound to the group does not have an expectation of compulsion, but there are expectations that engender feelings of obligation. There are no real sanctions for non-compliance with these expectations, although reinforcement of positive behaviour can be rewarded with greater recognition, greater responsibility being bestowed or acknowledgement given for actions of note. The well-being and mana of the place, and group in that place, is considered to be the group reward.

The enjoyment experienced by the people of the group in attaining that group reward is the benefit to the people, together with the strengthening of the group's sense of belonging, identity, feeling of self-worth and sense of security that is encompassed in that experience.

Interactions

In earlier generations, when most Māori families lived in smaller rural communities, interactions in the collective were a usual part of everyday life. As a part of everyday activities, children and young people learned how to behave, react, respond appropriately in any given situation, and also to just 'be' in a given situation. Learning occurred in context as a result of observing, and listening as well as by taking direction for children and adults alike, so was culturally specific within the collective group. With this learning came the associated subtleties and nuances that Hohepa Kereopa highlighted (Moon, 2003) as being crucial for growing a Māori cultural worldview.

Since Māori people at the centre of their communities shifted from those rural communities to towns and cities, the nature of the interactions and requisite learning has also changed. Instead of interactions between the relationship groups being part of the usual way of life, they can be viewed as separate events, still offering some learning opportunity, but not as connected to cultural community as previously.

Whānau hui are probably more common on occasions like reunions, birthdays and celebrations such as Christmas. Hapū hui include tangihanga, weddings, land meetings and marae meetings; they tend to be more formal. Meetings at the level of iwi are usually less frequent, and deal with political issues such as raupatu and other matters that might impinge on the mana of iwi (Penetito, 2000. p. 267).

Adaptation of how interactions occur at the different levels of the three relationship groups have enabled the core notions of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices to be sustained, albeit in a slightly different form from in former times. Ongoing challenges however, continue to confront and test the function of

many Māori collective groups, family, whānau, hapū, iwi, and also other Māori community groups.

Challenges to the function of relationships and interactions

Challenges that have disrupted family relationships and interactions and also contributed to collective groups not functioning as well as they might have included: geographic distance between family and their rohe created by the movement to urban areas for employment and better prospects; individualisation of ownership shares of what had previously been multiply owned hapū land where conflict has arisen; and disruption to patterns of cultural socialisation and cultural practice with the break-up of Māori communities.

Geographic distance

Relocation to towns and cities away from their home areas has meant that more than two, three and four generations of young people have been raised in their family groups away from what had been the usual functioning of their whānau and hapū relationships. Growing up away from a small community where members of a collective inter-related closely disrupted what had been the embedded process of cultural learning and developing cultural perspective or worldview. With this disruption the implicit nature of cultural learning has largely been lost.

The practical issues around travelling between urban and rural areas have added a barrier to collective participation. Cost, time constraints and logistical problems all contribute to the difficulties for families with maintaining effective contact with relatives and their participation in cultural activities. Maintaining intimacy or closeness in relationships is difficult over distance and can inhibit how well members of a collective actually function as a group. It also means that children and young people have fewer opportunities to learn how to function within a collective group, and family cohesiveness is affected.

Individualised shares for Māori owned land

Land, or Papatuanuku, has always been at the heart of who someone is as a Māori person (Durie, 2001; Mead, 2003; Moon, 2003). This is symbolised in language, with whenua being the same Māori word for land and placenta – linking each

person with the land. Despite this fundamental understanding of the link between people and the land, the physical movement of people away from the land of their home areas in the search for employment, accompanied other major land losses (for some iwi and hapū) resulting from government sanctioned land confiscations, and some less than official land grabs through sleight of hand actions by key people like government surveyors (King, 2003).

As stated earlier, creating individual shares in what had been multiply-owned hapu land altered the meaning and value of land, and this impacted on the function of family, whanau and hapu. The monetary value placed on the land through allocation of shares seems to have altered the expectations of people from land shares being allocated for the mutual benefit of the group (be that family, whānau, hapū or iwi) to that of competitive, individual benefit. But the process of succession to land shares leads to the diminishing of the size of shares with each subsequent generation and therefore less monetary benefit. However, the competitive nature of share allocation remains. As a result other qualities of collective function are affected: sharing, cooperation, openness and acceptance, as the nature of competition and individual gain spreads to other aspects of collective function.

Break up of Māori communities

As has been mentioned already, a number of problems have resulted from the break-up of rural Māori communities. Two particular issues are mentioned here; they relate to the function of relationships and interactions: the process of leadership, and breaches of cultural practice.

Leadership will be presented in more detail under the Decision-making section, however, the processes by which leadership functioned altered with the break-up of rural communities. Having collective members dispersed meant leadership could not be as effective as when the groups were more closely located and had more regular communication and interactions. Leadership succession was also affected

by the dispersal of people, disrupted relationships, and reduced opportunities for potential leaders to learn.

For some family members geographic and emotional distance led to lower levels of participation in cultural practices which lowered adherence to some of the strict terms of tikanga and kawa. In some cases breaches of tikanga, for example, breaking the rules of protocol on a marae, led to ostracism of families, which sometimes lasted for more than one generation. Such sanctions split family and whānau groups from their hapū leaving some of those families living in a limbo-like state – not actually part of their own collective group. When this situation is aligned with the alterations of the function of leadership, the ongoing conflicts seem destined to remain unresolved.

Summary

Relationships and interactions underpin and drive Māori culture and are at the centre of collective function. The status of relationships grounded in whakapapa guide, or used to guide the parameters of relationships and interactions. Distance, both geographic and emotional, as well as changes to land ownership and the break-up of Māori communities affecting leadership and cultural practice have all affected how well the relationships and interactions in family, whānau and hapū groups have functioned.

Maori knowledge and skill

Māori knowledge and skill is a crucial part of being a member of a Māori collective and in the past this knowledge used to be a part of the usual way of life. Today, it is more generally considered to be a part of what is referred to as Māori culture, which in effect sets the cultural function apart from what many people, Māori and non-Māori, consider to be their usual way of life in today's society. Māori knowledge provides meaning, and the skill to utilise that meaning in appropriate ways to maintain the connection to the collective group.

What is meant by Māori knowledge and skill? In each iwi and hapū area there are specific sets of stories about the journey and experiences of the group's ancestors

and their way of life. Stories have been perpetuated over generations some by relating them to the younger generations, through waiata, and some more well-known tales have reached mythic status. Underpinning these stories are some of the qualities already mentioned which convey the core cultural values, beliefs and ways of being that hold that group together, that is, sharing, cooperation, and openness and acceptance. Skill in Māori cultural ways of being comes with particular ways of managing relationships and interactions, one of these is in decision-making (which is described in the next section), which is important through the regular practice of cultural activities. Where a family group retains a high level of involvement in Māori cultural activities, it follows that family members are more likely to value their membership of the collective group, that is, whānau and hapū. Naturally, with ease of access to the cultural community, a commitment to sustain this membership is likely, as it facilitates active participation in the group and therefore perpetuates the qualities of the collective.

Having Māori knowledge increases understanding about the expressions of Māori culture (such as tikanga, kawa, tangi, and manaakitanga) and skill comes from putting knowledge into practice. Practice of Māori knowledge and skill contributes to feelings of efficacy and this develops cultural agency. Efficacy enables a person to have a role, take on responsibilities and leads to an individual feeling they have a place within a collective. All of these factors contribute to people feeling that they belong and are committed to retaining this circular process of cultural transmission.

Knowledge and skill defined as a quality for a member of a Māori collective holds the Māori cultural values, the beliefs, stories, histories that were practiced as a usual way of life for iwi, hapū and whānau. Some family groups still practice these, but for others, distance has lessened the level of knowledge and skill held. Emotional distance can decrease feelings of confidence and inhibit members of family groups from accessing cultural resources to seek knowledge.

Challenges to individuals having Māori knowledge and skill

There are two aspects to the challenge faced by individuals having Māori knowledge and skill that I wish to highlight. The first is the interruption to the patterns of cultural transmission which had lessened the degree of cultural socialisation within some families. The second relates to challenges that limit or inhibit individuals' ability to practice Māori culture and utilise their knowledge and skill. The function of a Māori collective, family, whānau, hapū and iwi, is held together by the framework of Māori knowledge and the skill of Māori people in weaving the people together.

Interruption to patterns of Māori cultural transmission

As has been described, perpetuation of Māori cultural knowledge and skill through a cultural framework of family, whānau and hapū has for many families been interrupted with the move into towns and cities. The change in patterns of lifestyle has meant that two or more generations of families have now been removed from knowing how to be part of a Māori collective where Māori cultural values and way of life sustain the culture within a family group. Each successive generation widens that gap and the linkages to being Māori become more diluted. As well, the meanings of cultural ways also lose more meaning and are increasingly open to distortion. In some instances (see above) knowledge of cultural ways has been distorted; this has led to breaches of tikanga and subsequent ostracism of family groups. Ultimately other collective qualities are also impacted by this gap. Competing values and the promotion of success within a Pākehā world tends to support the disruption to Māori cultural participation as notions of succeeding in a Pākehā world are still promoted in daily rhetoric. Acknowledgement of the disruption to Māori community structures and functions is not widely discussed in relation to intergenerational cultural transmission.

Constraints to practice of Māori knowledge and skill

As well as the geographic and emotional distance created by relocation to towns and cities and subsequent limits to participation in cultural activities, other challenges include: differing realities of being Māori and pressures of other life activities.

Sir Robert Mahuta (Diamond, 2003) referred to what he called “the diversity now of what it means to be Māori” (p. 140). He felt that this diversity was becoming more pronounced and that it led to disunity of the collective group. While Tainui has the Kingitanga as a unifying mechanism, other iwi, hapū and whānau groups do not have the same type of guidance to help collective function. However, the nature of the diverse Māori realities is not well understood.

Along with the diversity of realities comes pressure of maintaining employment and maintenance of economic security (Rangihau, 1975). The challenge to maintain Māori cultural values and practices at the cost of maintaining family security and well-being where the security and support of the collective is at a distance can create stress and internal conflict for individuals. For many the priority has to be meeting immediate family need and as a result, cultural practice is reduced. Children and young people in these families then lose opportunities to learn about Māori culture and also how to be part of a collective group.

Summary

Māori knowledge and skill is the framework that holds the relationships of each Māori collective group together. Learning about and maintaining this knowledge and skill requires utilisation, practice and embedding in daily or at least regular practice. For many Māori living in urban centres the pattern of passing on of knowledge and skill has been interrupted and pressures of work and urban living have constrained how much practice occurs.

Decision-making

As a quality of a Māori collective group, the process of decision-making revolved around group leadership and discussion. Consensus decision-making required a process of discussion where all members were given an opportunity to have some input. All the previous qualities – sharing, cooperation and collaboration, openness and acceptance, relationships and interactions, and Māori knowledge and skill, all feature within the decision-making process. They all contribute to a person’s sense of their role and responsibilities, their place in the group in relation to others; they

give a sense of the nature of relationships with others, help identify who the resource people are, establish the level of confidence and openness among group members, and the status and respect for the group leadership. Participation assumed members felt safe to take part in any discussion and contribute their thoughts, opinions, and ideas, knowing their views would be heard and respected, whether they were agreed with or not. It was the process of participation that was important.

Fiske (1991) describes consensus decision-making for a Communal Sharing relationship structure:

Everyone should participate and contribute ideas, comments, and convictions, taking careful account of what others say and the emerging sense of the group. People generally defer to the wisdom of the group as a whole, unless someone has a fundamental objection of conscience, in which case the group will try to respect that position by not making the decision in question. The decisions jointly arrived at are decisions of the group, and everyone stands behind them (p. 73).

In describing well-established traditional Māori leadership, Mead (1997) added to a consensus decision making process the input of a priest and matakite (seer) to assist with reaching a decision. Rangatira (leaders) would lead and guide the process and also had the crucial role in conflict resolution.

Challenges to decision making

For many Māori understanding and participating in this type of process has been challenged as a result of the distance at which many live from their own collective groups, whānau and hapū. As well as distance other challenges mentioned in discussion of the other five qualities, also feature here as the all-encompassing nature of this quality requires. Most crucially there are the challenges that have occurred for Māori communities and their leaders, and these have been compounded by the damage to the processes of leadership succession.

Settlements of the Waitangi Tribunal claims have seen a re-focusing and re-organisation for many iwi and hapū after having successfully argued for recompense on account of historical injustices and their subsequent social impacts.

Re-establishment of old structures within these communities, or the re-establishment of the communal sharing structure of previous times sits at odds with the corporate business model that has had to be developed to meet Government's settlement requirements (Poata-Smith, 2008). Decision making within the new corporate structure has had to meet business requirements; this leaves very little, if any opportunity for input by collective members.

As has been outlined previously, collective function is held together by the cultural framework. Cultural values, beliefs and practices provide meaning and purpose for the collective. Many collectives have been negatively affected by numerous challenges that have left some families positioned outside their own collective groups. Strengthening of the collective groups requires solid leadership and collective input to guide decisions around what the collectives need to do to address gaps and repair damage to relationships and processes and how best to do this. However, there may be a dilemma for some in leadership positions where there is a clash of purpose between their collective and business models.

Summary

Reaching a consensus assumes the participation of and input from all members of a collective group. Confidence in this process was based in a strong Māori community where individuals and family groups had the opportunity to participate. Leadership grew from within the community and was grounded in the purpose of the community. Challenges that emerge following Waitangi Tribunal settlements may create a dilemma for leaders when they are faced with making choices between their collective group and business decisions.

Summary

This chapter has identified some qualities and elements of collective group membership which have previously been implicit features of a Māori way of living within their particular grouping. The rationale for this has been highlighted in work to identify the processes by which Māori culture is socialised within family, whānau and hapū groups. Being a member of a collective group emerged as being central to those processes, and in today's society where there are diverse Māori realities it

is now necessary to tease out the important elements or qualities so they can be better understood and used to maintain those groups.

In summary, Māori collectives consisting of family groups, whānau and hapū used to live in small rural communities where Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices provided the framework in which the collective group functioned. Many changes have taken place that have disrupted the processes by which the collective groups lived. While the collective groups still remain, albeit in differing forms, the structures and many functions have altered. Māori cultural socialisation occurs within the three relationship groups of the cultural framework, or the collective, but this appears to happen to differing degrees and is dependent upon how much a family group takes part in activities within their collective group. Participation of families within the collective group has encountered a number of difficulties and barriers. More than two generations of families have been faced with this challenge; this has meant that the adults in the families have not had opportunities to practice being in a collective and the younger generations have not had opportunity to learn how to be in a collective.

Six qualities that are learned and necessary for successful participation in a collective group have been identified and include: sharing; cooperation and collaboration; openness and acceptance; relationships and interactions; Māori knowledge and skill; and decision-making. These qualities reflect collective values and as values provide an aspirational state to which a collective member may wish to aspire. However, there have been challenges for some in acquiring the ability to utilise these qualities. The types of challenges that have created barriers or difficulties for families and individuals in participating in their collective groups range from complex, societally based values changes, to personal struggles to maintain a job to meet family day to day needs. A range of challenges is presented here with descriptions of different levels of challenge rather than complexity. To provide a brief summary these are: family, individual; Māori collective group; societal. This outline is by no means a full picture.

Family level challenges in many instances related to the geographic and emotional distance that had presented difficulties for many families that had a requirement to travel to their home area to attend and participate in cultural activities. In many instances the difficulties precluded the travel. This then denied the family members opportunities to practice and the children and young people opportunities to learn about cultural activities and their role in those activities. As a result there were fewer chances for family members to improve their own feelings of cultural efficacy and consolidate what knowledge and skill they already had. Consequently, without regular practice feelings of confidence would be more likely to dissipate which could also contribute to people feeling reticent to return. Not returning to their home area to attend cultural events also denies family members the opportunity to maintain relationships through interacting with others at the event.

Māori collective group level challenges largely related to the change in the nature of Māori communities following the impacts of urbanisation when many Māori families moved to towns and cities for employment. As a consequence many Māori communities were left with far fewer people to carry out the task of perpetuating their community of culture.

Cultural functioning within those communities has become more focused on meeting the specific needs of their community members through events such as tangi, celebrations, and hui, rather than focussing on maintaining an all-encompassing way of life for the whole community. Opportunities for learning and/or maintaining relationships at the community level are therefore limited. The contraction of support networks results in a lower level of support being offered. The structures of leadership and sources of cultural knowledge have been weakened by the depletion of people among whom there would otherwise have been a usual pattern of succession of tasks and learning.

Societal level challenges were experienced in different ways by individuals and families expected to maintain employment to support their families away from the

traditional supports of whānau and hapū. The collective values had also been challenged at a societal level through mechanisms such as the change in the nature of Māori land ownership from multiple ownership to individualised land titles that could then achieve a monetary value. Previously, land utilisation though held in multiple ownership utilisation had been for the good of the collective. The change in value has allowed land to be sold or for shareholders to expect an annual payout. Further, in accordance with the Waitangi Tribunal settlements, the requirement for iwi and hapū to establish legal entities for business development imposes competing values and choices to be made with regard to priorities, business or community of culture, that is, the collective groupings of family, whānau and hapū.

These types of challenges experienced over two, three and four generations of families have resulted in some families having little or no experience of their particular collective group. The outcome has been that some of the family members have no proficiency or knowledge of how to behave when in the presence of a collective group. Other family members have some idea of what is expected but have little confidence to willingly put themselves into that situation.

In addition, there are few opportunities for these family members to learn and so this pattern of loss of knowledge, skills and desire to learn will further deteriorate. The six qualities provide a stepped process by which members of a Māori collective can be better understood and practise and that may in the longer term help to address the gap between the families and their collectives.

Chapter 6 – Research Method

Research rationale and research questions

As described in chapter 2, Remedial programmes, the questions behind this research arose following an evaluation of five community youth programmes (Ministry of Justice, 2007; Young, Burns, Malins, & Thomas, 2006) which had been developed and funded to prevent youth offending and re-offending by young Māori. Many young people who attended those programmes were identified by the funding agencies and programme providers as having low levels of Māori cultural knowledge and skill. The funding agencies expected the programmes to include some compensatory cultural components, the assumption being that introducing Māori cultural activities would be beneficial for the young people. However, the causes behind the low levels of Māori cultural knowledge are very complex as has been described in the previous chapters. Many Māori families do not live within their own rohe, that is, the area or region of their iwi and hapu, as the need to relocate for employment has become a financial necessity in today's society. For some family groups, the initial relocation from their rohe occurred approximately three or four generations ago. As a consequence, there has been a lessening of the ability of the members of these families to retain contact and regular interactions with others in their family, whanau and hapu group. Regular participation in cultural activities is a usual part of Māori cultural socialisation and cultural transmission for young people. Opportunities for young people to establish cultural identification had also been reduced.

While there was no clear rationale for the inclusion of cultural compensatory components within the community youth programmes, there are likely to be three contributing factors to their inclusion. The first is the recommendations of the 1988 Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy which highlighted the need to include Māori and a Māori perspective within social policy. The second factor was highlighted in the 1988 report, Puao-te ata-tu (Day break). This report recommended the development of a Māori perspective within (what was at that time) the Department of Social Welfare and the appropriate delivery of services for

Māori. Finally, in 1989 a decision was made by the Government to set out five principles to guide its relationships and obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. In combination the overall shift in expectations over the previous fifteen years that required the inclusion of a Māori perspective as well as Māori cultural activities was maintained as it aimed to redress some of the loss that many Māori families have experienced.

The evaluation of the five community programmes considered that the cultural compensatory components within the programmes were an avenue through which the young people could be introduced to Māori cultural activities. However, in general the purpose was unclear. It appeared that because the young people and their families did not have active links to their own iwi or hapu they therefore did not have a 'culture' and needed to learn about being Māori. But the inclusion of cultural compensatory activities overall had little relevance to the lives of the young people (Young, Burns, Malins, & Thomas, 2006). The actual cultural needs of the young people and their families were unknown and there was little information about the influences and resources upon which the young people built their cultural identification.

Research aims, objectives and questions

Cultural identification develops as a result of a young person's involvement in their cultural community and participation in cultural activities. Cultural identification emerges from a process of social learning within a young person's cultural context. The aim of the research was to determine cultural identification, and how that occurred, for a sample of young Māori who were attending a community programme for Māori offenders. For the young people social integration is an important focus of the community programmes and developing cultural identification as Māori is central to the young people establishing and maintaining prosocial lives. Determining the links between cultural identification development and the nature of the compensatory cultural components within the programmes aimed to heighten programme effectiveness.

Research objectives

- To determine the cultural identification of a sample of young Māori offenders and their families and identify their cultural values, beliefs and practices.
- To identify the pattern of cultural socialisation of a sample of young Māori offenders and their families.
- To determine the meaning of Māori cultural identity for a sample of young Māori offenders and their families.
- To determine the implications for the Young Offender programmes in light of the cultural identification, cultural values, beliefs and practices of a sample of young Māori offenders and their families.

Research Questions

1. What is the cultural identification of the families and young people and what cultural values, beliefs and practices do they use to guide the cultural aspects of their lives, and how does this occur?
2. To what extent do traditional Māori values influence the families and young people and how does this occur?
3. Given the cultural identification, cultural values, beliefs and practices of the families and young people, what are the implications for the Young Offender programmes?

Participants

A total of 66 participants were interviewed for this research project. This total comprised the following:

Table 1

Number of participants

<u>Participants</u>	<u>Number</u>
Young people	23
Parents/caregivers	20
Programme Provider management and staff	14
Community stakeholders	
• Community	5
• Police	4
• Youth Court Judge	1

All participants involved in this research project had an interest in the delivery of appropriate services for young 'in-trouble' Maori. Programme staff and community stakeholders were included in the study because of the level of knowledge and expertise gained in their work with the young people and their families. Most of the programme staff and community stakeholders were also Māori and able to contribute their perspectives from their own experiences. Overall, the participants represented many of the different realities of life for Maori living in Aotearoa New Zealand and this was reflected in their particular input.

Participant - Young People

The twenty three young people who took part in research interviews were attending one of three participant community organisations who were delivering programmes for 'in-trouble' youth. Of the 23 young people, 13 were male and ten were female and their ages ranged from 12 – 18 years. The ethnic breakdown showed that 22 young people identified as Māori, with five young people identifying as mixed ethnicity. One young person identified only as Cook Island Maori although his father was reportedly of Maori descent and his mother was also of both Cook Island Māori and Māori descent.

Table 2

Young people by age, gender and ethnicity

<u>Age</u>	<u>Gender</u>		<u>Ethnicity*</u>			
	Male	Female	Māori	Pākehā	Cook Island	Pacific
12 years	1		1			
13 years	2		1		1	
14 years	1	2	3			
15 years	7	3	10			3
16 years	1	2	3			
17 years	1		1			
18 years		3	3	1		

* Multiple ethnicities reported

Seventeen of the young people had come to the attention of the Police and had committed a range of offences such as fighting, driving offences, and burglary. The six remaining young people, who had not come to the attention of the Police, had

been referred to the programmes because of truanting, bad behaviour at school, or because of older siblings coming to the attention of Police. At least one of the seven young people had previously been known to the Police but their referral to the programme was for reasons other than criminal offending.

Table 3

Young people by age, gender and offences

Age	Male	Offences*	Age	Female	Offences*
12 years	1	Theft, driving charges	12 years		
13 years	1	Trespass	13 years		
14 years			14 years	2	Stealing; fighting
15 years	6	Fighting; drinking; stealing; robbery; car conversion; driving charges; break & enter	15 years	2	Stealing; robbery; fighting; car charges
16 years	1	Assault; drinking charges	16 years	2	Stealing; drink drive charges; assault; aggravated robbery; car conversion
17 years	1	Fighting; drinking charges; disorderly behaviour; car conversion; driving charges	17 years		
18 years			18 years	1	Fighting

* Not all young people had come to the attention of the Police

Participant -Parents/caregivers

Young people from nineteen family groups were part of this research. Of these nineteen family groups twenty parents/caregivers took part in face-to-face interviews, most were women. There was only one male parent/caregiver. Most were the parents of the young people, and three were caregivers. The caregivers were family members of the young people for whom they were caring. The ages of parents/caregivers ranged from 30-34 to 65+. Five parents/caregivers were in the 40-44 age group, with four each in the 35-39 and 45-49 age groups. Two parents/caregivers were in each of the 30-34 and 50-54 age groups, with one parent/caregiver in each of the 55-59, 60-64, and 65+ age groups.

Most of the parents/caregivers identified as Māori. One parent/caregiver was of Samoan descent and one identified primarily as Cook Island Māori, although she was also of New Zealand Māori heritage. Seven parents/caregivers were of mixed ethnicity.

Seven parents/caregivers were single parents, five were married and five were living with partners. Two of the parents/caregivers were widows.

Table 4

Parents/caregivers by age group, gender, and ethnicity

	Age	Gender		Māori	Pākehā	Ethnicity*		
		Male	Female			Cook Island	Pacific	Other
30-34	2		2	1		1		
35-39	4		4	4				1
40-44	5		5	4			1	
45-49	4	1	3	4				
50-54	2		2	2	1			
55-59	1		1	1				
60-64	1		1	1				
65+	1		1	1				

* Multiple Ethnicities reported

Parents/caregivers were asked to indicate their employment situation and highest educational qualification or level of schooling, or study. Eight parents/caregivers reported being in employment and two also reported undertaking study. Twelve parents/caregivers reported receiving a benefit.

Most parents/caregivers (15) reported their highest level of schooling as being at the secondary level with two reporting they had NCEA. Three reported that they had attained a Polytechnic level certificate or diploma. Two parents/caregivers reported still being in study.

Table 5

Parents/caregiver by age groups, gender, employment situation and highest educational qualification

Age Group	Gender		Employment Situation*			Highest Educational Qualification*			
	Male	Female	Employed	Benefit	Study	Secondary	NCEA	Certificate Diploma	Study
30-34	2	2	1	1	1	1		1	1
35-39	4	4	1	3		4		1	
40-44	5	5	3	3		3	1	1	
45-49	4	3		4		3			
50-54	2	2	2		1	1	1		1
55-59	1	1		1		1			
60-64	1	1		1		1			
65+	1	1	1			1			

* Multiple employment situations and qualifications reported

Participant – Programme Providers

Three community organisations, with which I had established a working relationship, were approached and asked if they would agree to taking part in research exploring processes of cultural socialisation and the development of cultural identification for young Māori. It was explained that the purpose was to determine the nature of the cultural links that the families of the young people had to Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices and how this information could build effectiveness in the programmes they delivered for young people. All three of the community organisations agreed to participate and provide me with access to their clients, the young people and their families.

Two of the three provider organisations were located in Auckland and one was in Rotorua. The purpose of choosing the three organisations in these locations was to ensure a range of family life experiences and contact with Māori cultural activities. Each of the three provider organisations are described as follows.

Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust - Rotorua

This community trust provided a range of programmes for young people aged from primary school age to young adults and parents of young people. Originally established some twenty years ago to utilise outdoor activities to provide some recreational activity for young people, the services delivered had expanded to

include outdoor adventure and sports-oriented programmes, transition to work programmes, Strengthening Family support programmes, and support for young people who had come to the attention of Police. The aim of the suite of programmes was for the organisation to provide overall integrated support to the young people. One of the suite of programmes had a specific cultural focus, the 'Te Arawa Journey', and was designed to help young people learn about the history of Te Arawa with the aim of re-establishing, or establishing whakapapa links for the young people and their families. A client centred approach was taken in the work with the young people and confidentiality maintained in all cases.

Referrals to the organisation were made by schools, parents, relatives of young people, and those working in the youth justice sector. Most of the young people were identified as being at low to medium risk for offending and their offences fitted a low to medium level of seriousness.

Tamaki Pathways Trust – Panmure/Glen Innes, Auckland

This organisation was originally established to work with young people going through the youth justice process and to assist with completion of Family Group Conference plans. Changes had shifted to delivering support for young people and families in the form of casework. Case workers conducted needs and risk assessments with the young people and their families and followed up with relevant local agencies and other services. The organisation also delivered holiday programmes. As part of the holiday programme, visits to the local urban marae were held for the young people and their families, and some of the young people were taken on a trip to a marae in Northland. These activities aimed to help the young people and their families make connections to Māori cultural beliefs and practices. Referrals to the organisation were made by schools, parents and the youth justice sector. Young people were generally identified as being at low to medium risk for offending and their offences were of low to medium level of seriousness.

Genesis – Mangere, Auckland

Established to work with young people who came to the attention of Police, Genesis worked primarily with young people dealt with by Police Youth Aid. While much of the work with the young people and families was conducted as case work, the organisation also arranged other community-oriented sporting and fun activities for young people of the area. These were largely prevention oriented and highlighted and promoted positive, prosocial activities for young people and there was generally an educative component to many of these activities. During the time of the research the organisation also commenced parenting programmes to assist parents with management of the behaviour of their children, young people. This programme had an established relationship with an urban marae to where the young people were taken as part of their programme activities to work in the marae gardens with the aim of helping the young people to establish some connection to Māori cultural beliefs and practices.

Participants – Community Stakeholders

The three community provider organisations worked with people from other community agencies in their work with the young people and their families. Relevant community stakeholders from each of the three areas were interviewed for this research and included: Police Youth Aid officers (3), a Police Iwi Liaison Officer (1), a Manager of a community alcohol and drug agency, two Coordinator/Managers of two urban marae (one of whom was also a trustee of a programme), two volunteer workers at an urban marae, and a Youth Court Judge.

Field Work

Field work required setting up and managing effective and efficient relationships with three community programme providers. These relationships aimed to ensure mutual benefits – for the research I was to get access to their client young people and families and in return each of the providers was to benefit from the findings of the research project. The community programme providers also identified community stakeholders who worked with or were familiar with the young people who were clients and their families.

Permissions

Ethical approval for conducting this research was obtained from the Victoria University of Wellington School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee (SOPHEC) prior to the commencement of data collection.

To work with each of the community programme providers required a process of obtaining approval. I initially met with each of the programme managers to explain the research and negotiate what could be expected during data collection.

Protocols were established to provide clear guidelines about the processes to be followed for recruitment, obtaining consent, and cases where it was thought that a young person needed support following an interview. The Board of Trustees for one of the provider organisations stipulated the need for a Memorandum of Understanding to establish an effective working relationship for the duration of the project and put in place protection for the organisation, researcher, and Victoria University of Wellington.

Permissions were required from New Zealand Police for obtaining access to Police Youth Aid officers for interviews. A recommendation from Police to include iwi liaison officers as participants was also taken up. Only one iwi liaison officer was spoken to, the second officer was on leave at the time of field work.

Permission was also obtained from the Court for access to two Youth Court Judges. One of these interviews did not come about due to the ill-health of an intermediary who was setting up the interview.

Recruitment and consent

The initial criteria for young people to be invited to participate in an interview were that they be aged between 12 and 17 years of age and had come to the attention of the Police. However, two of the programme providers identified that not all of their young people had come to the attention of the Police but had been referred for other reasons. For example, parents had referred one young person for support in making the transition from school, and one programme provider had accepted the younger sibling of a young person who had come to the attention of the Police.

They felt that the families of the young people had backgrounds that fitted the usual pattern for young people who came to the attention of the police but the young people had avoided formal intervention to that point. These young people were also invited to participate in an interview.

Recruitment processes for the young people were set up with each of the programme providers. Each provider conducted their part of the recruitment process slightly differently as it suited their style of working with the families and the needs of the families.

Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust

This organisation maintained a strict policy that the young people retained control and decision making over who they had contact with and what they participated in. As a result the manager asked the case workers to approach and ask young people they were working with if they wanted to be involved in the research project. The young people were given information sheets about the research. If they agreed, their names and contact telephone numbers were passed to me for an initial approach.

Upon the first contact a meeting time and place was arranged where I talked to the young person about the research, their participation in it and also their parents'/caregivers' participation and questions were answered. Where necessary the parent/caregiver's contact details were obtained so I could organise their interviews at another time. Written consent was obtained before interviews were conducted.

Parent interviews were conducted separately apart from one; one young person and parent insisted that their interview be conducted together.

In four instances the participants chose for the interview to be conducted at a neutral venue, i.e., three young people and one parent/caregiver. A room was hired for three interviews and a private meeting room at Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust

was used for one interview. All of the other interviews were conducted at the homes of the young people and their family.

Tamaki Pathways Trust

The case workers for this organisation identified clients who would be suitable and willing to participate in the research. They discussed possible participation in the research with the parents/caregivers and young people and if they agreed, organised the time and place of interview. I was accompanied to each interview by the case worker to each interview and introduced to the parent/caregiver and young person. For some interviews the case worker remained at the home in another room during the interview, usually spending time with the young person and parent/caregiver (whoever was not participating in an interview).

Before each interview the purpose of the research was explained, the nature of their participation in the research explored and their questions were answered. Written consent was obtained before interviews were conducted. All of the interviews were conducted at the homes of the parents/caregivers and were conducted consecutively. In most of the interviews there were other people and children present which led to interruptions.

Genesis

The case workers for this organisation identified clients who would be suitable and willing to participate in the research. They discussed the research with the parents/caregivers and young people and set up times and places for the interviews. Transport was a problem for two of the parents/caregivers and their interviews were held in a private room at the Genesis premises. The young people and parents/caregivers were picked up and brought to the interviews. For the remainder of the interviews I was given the names, addresses and contact details of the parents/caregivers so the interviews could be conducted at their homes. Before each interview I explained the research, their participation in it and answered questions. The interview was conducted after written consent had been obtained.

Instruments

Audio-recording equipment

Interviews were audio recorded with an Olympus DS-40 digital voice recorder.

Where permission was not granted to audio-record an interview (2), written notes were taken during the interview. In the one instance where the audio-recorder failed, written notes were taken immediately following the interview.

Information Sheet

Separate information sheets were developed for all research participants, young people, parents/caregivers, programme providers and community stakeholders (see Appendix 1). Using a question and answer format, the information sheets set out in plain language the purpose of the research, what participants could expect if they agreed to participate in an interview, their rights to withdraw from participation at any time if they chose, to not answer any question if they so chose, and to have any questions about the research answered to their satisfaction. My telephone contact details were also included in the information sheet to ensure participants were able to get in touch with me if they wished.

Consent Form

Separate consent forms were developed for all research participants to clearly set out what each set of participants were providing consent for (see Appendix 2). The participants were given a copy of the consent form to keep so that they had a record of what they had consented to for the research.

A detailed consent process for the young people and families was designed with each of the community programme providers. Case workers from each organisation made the initial approach to the young people and parents/caregivers and provided them with an information sheet. Appointment times for a meeting with me were made at which I explained the research in more detail, told them their rights and answered questions they had. This meeting provided an opportunity to determine the competence of the young people to give consent for themselves and to proceed with the interview.

Consent for young people

Obtaining consent for young people is not straight forward and conflicting opinions exist on this matter. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (ratified in 1993) recognises children and young people as individuals and states that their rights need to be protected by the State (Rucklidge & Williams, 2007). Regardless of age, children and young people are considered to be consumers in their own right of all health and disability services, and competent of making choices for service delivery unless incompetence is shown (Rucklidge & Williams, 2007).

The Ministry of Health (1998) encourages recognition of a young person's "increasing maturity and ability to understand complex issues" (p. 4) along with their developing autonomy in situations of obtaining consent. This same document also encourages involvement of whanau as well as parents and the child/young person when decisions about the child/young person are needed.

Because of these views the young people were able to participate in an interview with both their consent and that of their parents/caregivers. Consent not obtained from the parent/caregiver ruled a young person out of participation. However, this did not occur.

Competence

During the meeting with the young people and their parents/caregivers a judgement was made as to the young person's competence to provide their own consent to participate in an interview. One young person demonstrated some discomfort during their interview and the interview was terminated early with their consent. This young person had been judged competent to participate by the programme provider; however, the feelings of discomfort indicated some uncertainty and termination of the interview. The information from this interview with this young person was included in the analysis.

Demographic form

Demographic data were collected before the interview commenced. Slightly different information was collected for young people and other adult participants.

Information from young people included:

Age in years; gender; ethnicity; iwi/hapu affiliation; residing in own rohe – yes, no; years away from own rohe; employment situation; highest qualification; reasons/offences for attending community programme; previous offences.

Information from other adult participants included:

Age group; gender; ethnicity; iwi/hapu affiliation; residing in own rohe – yes, no; years away from own rohe; employment situation; highest qualification.

Koha

Each family group, that is, young person and parent/caregiver received a koha for their participation in an interview, time and input into the research. The koha consisted of a grocery voucher to the value of \$60.

Data collection

Interviews were conducted to suit the participants. Most interviews were held one-to-one; three family groups requested their interviews took place together with family. One of these included a mother and grandmother, while two included parent/caregiver and young person together. Interviews with young people and parents/caregivers were conducted where the participants felt most comfortable. The interviews conducted in the home seemed to allow for participants to feel more at ease and the home situation provided a context which added meaning and provided understanding of the family dynamics and overall situation. The interviews conducted in the offices or other neutral location seemed to be more one-dimensional by comparison, yet still provided good information.

Interviews conducted with community stakeholders were conducted at their place of work. Programme provider interviews were conducted as a group, more like a wide ranging discussion.

Interview Schedules and development

Interviews were semi-structured and were guided by an interview schedule (see Appendix 3). Each interview schedule set out the areas to be covered in each interview and they varied across all of the different participant groups.

To encourage as much explanation by participants as was necessary for their responses, open-ended questions were asked. Young people and parents/caregivers were encouraged to use their own words to describe their life experiences and opinions about what was important to them and their family.

Using prompts as additional ‘memory joggers’ for questions for participants helped to facilitate greater comprehension of participant responses on my part. Obtaining accurate understanding of the meaning of what participants said was crucial for the analysis process.

Young people and Parent/caregiver interview schedule

Interview schedules for interviews with young people and parents/caregivers were developed with four main areas of interest to be covered within the interviews.

These four areas were: Family; Culture – which was amended to Socialisation; Being Maori; and Young Person. Overall young people and parents/caregivers were asked to focus on what was important to them.

Area 1 - Family

This area of questioning focused on how the family was structured, who was included within the family, who made decisions within the family, who attended family gatherings, who provided discipline and family leadership.

Area 2 – Culture - Socialisation

This area of questioning focused on how the family unit functioned, how young people and parents/caregivers described their childhood, childhood memories, family gatherings, schooling, other activities. While not specifically prompted this question area was also looking for reference to Māori culture.

Area 3 – Being Maori

This section sought descriptions of participation in and use of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices within the family unit, and participation in Māori community. Young people and parents/caregivers were also asked their views about being Māori, whether they wanted to know more about being Māori, and if so, where they would go to learn.

Area 4 – Young Person

Young people were asked about themselves, what was important to them, what they valued in their lives and in their family life. They were also asked about what they liked doing, who they liked to spend time with and how this all fitted into their lives. Finally they were asked about 'getting into trouble'.

Interview across all three programmes were conducted in three stages. After each stage of interviews amendments were made to the interview schedule which led to a greater focus on the processes of socialisation within families.

Interview Tools

Three additional 'tools' were used to guide and prompt information from the young people and parents/caregivers during their interviews. These included: an ancestry chart; a list of Māori words; and a line of importance.

Ancestry chart

A blank ancestry chart guided the parents/caregivers to set out and talk about as much of their whakapapa as they knew. They could also then describe what they understood to be the history of their parents and grandparents, where they lived, when the family relocated (if relevant), and the nature of their childhood. The chart provided the parents/caregivers with structure so they could systematically talk about their family members, where they were born, grew up, married, who they married, where they were from, their iwi, and hapu affiliations, and the type of participation that they had in Māori cultural activities. It was also useful for prompting discussion about family structure, decision making, instances of conflict, and disagreement and how these things were resolved, or not.

List of Māori words

A list containing Māori words representing Māori cultural concepts, values and principles which underpin cultural practices (See Appendix 4) was used in interviews to tap into the parents/caregivers general level of cultural understanding. The list of values and principles came about following my own hapū strategic planning meetings and formed the basis of the hapū strategic plan, providing an insight into the implicit learning of some parents/caregivers that had occurred in their childhood.

When asked questions about 'Being Māori' the parent/caregiver was given the list of words and asked to identify the words they knew and what their understanding was of that word. During the discussion about the words it was evident which concepts were known, which values and practices were part of the participant families way of life and what had lapsed.

Line of importance

Determining from the young people what was important to them and how or whether these important things were linked was anchored using a line of importance. The young people were told that the line represented their life. They were then asked to identify what was important to them and indicate this area of their life on the straight line illustrating how much of their life each area took up. Once all of those areas of their life were shown on the line they were asked to show the links that each section had. Doing this not only identified their areas of interest, such as friends, mobile phone, going out, family or shopping, but it also showed which parts of their lives were linked. Finally, the young people were asked to show how being Māori and Māori culture fitted into the important parts of their life. Some young people were very clear that being Māori was just a part of who they were, while others indicated that being Māori and Māori culture were very separate bits of their life.

Programme Provider interview schedule

An interview schedule for interviews with the programme provider staff was developed to determine the views of the staff based on their work experiences with

the young people and parents/caregivers. These were group interviews with management and relevant staff at each programme provider organisation. There were two main question areas: what were the general needs of young people and their families, and what were the cultural needs of young people and their families. Initial research findings from the interviews with young people and parents/caregivers were also presented to the programme staff for consideration and discussion.

Community stakeholder interview schedule

Interview schedules were developed for community stakeholders to determine, based on their experiences, their views about the general and cultural needs of the young people and their families.

Changes to Interviewing plan

Initial interview schedules were developed for the young people and parents/caregivers covering the four areas outlined above. These schedules were amended following the first round of interviews (N= 4) with greater focus on exploring in more detail family function and occurrences within the family group where what was important to the family and their beliefs could be socialised from one generation to the next.

It was initially expected that the young people and parents/caregivers could be reticent to disclose some of the more personal family information. Three interviews per family were planned to overcome any reticence and ensure that in-depth information could be uncovered. However, after the first set of interviews with four young people and parents/caregivers it was found that both young people and parents/caregivers were very open to talking about their families and family interactions so further interviews were not needed.

Qualitative Methodology

Conducting research with Indigenous groups can be seen as challenging given the criticism of their being “among the “most researched” peoples of the world” (Smith, 2005, p.97). Despite this view, as I have mentioned above, there is very little research in the literature, in particular qualitative research, about Māori, or

Indigenous cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission. Qualitative research offers, through the observer, a voice to those who are the focus of the research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) offer a generic definition of qualitative research that features the observer:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible (p. 3).

The use of qualitative methodology allows the qualitative researcher to conduct their study in a natural setting, that is, the context, in order to make sense of the meaning of people's lives in that setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The use of qualitative methods in this area of cultural socialisation and transmission together with the development of cultural identification also, allows for greater understanding of culture as a process rather than as a variable (Greenfield, 1997). With so little previous research in this area, in particular for Indigenous groups, it is critical to utilise methods that can uncover appropriate meaning within the cultural context.

Collecting data as text and observation requires the researcher to understand and interpret not only the words as text (Smith, 2005), but also the people, their context, and how they interact. As this research involved a Māori researcher and Māori participants, understanding and interpreting accurately was a very important consideration in giving voice to the participants. As a psychologist, and being Māori as well, I had an ethical obligation to ensure that my approach to conducting this research accurately interpreted and conveyed insights of a Māori way of thinking, feeling and behaving (Herbert & Morrison, 2007).

While my approach to conducting this research may appear to include many aspects of the Kaupapa Māori research methods, I have not used that terminology. While I have aimed to "privilege Māori knowledge and ways of being" (Smith, 2005, p. 90) within the project, and have used a methodology, Grounded Theory, that will appropriately respect and report the views of the research participants, I was

always conscious that some of the participants of this research did not feel strongly connected to Māori cultural ways of encounter (Durie, 2001). To demonstrate my respect for their worldview and their understanding of Māori cultural practices, my approach was to always follow their lead in our interview interaction. In this way I did not embarrass their lack of knowledge by introducing any Māori cultural practices.

Questions about the validity of the self-report of the research participants can be confirmed through reports from programme providers, community stakeholders, and knowledge derived from the literature. The strength of the data however lies in the consistency of what was reported and the generation of categories and themes that combined in a logical flow that, despite the effects of colonising activities, reflected the historic patterns of a Māori way of life.

Description of Grounded Theory

A Grounded Theory approach was used within this study to generate a theory of Māori Cultural Identification for young Māori offenders and their whanau that would be “faithful to the everyday reality” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23) of those families. Grounded Theory enables theory to be constructed from the data (Charmaz, 1990) and the “meanings, intentions and actions of the research participants” (Charmaz, 1995, p. 32) are formed into a theory. As a method Grounded Theory allows a researcher to build or construct a theory from data, which is achieved through a series of step-by-step processes in which data is coded. From the coded data a set of categories is created that heightens and deepens the understanding of what the data is saying. Constant comparison between the emerging categories and data occurs in order to identify not only similarities, differences, and gaps in the data, but also patterns and relationships. Relationships between the categories can then be analysed (Charmaz, 1990) and compared (Charmaz, 2005). Through these relationship patterns and comparisons a greater understanding of the lived experiences of the research participants, and how they understand their world is gained (Charmaz, 1990). Knowing how the analysis links to the data keeps the developing concepts grounded in the data and also keeps it

focused on the people involved (Charmaz, 1995). The emergent theory explains the data (Charmaz, 1995).

Rationale for Grounded Theory

The rationale for using Grounded Theory as the method for this research project stemmed from the fact that the socialisation and transmission of Māori culture, and for that matter, the culture of other Indigenous groups, has not been well documented in the literature. The young Māori people and parents/caregivers who were the focus of this research are among the general population of Māori who experience inequity and disadvantage; this is reflected in the generally negative statistics reported for unemployment, low education achievement and poor health. However, having said that, the nature of the inequity and disadvantage is poorly understood. The young people were attending remedial programmes in their communities generally because their behaviour had warranted attention from either the Police, school or other welfare agency staff. The inclusion of cultural components in the programmes suggested an awareness of a link to cultural disconnectedness, but this link had not been based on any clear evidence or programme logic. Using Grounded Theory as a method in this research affords me the benefit of exploring the points of view of the young people, their parents/caregivers and others who worked with the young people and families to determine where Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices fitted into their lives. This information will provide an indication of how, if at all, Māori compensatory cultural components within remedial programmes fit into the life reality of the young people and their families.

Analytic Procedure

Conceptual category and model development for this research were all undertaken by hand.

Keeping it grounded

The specific steps of coding have been well documented by Charmaz (1995) and the following sections illustrate how these steps were utilised within this research.

Coding

Coding is the start of the discovery process (Charmaz, 1990) and has several steps: Line-by-line coding begins the analysis process as the data is carefully examined for what it says by specifically reflecting on the data questions that can elicit new meanings and ways of thinking about what has been said. The line-by-line steps combined with the questions contribute to building new ways of conceptualising and theory building.

The process of coding requires examining the data very specifically to determine “the action or events that you see as occurring in it or as represented by it” (Charmaz, 1995, p.37). Labeling the data was referred to by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as “conceptualising our data” by identifying and giving “each discrete incident, idea or event, a name ... that stands for or represents a phenomena” (p. 63). In this process the data was divided into first order meaning units.

All of the interviews were transcribed and each of the interview transcripts was systematically examined and coded into first-order meaning units in the first instance. The following extract is an example of meaning units within a passage of transcript as the participant describes what it means to her to identify as Māori.

Raw data

“... it’s my history, it’s in my blood, it’s the make-up of who I am, it’s everything that I’ve learnt, like being instilled from my Mum and my Dad, and the little bits from my Nana and my uncles and aunties ...”

This raw data was then broken down into six meaning units as follows:

- it’s my history
- it’s in my blood
- it’s the make-up of who I am
- it’s everything that I’ve learnt
- like being instilled from my Mum and my Dad
- and the little bits from my Nana and my uncles and aunties

Conceptual categories

Once data has been coded the codes are all grouped in categories, or focused coding (Charmaz, 1995), with the category representing the concept (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) that is contained in the data. Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest using the language of the informants to name categories, highlighting that the interpretive process is creative but needs to ensure that they fit the data (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992).

The first-order meaning units of coding were then grouped into conceptual categories as follows:

- cultural knowledge, whakapapa, tikanga
- cultural-historical context
- identification as Māori
- family socialisation
- intergenerational involvement

Help thinking about categories and the meaning that they contain and represent can be clarified by asking questions. Charmaz (1995) proposed some questions:

- What is going on?
- What are people doing?
- What is the person saying? [or really saying as I considered it]
- What do these actions and statements take for granted?
- How do structure and context serve to support, maintain, impede or change these actions and statements? (p. 38)

These last two questions in particular were very important as the impacts of the cultural –historical context contributed so much to the social situation and adversity of many Māori families (Charmaz, 1990).

Initially my process of coding into the first-order meaning units and development of conceptual categories was aligned to the question areas of the interview schedule.

However, this alignment shifted as the categories developed into higher level categories and patterns, and the relationships between the categories built up into conceptual diagrams.

Conceptual diagrams

With the large amount of data and growing number of categories, conceptual diagrams were used as a step in the analysis process to try and make sense of the patterns and relationships between the categories. While these diagrams did not end up forming a part of the final model, they were a valuable step along the way to reaching the higher level theory and model as described in chapter 7, Findings, Theory of Māori cultural leaning – An Ideal Scenario.

Three main areas emerged from category development:

- Role-modelling of cultural socialisation within family;
- Family cohesion;
- Māori cultural knowledge.

In an effort to understand the linkages and patterns of the different categories within each of these areas, conceptual diagrams were developed. The development of the diagrams occurred during discussions with my supervisor and these are illustrated in the following figures (see Figures 1, 2, & 3). Manipulating and changing the position and flow of categories within the diagrams gradually clarified the patterns that best reflected the experiences and realities of the participant families. The patterns highlighted in these diagrams provided greater understanding of the range of differences across the family groups. The diagrams allowed for making comparisons across the family groups within the categories and illustrated the nature of the linkages, patterns and comparison relationships.

However, in each of the three conceptual diagrams, the linear approach to examining each area did not adequately capture the inter-relatedness and whole-of-life perspective of Māori cultural life across generations and over time. These realisations contributed firstly to the recognition of the three family composition groups and their different life pathways, and secondly, to the realisation that the

patterns of socialisation, in particular cultural socialisation, occur within the interactions of a whole inter-related system of relationship groups. This realisation led, in discussions with my supervisor, to the development of the circular model incorporating the three inter-linked aspects to represent the three family composition groups. The final theory and model had to be of a high level conceptual design to capture all of the categories, patterns and relationships that the data originally generated, many of which are included in these diagrams. The conceptual diagrams also provided a medium to illustrate phenomena, context, associated conditions, events and actions, while also providing a method of checking the veracity of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The context of each of these conceptual diagrams has been described in the Findings sections.

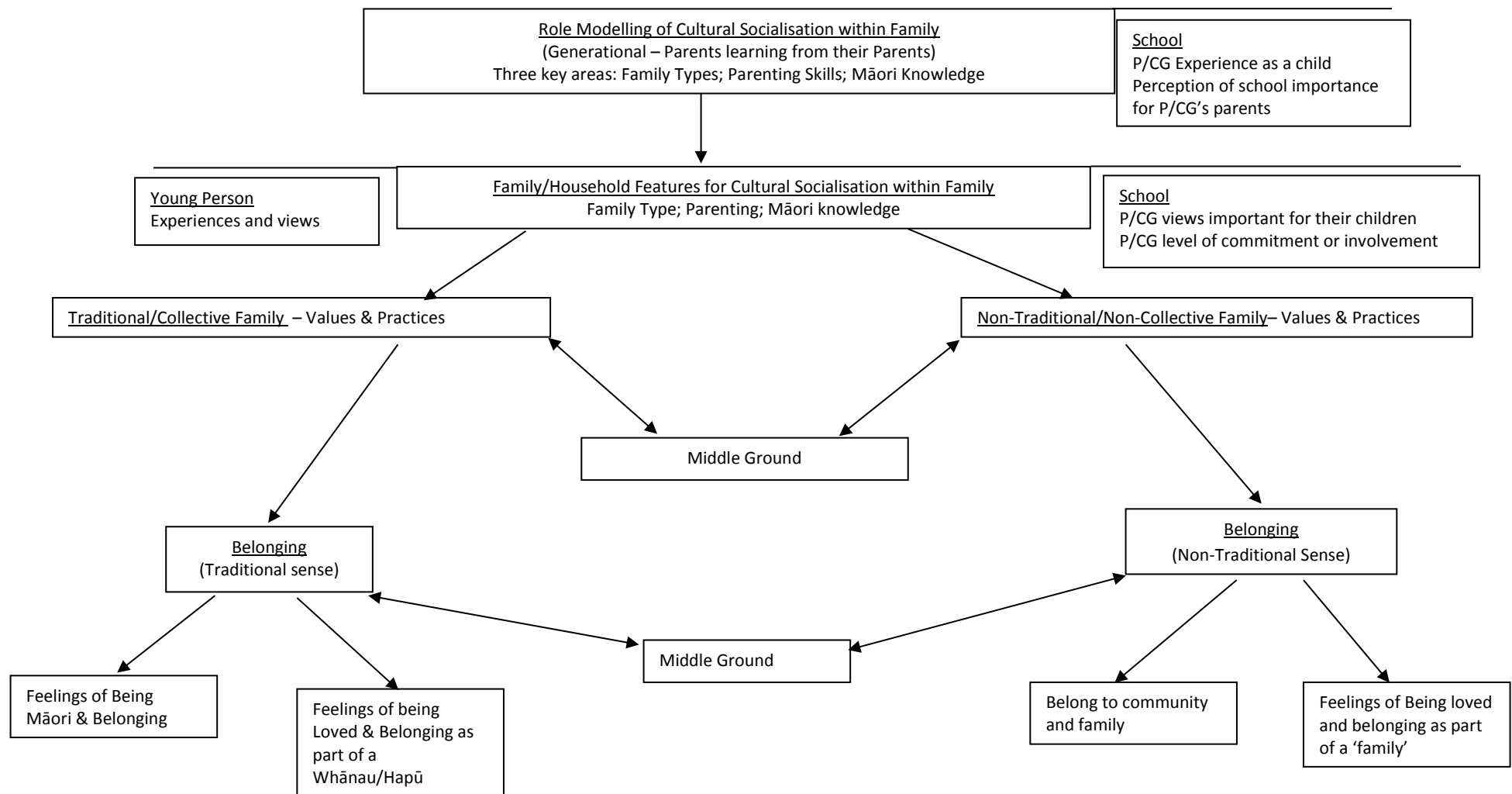


Figure 1: Schema of Family/Household Cultural Socialisation

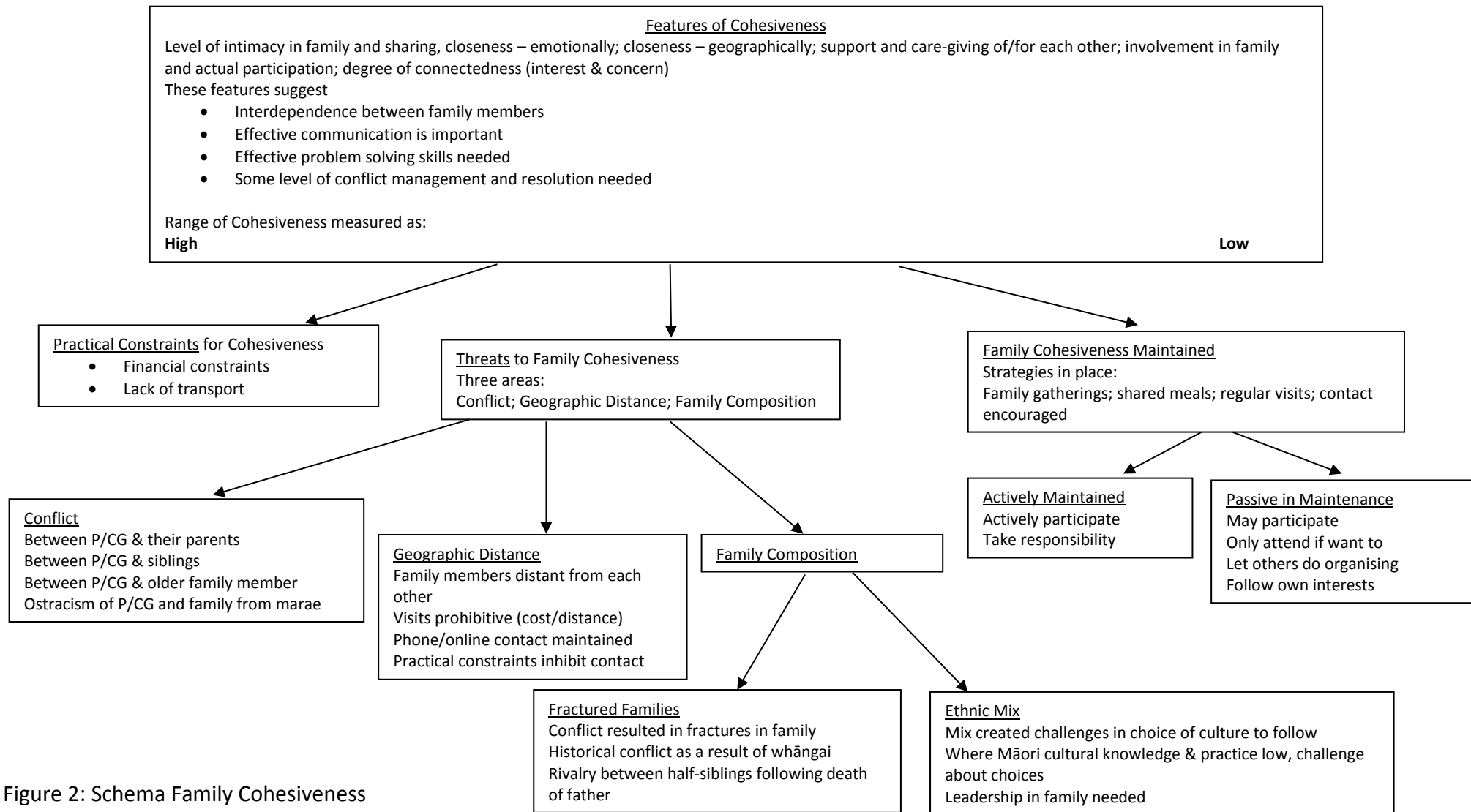


Figure 2: Schema Family Cohesiveness

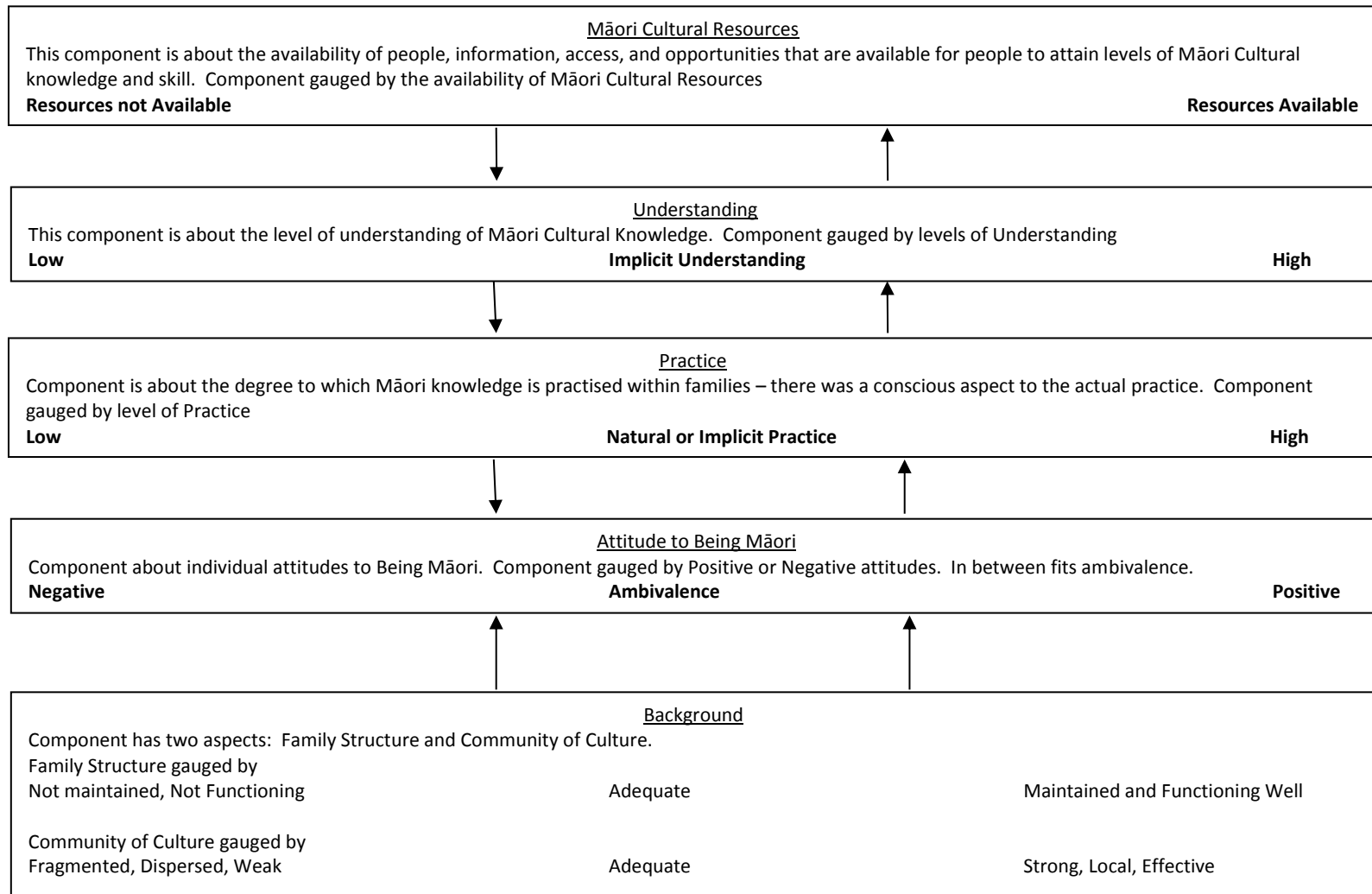


Figure 3: Schema of Māori Knowledge

Theoretical sampling

Charmaz (1990) described theoretical sampling as a key part of the theory development process. As she describes it, it is the process whereby the researcher can check new data to fill out and extend theoretical categories. This is a process that some researchers undertake earlier in the analysis process than others, however, Charmaz suggested that it is important to gain an in-depth understanding of the realities and issues in the data so that the research had more scope to check emerging ideas and concepts. This would give greater indication about further sampling that was needed.

In this study, recruitment of participants had to be coordinated with the three programme providers. These arrangements had to fit into their usual operations without causing too many disruptions. Theoretical sampling could not be left entirely to timing of emerging ideas and concepts and had to be fitted into an organised schedule of 'rounds' of interviewing over time. In between each round of interviews, transcribing and coding was undertaken and emerging ideas were explored further in subsequent interviews. While this was probably not the most ideal use of this particular Grounded Theory technique, it was certainly a real world research situation which was managed as best as possible.

Memo writing

"... memo-writing gives the researcher a tool for engaging in an extended on-going dialog with self" (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1169).

According to Charmaz, this writing tool can help describe and define the meaning within a category, how this meaning relates to the data, if there are other meanings, events, implicit or otherwise, associated with this category and its meaning, and importantly, what has not been made clear, the gaps in the information or any need for clarification. There may also be points of conflict or disagreement that need to be acknowledged or clarified, or multiple ways of understanding one point, situation or reality may emerge. These types of points can be noted within memo-writing to clarify categories. Much of the information needed and gaps in information, primarily about the cultural-historical context for

Māori emerged during this process and contributed to the need to examine the literature in search of answers.

Literature review

The literature review is used as the final step in writing up a grounded theory research project (Charmaz, 1995). Charmaz suggested that comparisons be made between the newly developed theory and what was described in the literature, and to weave this into the new work. The literature review for this study was not so straight forward.

Literature was reviewed in three main areas: 1) the cultural-historical context for Indigenous people, in particular for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand; 2) the area of cultural socialisation in psychological literature, in particular for Indigenous people, and 3) the features and nature of being a member of a collective group, in particular for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. In each of these areas the literature was partial. In general it seems that information about Indigenous groups has either not been analytical or searching enough, or the approach has been one of comparison to a non-Indigenous framework and so has not offered a fully Indigenous perspective. As a result, the literature reviews included in chapters, 3 – Cultural-historical context; 4 – Cultural socialisation and cultural identification; and 5 – Collective values and qualities, present information about the literature reviewed from the point of view of Indigenous peoples relative to what the research participants said and the development of the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning.

Reliability Check

A reliability check of the coding of data was conducted to determine the degree of agreement in understanding and interpreting data. A senior psychology researcher (HH) was approached and agreed to undertake the reliability check. This researcher had a depth of experience in coding data as well as working with Māori researchers and some understanding of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices.

The process used for the reliability check of coding involved the principal researcher (TY) randomly selecting six parent/caregiver interview transcripts which were then matched with the six young people interview transcripts, giving 12 transcripts to use. The research (HH) was asked to read and code part of the twelve transcripts to provide a comparison by which to judge my coding process.

The researcher (HH) randomly selected one page from each transcript to code.

To prepare for the reliability checking process, the researcher (HH) reviewed the research proposal that included the research objectives and research questions, copies of the interview schedules for parents/caregivers and young people as well as examples of the ancestry chart and the list of value words that had both been used in the interviews with parents/caregivers. We also discussed whether the researcher needed background information about the participants to match the information that the principal researcher had when doing the coding. We decided that not having this information would add to the test of the veracity of the reliability check process. It was expected any differences between the coding patterns would be discussed and compared. In conducting the check of coding, the researcher (HH) randomly selected one page from each transcript (using an automated number selector) and read the transcripts 'cold', that is, she did not read the whole transcript. She therefore had no sense of who the people/participants were at all, nor any idea of their background information.

After she had completed her coding process we met to compare the coded pages of transcript. Of the twelve pages of coding we had full agreement for eight pages. I had some additional codes for these pages that were informed by other contextual and background information about the participants. Once this was explained the researcher understood and agreed with this coding. With the other four pages of transcript there was agreement between our coding, but the researcher also made additional comments. Two of these related to areas that I had missed in my coding process, and two appeared to stem from a 'fresh' perspective and added to the

coding. I did not disagree with her comments. With the coding we had both used the same segments of interview transcript but for some we had used slightly different wording. With discussion we ensured that we had similar meaning and interpretation. The concurrence reached occurred despite the researcher (HH) being Pākehā and myself being Māori, both of us coming from different cultural backgrounds.

The process used for the reliability check of the coding provided a clear indication that a researcher experienced in qualitative coding was able to identify and code the transcripts in agreement with myself, despite not having the full context or background information of the participants.

Ethical considerations

There were a number of ethical considerations that needed to be accounted for within this research. Firstly, this research was guided by the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethics (2002) that provided direction in highlighting areas of risk and vulnerability for the research participants that needed attention. Working with 'in-trouble' young people and their families indicated that they were possibly a vulnerable group and it was suggested care was needed in all research activities. Careful approaches were put in place for the following:

- During the consent process all participants were informed about their rights in participation, maintenance of confidentiality, and any future use of the information from the interviews (outlined above in Recruitment and Consent Process).
- Young people were informed that any personal disclosures of risk during an interview would be discussed with them and that this information would be passed on to an appropriate support agency. These processes were put in place with each of the three programme providers.

- All families were of Māori descent and cultural values, beliefs and practices were respected and observed in all interview visits. As many of the participant families had lived at a distance from Māori cultural practices for some time, care was taken not to cause feelings of whakama, embarrassment in any approaches. Overall an approach of being led by the participants during the interviews ensured participants remained comfortable.
- Some of the young people and parents/caregivers had experienced trauma, abuse, ill-health and family difficulty. Many parents/caregivers and young people spoke of their difficulties, however, the programme providers had processes in place to ensure their needs were being met.
- Expecting young people to talk to me about quite personal things at a first meeting, albeit with the support of their parent/caregiver and case worker, was daunting for a few participants, in particular those in the younger age group (12-14 years). Care was taken in the initial approach to ensure that the young people felt comfortable and as relaxed as possible with plain language being used in the interviews. Drawing also helped to facilitate responses to interview questions.
- Young people and parent/caregiver participants were very generous with their input into the research and recognising that with the presentation of a koha to them was an important cultural act of reciprocity.

Chapter 7 – Findings

Theory of Māori Cultural Learning – An Ideal Scenario

The findings that emerged from the data analysis, conceptual category and diagram development are described in this and the following Findings chapters. This chapter describes the theory of Māori cultural learning in an ideal setting utilising the data from the categories to portray an ideal situation for cultural socialisation for a young person. Chapter eight describes the features of life realities in today's society that need to be considered when applying this theory and model of Māori cultural learning. Applying the theory and model of Māori cultural learning to each of the three family composition groups are contained in the following three chapters, nine, ten and eleven.

Overview of Theory

The Theory of Māori Cultural Learning places the young person at the centre of the structure of their cultural framework which comprises three relationship groups: (1) immediate family group; (2) whānau group; (3) their hapū and/or local community. Within the cultural framework structure are maintained the many layers of interdependent function which in a recursive fashion hold the core of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. These values, beliefs and practices in turn provide the whakapapa, or genealogical basis of the people that sustains them as a cultural group. Māori cultural socialisation occurs within the structures and processes of the cultural framework. Cultural learning takes place through the relationships and interactions of the members of the relationship groups, together with the implicit and experiential learning of the collective qualities and Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. The ultimate aim of Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission is for a young person to establish their cultural identification and achieve a level of cultural agency.

This chapter describes the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning in an ideal setting so that a benchmark or standard is set. It also clarifies the nature and features of the structures and socialising processes. This theory has been generated from the life

experiences of a sample of young Māori people and their families whose life experiences and cultural participation has varied widely. The diversity of life paths created following changes to Māori society has meant that structures and cultural processes have changed or are no longer present as they used to be in the past. However, the theory has been designed as a general proposition that can be generalised across all Māori iwi and hapu groups and allows for the detail of structures and cultural content relevant to each group to be applied to the theory. The focus of the theory is on the structures and processes that are grounded in Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. An ideal scenario proposes that all parts of the cultural framework are present and functioning appropriately. Applications of the theory to other situations, life realities and experiences can then be viewed in relation to the proposed ideal. This is not suggesting a right or wrong way for Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission to occur for the purposes of cultural learning, but rather, allows for application of the theory to the now diverse life realities for many family and whanau.

Model of Māori Cultural Learning Framework

The model of Māori Cultural Learning Framework in an ideal setting is depicted in figure 4 below. In this model, as in the theory, the young person is at the centre of the three relationship groups that make up the cultural framework, each relationship group being represented by an unfurling fern frond. The fern frond, or pikopiko, reflects the shape of a koru which is a symbol of new life, while the “inward coil” symbolises the maintenance of a connection with the origins of that life. “The koru therefore symbolises the way in which life both changes and stays the same” (Royal, 2009). An outer circle bounds the cultural framework, indicating a close and interdependent functioning community of hapu, whanau and family relationship groups. Placed at the outer edges of the three fern fronds, the outer circle signifies that the community of the cultural framework is robust enough to stand up to and cope with any external influences. Within this circle and between the three fern fronds are the collective qualities and cultural values, beliefs and practices which are inherently learned through active participation and socialisation

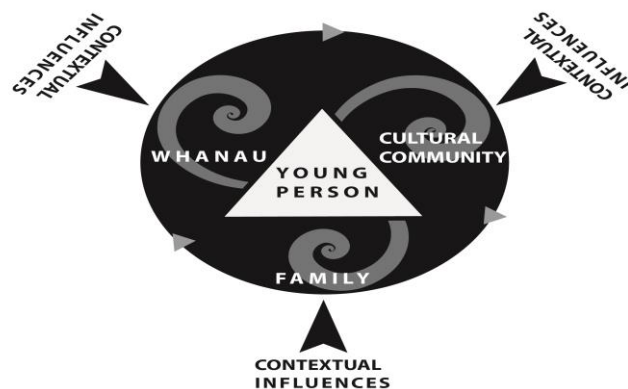


Figure 4: Model of Māori cultural learning framework – in an ideal setting

in daily life. This learning is represented by the stems of the three fronds as they lead from each relationship group to the young person at the centre.

Theory of Māori cultural learning – An Ideal scenario

In an ideal setting, the relationship groups of a young person's cultural framework will be present and functioning interdependently to create an appropriate learning environment in which the young person can establish their cultural identification and achieve a sense of cultural agency. In this setting the cultural-historical context exists to support Māori cultural learning. In this instance there are few competing values or ways of living. This is a purely ideal setting. The following aspects of an ideal scenario aim to provide a guide, or set of indicators for the features that comprise the structures, process and collective qualities, as being present in a young person's cultural framework.

Structures

The structures of a young person's cultural framework highlight the parameters and rules (albeit generally unspoken and unwritten) by which the three relationship

groups exist. While these are not physical or tangible creations, they ensure the relationship framework has firmness sufficient to provide the family, whānau and hapū with the strength and stability that can withstand the movement of their group members living their lives. The parameters and rules must be generated by the members of the relationship groups in the form of the values and principles that govern their own lives. Four features that are based on Māori cultural values and principles are defined as a guide for these structures and include:

- recognition and respect for seniority in the whakapapa of the family, whānau and hapū relationship groups; this sets the pattern for inter-generational transmission of Māori cultural knowledge, skill and function within each cultural framework;
- pattern of leadership and the process of succession with the three relationship groups that sets up the decision making processes;
- pattern of how roles and responsibilities are allocated and learned in the process of succession, and how this feature supports leadership and seniority – also this pattern sets up the pattern of cooperation and collaboration
- the pattern of creating an appropriate environment in which the processes can be achieved to support the structures of the cultural framework through sharing and openness and acceptance.

Recognition and respect for seniority

Whakapapa has historically provided the basis for the collective structures of a young person's cultural framework. Seniority can be determined by whakapapa, delineated by how people are related to one another over generations, by age, role, personal qualities and achievements/performance. Where seniority actively functions within a cultural framework, a pattern of intergenerational involvement and ongoing transmission of Māori knowledge and skill to younger generations is set. Elders and/or senior members of a family group held certain knowledge and experience which could provide guidance and support to younger generations. The pattern of seniority set an expectation for young people to aspire to.

Pattern of leadership

Leadership within a cultural framework aligns function to seniority within the structure, as well as roles and responsibilities (see next point). An established pattern of leadership within a secure Māori community suggests an embedded

structure for leadership succession. Seniority and roles and responsibilities contribute to leadership by ensuring younger generations are learning and taking on age-appropriate roles and responsibilities. There are assumptions in this, that particular skills are learned, for example, relationship management; conflict management and/or resolution; and Māori knowledge.

Pattern of roles and responsibilities

The collective function of the three relationship groups of a cultural framework ideally relies upon members knowing and understanding the roles and responsibilities required to keep the structure together and functioning. Learning how the roles and responsibilities are allocated and/or succeeded to, was historically part of daily life. Participation within the collective would be the most common pattern of learning about cooperation and collaboration, sharing/contributing, and allocating roles and responsibilities to ensure ongoing function of the collective function.

Appropriate environment for cultural learning

This feature is based on the physical environment of a traditional marae or kāinga where a whānau created an environment suitable for the interdependent living for a collective group. An appropriate physical environment is one that is a spiritual and emotionally safe. The members of a collective group need to feel comfortable in their environment, feel that they belong to the group of that environment, and the combination of this makes it safe for them to contribute. Creating this environment is incumbent upon the leadership and group members. It is achieved through cooperation and collaboration, sharing and being secure in their own abilities. This all contributes to openness and acceptance of collective function.

Socialisation Processes

In an ideal situation a young person's cultural framework has multiple functions. Living and interacting in close proximity allows for the regular contact necessary to maintain relationships and interactions between members of all three relationship groups. Regular interactions offer a young person at the centre of the cultural framework opportunities, experiences and general exposure to Māori cultural learning. Ideally all three relationship groups act in concert to provide a young

person with a coherent system of cultural socialisation. It is assumed here, that being in a collective, means the cultural socialisation goals for each of those in the relationship groups would be the same. Among them they create a learning environment for a young person (Keller & Otto, 2009).

Māori cultural learning includes Māori knowledge specific to a particular collective group as well as the qualities that highlight the inherent abilities a young person needs to be a member of that group and which have generally been learned implicitly as part of day-to-day living. The qualities required include the subtleties and nuances of cultural meaning (Moon, 2003), the way cultural and collective values are linked, the rationale behind cultural expectations, interdependent function and general ways of being. Together these all build a Māori cultural worldview in which a young person finds family, whānau, hapū cohesiveness and a sense of belonging. With a Māori cultural worldview also comes a sense of competence and ability to be effective within their community.

Incorporated into the development of a Māori cultural worldview is socio-emotional learning, in which a young person would also learn appropriate emotional responses and expressions (Keller & Otto, 2009). Participation in cultural activities would present a young person with a range of situations in which they can observe and experience how elders behave and express themselves. The more experiences that a young person is exposed to, the greater the range of emotional responses and expressions they will learn. Growing up knowing how to behave and manage their own emotional responses in a range of situations, ensures that a young person is adequately equipped to develop the skills and abilities across the relationships and interactions of their collective group.

Growing up with the experience of cultural values and the ways in which they are expressed in a collective group, instils within young persons those values that become internalised and part of their way of life as an adult. For many young people, adolescence is the time when they are also challenged by competing external values. Robust learning in childhood within a strong community offers a

young person a stronger grounding in Māori cultural life and keeps pathways open for young people.

Collective Qualities – Learning within an Ideal Setting

Living within a Māori community and interacting within the collective of the cultural framework implicitly instils in young people the qualities that enable them to participate actively within the collective group. The collective qualities reflect the values that support Māori cultural values and help bind the collective group.

The identification of these qualities came about from what the research participants said which highlighted gaps in knowledge about being part of a collective group, that is, their hapū, whānau, or local Māori community. What is generally acknowledged as ‘usual’ or ‘understandable’ or ‘logical’ by many Māori people raised in a marae, hapū community is that ‘knowing how to be’ in that community has been learned implicitly by growing up in that environment. However, this implicit ‘knowing’ needs to be articulated because there are increasing numbers of families who have not been raised in that way, including most of the participant families, so have not had the privilege of that implicit learning.

Six collective values have been identified. In each of these values, qualities are aspects of that implicit learning about how to be part of a collective group. The collective values and qualities are: sharing, cooperation and collaboration, openness and acceptance, relationships and interactions, Māori knowledge and skill, and decision-making. Each of these values sets up an aspirational state for the functioning of the collective group to aim at and at the same time they support the fulfilment of Māori cultural values. Members of the collective strive to know how to be their best as part of the collective so their group functions well using the skills and abilities that are part of the qualities. The qualities set the expectations of what behaviour is acceptable and the standards to which that behaviour needs to aspire.

Each of the six qualities interlinks and complements the others and, when combined in practice, enhance a person's skills and abilities to function within their collective group. So the qualities help someone function within a collective but they are generally learned by living and functioning within such a collective from childhood. The process of learning is incremental from childhood on, the assumption being that by adulthood the qualities have largely been learned. If someone does not have the opportunity to learn how these qualities apply to living within a collective group they may find it difficult to feel they belong to a group, they may not feel comfortable within the group; they may even feel reticent to be part of the group. This then disadvantages this person and the disadvantage can then be perpetuated by future generations. This will be described further in the section, Māori cultural learning in contemporary settings. However, in an ideal setting, a range of abilities can be learned for each of the qualities. The following brief descriptions provide an outline of each of the qualities. An example of how such a quality is applied and how it fits within and supports the Māori cultural value of manaakitanga follows.

Sharing

Sharing as a quality requires a person to be willing to, or want to give up or give away what they have to share with others for the benefit of the collective group. This quality forms the basis of the cultural value of manaakitanga. Sharing can include food, resources, time, or personal knowledge and skills, and with this giving there is no expectation of recompense. Reward for this giving behaviour comes in the form of increased *mana* for the group as a whole as a result of everyone contributing. Children would begin to learn about sharing within the family through role modelling and experience, this learning is expanded through the interactions and relationships in activities with their whānau and hapū. Learning the importance of the concept of sharing is an important aspect of the quality so children and young people can grasp the need to prioritise others as part of sharing with and caring for others.

Cooperation and collaboration

Cooperation and collaboration require someone to participate in a group task(s) to help complete or achieve particular goals. This quality is in part an example of sharing that involves sharing oneself for the good of the group. In order for a person to be able to take part in a task they need to understand the nature of the task, know where and how resources can be accessed, how to utilise those and to have an understanding of the overall cultural context within which the activity is being undertaken. Working with others also assumes that a person is able to inter-relate and communicate effectively. Cooperation on a task requires that leadership is present in guiding, providing direction, supporting and encouraging those working together on the task.

Openness and acceptance

The quality of openness and acceptance is based on the confidence and pride of growing up in a Māori world with a Māori worldview where children and young people can develop feelings of cultural efficacy and have a clear understanding of their place in the world. It is assumed that parents/caregivers and other significant elders have achieved a level of cultural efficacy themselves in order to be able to guide the young people. This quality centres on a person's self-belief and faith in their own ability to meet the expectations and obligations that come with being Māori. Inherent within this is the trust that in any given cultural setting, everyone knows their place, their role and responsibilities. This then gives rise to the sharing, cooperation and collaboration that occurs within cultural activities – everyone contributes.

Relationships and interactions

Relationships and interactions are at the core of effective functioning of a Māori collective group. Whakapapa connections offer the principal basis for holding the three relationship groups of a cultural framework together and being able to deliver the processes for Māori cultural socialisation. Relationships are bound by whakapapa which means that a person cannot easily leave the group and feelings of obligation and expectation are engendered among group members. People have to get on with others and learn how to deal with any relationship difficulties or

conflict that arises. Effective leadership also plays a role here with the provision of role modelling, guidance, and support.

As a quality, maintaining relationships and interactions within a collective group requires a person to reach an understanding of themselves, how they feel about themselves and how they relate to others. Being able to reflect, adapt and improve how they inter-relate is an important aspect in the management of relationships and working together with others.

Māori knowledge and skill

Māori knowledge and skill is a crucial quality of being a member of a Māori collective. Māori knowledge provides meaning, and the skill to utilise that meaning in culturally appropriate ways so as to maintain the connection to the collective group. In turn the practice of cultural ways maintains the collective and the environment in which the collective functions. Māori knowledge includes the information that each iwi and hapū have about their ancestors, the journeys and places in which they lived and who they had contact with over many generations. This knowledge is conveyed in stories, waiata and can also be incorporated into the carvings, kōwhaiwhai and tāniko held by the group. Underpinning all of this knowledge are some of the qualities which hold and support the core cultural values, beliefs and practices that hold the group together. The skill develops from the way the relationships and interactions are managed and through the regular practice of cultural activities and way of life.

Decision-making

The quality of decision-making largely revolves around leadership of the family, whānau and hapū, but also incorporates many aspects of the other qualities. The process of consensus decision-making requires members of a group to work together, share information and participate in discussion, be open and accepting of listening to what others have to say, to apply Māori cultural values and beliefs to the process of discussion, and be guided by leaders and elders to reach a decision that is for the benefit of the group as a whole. This quality requires that all group

members play an active role in the processes that contribute to group decision-making.

Summary of Māori Cultural Learning in an ideal setting

Ideally, Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission occur successfully because all three relationship groups are present and able to function interdependently. A learning environment within the cultural framework is created through the function of all three relationships. In this environment a young person can experience and participate in a way that helps them to develop a Māori worldview and establish a sound cultural identification. Ongoing participation within their family, whanau and hapu interactions contributes to a growing sense of cultural agency for each young person. But the community of the cultural framework has to be present and functioning to facilitate the young person's involvement. Any external influences that compete for the young person's attention or interest can be offset by the value placed upon the young person's place in the relationships and their participation within the community of their cultural framework relationships.

It is however acknowledged that an ideal scenario is not a reality for many Māori families and individuals in today's society. Given the significant changes that have occurred within Māori society (or more accurately the many different iwi and hapu societies) since the arrival of Settlers, described in Chapter 3, the wide range of life realities for Māori families poses challenges for the ongoing processes of Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission. The next chapters present the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning in contemporary settings and describe some of the challenges to cultural socialisation and transmission to younger generations.

Chapter 8 – Findings

The Theory of Māori Cultural Learning – Contemporary Setting

This chapter outlines the features of the theory of Māori Cultural Learning that were identified when developing the theory and model using Grounded Theory analysis. While the previous chapter described the theory of Māori Cultural Learning in an ideal setting, the realities of life in today's society mean that a current application of the model needs to consider the features of life realities in contemporary society. In a contemporary setting the cultural-historical context for Māori is a strong backdrop and has a great deal of relevance, in particular, for how Māori culture is practiced and socialised. Changes to Māori society contributed to the varied life paths that have become evident in this research.

Data for generating the theory and model of Māori cultural learning was primarily based upon the life experiences and views of the young people and parents/caregivers. This information was supported by the interview data of the programme provider staff and community stakeholders who were able to describe what they saw as the contemporary experiences and influences on the young people and parents/caregivers. In some respects their views were slightly different from the young people and parents/caregivers as they were all situated in 'helping' roles providing support, guidance, and services to the young people and their families.

There are three sections to this chapter which outline aspects of contemporary life realities for the young people and their families. The first section presents a broad summary of programme provider staff (PP) and community stakeholder (CSH) views about the practical and structural day-to-day realities experienced by young people and their families'. The second section describes the family composition groups that were identified during the analysis phase of the research and which indicate different life pathways in today's society. The third section describes the socialisation processes identified both from the literature review and from

interview data analysis. The framework of the family composition groups and socialisation processes highlight the structures and processes for Māori cultural socialisation and transmission. Both of these aspects of the theory will be used together with the collective qualities to present the detail of the findings within the next three chapters.

Programme Provider and Community stakeholder views – contemporary setting

Programme provider staff and community stakeholders were asked to comment on three main areas: the general areas of need for young people and their families; the area of cultural needs; and the types of service provision that would best meet those needs. In general the views about the experiences of young people and their families across the programme providers and community stakeholders were consistent and highlighted that the focus for most of the families was one of survival. A few of the families they worked with were able to manage reasonably well, however, most of the families needed help with many aspects of their lives. Areas of need that were raised in the interviews are grouped under the main headings of Parenting, Practical daily living and Cultural needs.

Parenting

There are three aspects to this topic of parenting – parenting skills; factors that affect a parent's ability to parent; and family functioning.

Parenting skills

Issues in family relationships were identified as a key issue within parents/caregivers families. Two areas in particular were seen as problematic and affected parenting skills – relationships between parents themselves, and the relationships between parents/caregivers and young people. It was felt that few parents/caregivers had the necessary skills for managing relationships. Generally, it was felt that patterns of parenting were intergenerational; skills learnt from parents are transferred by experience to the children. Learning of poor skills would be included with this mode of learning.

One Programme Provider staff member (PP 3) felt that the difficulties in poor parenting skills related to urbanisation which he felt had disrupted patterns of parenting by breaking down the cultural identity for parents/caregivers and therefore young people. Part of this process of urbanisation, he also believed, resulted in the loss of cultural values and traditions which were no longer available to be part of family function.

Another PP (2) had experienced a distortion in parenting where statutory agencies had become involved with a family. This intervention, she believed, altered the nature of the family relationship creating difficulties for parenting and resulting in the agency playing a parent role to the whole family.

Other areas of skills in parenting that were touched on by PP and Community Stakeholders (CSH) were poor cooking skills, parents/caregivers not setting or monitoring boundaries for the young people, poor communication skills, poor coping strategies and poor problem solving skills. Many of these general skills overlapped and are mentioned in the next few sections. Overall, skills in parenting and management of relationships were seen to be poor leading to parents/caregivers and young people needing assistance. But other factors also contributed to the parent's/caregiver's ability with parenting.

Factors affecting parents/caregivers ability with parenting
A number of factors were identified that in some way affected a parent's/caregiver's manner of parenting, and included general factors such as employment, or lack of it; finances (which was related to their employment situation); and the parent/caregiver's level of education, which also affected their employment and finances. Other general factors included housing, transport and health.

There were some more specific factors which affected parents/caregivers in their role as a parent and included an inability to seek support; coping strategies and management of stress; and unwillingness to change.

Support: Some parents/caregivers were not able to access services within their community to help themselves or their families. Many parents/caregivers did not have other family members or whanau support around them and it had become the role of PP and CSHs and their organisations to access community support services for the families if they did not provide the necessary services. One PP talked about a family she had worked with who had been offered support by whanau members but the parent/caregiver did not want to engage with those whanau members so the family withdrew. Community programme providers and stakeholder organisations had taken on the role of 'whanau' instead. According to a PP, it appeared that a few parents/caregivers appeared to have either taken on or had been 'disempowered' and 'expected' services to be given or delivered without their having to make a contribution or to participate in trying to help themselves.

Coping strategies: Many of the parents/caregivers that programme providers and community stakeholders worked with had few positive strategies for coping with stress or dealing with feelings of inadequacy. One PP talked about some parents/caregivers not coping and how that seemed to be linked with that person's feeling of self-worth.

... if you can't put bread on the table ..., I mean that stress is going to go up, your self worth, if it was in the toilet before, after that it's flushed, and then you've got all the coping mechanisms that come into play and they're always negative ones (PP3).

Other PPs and CSHs talked of a cyclical pattern of low income, use of alcohol, drugs and gambling as coping strategies, and the feelings of stress at money ill-spent and not being able to meet the costs of family needs. This pattern was what they had to work with and was hard to break.

Change: According to one PP(2) some parents/caregivers "don't do change". It was felt that some parents/caregivers prefer to remain in the uncomfortable zone in which they live because that is what they know. To introduce change is 'scary' to

them and those parents/caregivers do not generally have the skills to make changes.

Overall, the combined effect of the general and specific factors created barriers which inhibited effective parenting and presented a complex situation with which PPs and CSHs had to work.

Family function

Day-to-day family function brought together the skills of parents/caregivers and the factors that affected how they were as parents. The areas raised by PPs and CSHs are grouped into three sub-sections: Family groups; Relationships; Patterns.

Family groups: PPs and CSHs believed families were generally seen as not functioning well as a family unit. A number of factors appeared to contribute to this: poor cooking skills; family not eating together – parents/caregivers and children were said to eat in different rooms; family members not able or willing to work together around the house to help with house-hold chores; family watched television and did not talk to each other; poor communication skills and poor problem solving skills. For a few families there was a 'mobile' aspect to be considered; young people had become accustomed to moving around, staying with different relatives for some time and then moving on to another household. This topic is covered further under relationships, but is relevant here because it seemed to reflect a reduction in, or different value of the family group. This appears to be counter to what was expressed by the young people and parents/caregivers in their interviews where they said that 'family' was very important to them. Alternatively, this situation could reflect the different ways in which the family is defined.

Relationships: There were a number of factors which were identified about relationships that affected family functioning. The most common factor related to the fathers of the young people, as well as the lack of male role models in the young people's lives. Some of the young people, in particular the boys, did not like

their fathers; their relationships with their fathers were poor and this created a barrier for the PPs and CSHs in their work with the young people.

From the young person's perspective, fathers were disliked because they were not present in their lives; he hit their mother; he organised to 'whāngai' them out to another family; he used, or abused alcohol, drugs or gambled money, that was then not available to the family. From the father's perspective, they believed that they worked to keep the family, that that was their role and task in the family, and that they therefore did not have to do anything else as a parent. According to the PPs, the father did not seem to know or understand about having a lovely, caring relationship with their children, or how to create or maintain a family unit.

The use, or misuse, of the term 'whāngai' appeared to have been 'captured' to describe a pattern of poor parenting, where there were no boundaries for young people and overall avoidance of parental duties and responsibilities. But it also seems to provide an illustration of poor skills in relationship management.

Whāngai in this instance describes an informal arrangement of care occurring when a young person stays with another family for a period of time. When that arrangement fails the young person moves on to stay in another household – there appears to be no accountability, no boundaries or rules set for the young person, they can apparently do as they please. From a young person's perspective, they can feel rejected, unwanted, and they do not understand the situation as there is usually no explanation given them about how, why or for how long the "arrangement" is to last. This of course does not benefit the family relationship.

While the relationships between the mothers and young people were also recognised as difficult for some, the nature of these difficulties did not receive the same level of scrutiny or analysis by the PPs or CSHs as that of the fathers. This may have been because most of the PP and CSHs were men.

Patterns: The primary pattern that emerged from the interviews with PPs and CSHs was one of managing for survival, where parents/caregivers struggled to cope. One

PP talked about it in terms of parents/caregivers keeping themselves isolated and not engaging with anyone within their community. This seemed to be one strategy for how they coped with their lives. Some of the PPs and CSHs talked about the patterns passed from the parents/caregivers to their children, for example, patterns of parenting. It could be surmised from this that the parents/caregivers had also learnt parenting patterns from their parents and families, and this is certainly reflected in the literature (for example, Parke & Buriel, 2006). It is possible that these intergenerational patterns possibly reflect the break down in family and whanau function that has occurred for Māori families as a result of the relocations of the urbanisation from the 1930 period.

Practical daily living

As mentioned above, the general comment made by PPs and CSHs was that for these families survival was their daily focus, “mentally, physically, and emotionally” (PP1). Families struggled to meet their everyday needs, including: health; housing; electricity costs; transport; and getting the children to school. Some specific comments were made on a few of these needs. Health issues were not always seen as important by some parents/caregivers, avoiding doctor appointments. It seemed difficult for these parents/caregivers to have to face their health issues.

Housing was also commented on as being part of a survival strategy. Some families would move into a nice rental property and eventually get evicted due to damage and/or unpaid rent. The family would then not be able to find another rental home and would end up moving in with relatives, resulting in overcrowded conditions. Some of the families had apparently learnt to manipulate the system by using different family members to access a rental property that they could all move into. This approach was part of their way of life.

PPs and CSHs believed schooling was not always seen as important in some families so this meant that children were not always sent or encouraged to attend school. This pattern could also have been reflective of the parents/caregivers experiences of attending school.

The family issues raised here were the practical issues that the PPs in particular dealt with in their work with young people and their families.

Cultural needs

Generally all of the PPs and CSHs agreed that there were issues with Māori cultural identity for most of the young people they worked with, and that the young people's cultural identity needed strengthening. However, there were different views about what could be seen as the starting point of weakened cultural identity. Some believed that the young people and their parents/caregivers did not know where they were from, what their rohe was, know their iwi and hapu affiliations or where their marae was located. Others said that generally the young people, and usually the parents/caregivers, knew their rohe, iwi, hapu and that they had usually been to the place.

They also differed in their knowledge of what they believed the young people knew of cultural ways, beliefs and practices. Some believed that young people and parents/caregivers did not know what to do if and when they went to a marae, while others believed that young people and parents/caregivers did have some knowledge of the basics. Their examples of this included their knowing to take their shoes off at the door before entering a home or wharenuī and not sitting on pillows. All of the PPs and CSHs recognised and agreed that most of the young people and parents/caregivers did not korero te reo Māori. Such divergence could reflect the nature of the range of families that they worked with and the different life paths that the families followed. Alternatively, it could also reflect the differing life experiences of the programme provider staff and community stakeholders.

There was general recognition that some parents/caregivers felt whakama, defensive or uncertain about their lack of knowledge and experience with Māori cultural practices. PPs and CSHs believed this indicated that the parents/caregivers do understand that there is Māori cultural knowledge to obtain and Māori cultural

practices to become experienced with. This is information that the parents/caregivers and young people talked about in their interviews.

Summary

The programme provider staff and community stakeholders conveyed an image of daily life for the parents/caregivers that reflected the complex and multi-layered issues while managing their families and households. Overall, the picture indicated that many of the families that the PPs and CSHs work with, live with issues and patterns of coping that have been socialised and transmitted from their own parents and life experiences – intergenerational socialisation and transmission. Much of what was described in these interviews (with the PPs and CSHs) supported and added depth of understanding to what the young people and parents/caregivers talked about in their interviews.

Family composition groups

In undertaking the Grounded Theory analysis and generating the categories that built the theory some significant differences emerged from the data gained by the nineteen participant families. These clear differences led to the families being grouped into three family composition groups: Whanau family group; Wider family group; and Nuclear family group. In the next three chapters the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning is applied to the experiences of these three family composition groups to provide an example for the theory.

The differences among each of the three family composition groups were identified by focusing on four aspects of family life:

- Who was included within the family group
- Presence of leadership within, or for the family
- Participation within their Māori community
- Location of family residence

In the following sections a brief description is given of each family composition groups and the differences in the four areas of family life are examined.

Whanau family composition group

Five families were included in this composition group, two parents/caregivers were married, one was widowed, one parent/caregiver lived in a de facto relationship, and there was one single parent. There were four young people in the five family groups. One young person did not want to be interviewed. The fathers of three of the young people were active in their lives, while the fourth young person did not actively seek out connection with her father. Two of the fathers were of Māori ethnicity, while the other two fathers were of Pākehā and Pacific ethnicity. Family life presented difficulties for all of these families, however, the coping and support mechanisms and resources that the parents/caregivers appeared to have, seemed to ensure that they were able to somehow manage their difficulties.

Membership within the whanau family group

When asked who was included in their family the parents/caregivers and young people tended to have a broad range of inclusion. Their descriptions included not only their immediate family members but also grandparents, great aunts, aunts, uncles, cousins, and when appropriate, the children of these relations. Nieces and nephews and their children were also included. One parent/caregiver also included half-siblings and all of their children within her family. The scope was broad and emphasised the importance of whakapapa.

Presence of family leadership

Clear and strong leadership was a feature of the five families in this composition group and was provided by parents (WFP5)³; uncle (WFP1); aunty (WFP3); nephew (WFP2); and one parent/caregiver and her husband provided leadership for their whanau. Leadership for these parents/caregivers was a core role within the family group in terms of directing family activities and providing guidance and support when it was needed.

Participation within their Māori community

All five family groups had maintained active participation within their hapu community. Two parents/caregivers regularly travelled back to their rohe to take part in whanau and hapu activities. They each had a role to fulfil and one of the

³ WF identifies whanau family composition group, P identifies parent/caregiver, number identifies participant

parents/caregivers (WFP5) was actively trying to learn more so she could be more effective in her new roles. The three family groups who lived within their own rohe were regularly involved in whanau and hapu activities, some at home, or at their marae.

Location of family residence

Three of the family groups lived within their own rohe while two lived in urban centres. Living in their own rohe meant that each of the families had good access to people in their whānau and hapū, cultural resources and activities were available and accessible. The two parents/caregivers who lived in urban centres were committed to travelling the distances required to meet the expectations and obligations of participating in whānau and hapū events and activities.

Overall, this family composition group was most similar to that of the ideal scenario and reflected the active participation of parents/caregivers and young people within their whanau and community.

Wider family composition group

There were ten families included within this group; three parents/caregivers were married, four parents/caregivers were living in de facto relationships, and three were single parents. Three young people were also included in this group after their parents/caregivers consented to their taking part in an interview though they did not want to be interviewed themselves. The parents of these young people were reportedly single parents. The fathers of most of the young people (nine) were present and most of them played an active role in the young person's life. Fathers of three of the young people were not present in their lives and the fathers of two young people had died. The mother of one of these young people had also died. All but two of the fathers were of Māori ethnicity, the other two were of Pākehā and Pacific ethnicity. Generally family life in these nine families was busy, with some families experiencing some serious difficulties. Some of the families appeared to have some good support and coping abilities, while others were struggling to cope.

Five of the parents/caregivers had grown up in families with complex backgrounds, some of the consequences of which flowed through to their current situations. The types of difficulties which contributed to the complex childhoods included being abandoned as a baby and raised as a state ward; suffering a chronic illness as a child and being hospitalised for long periods throughout childhood; being abandoned as a baby by her mother and being raised by her father and paternal grandmother; experiencing serious abuse and being removed from her family to state care as a youngster; and a family constantly relocating throughout childhood and taking on a parental role as caregiver to her parents as a young teen. All of these family situations had an impact upon the cultural socialisation of the parents/caregivers and to differing extents, a flow-on effect upon their children.

Membership within the wider family group

The parents/caregivers and young people in this group included the parent/caregiver and children in the immediate family, grandparents, and those aunts, uncles and cousins living in close proximity. Four families included former partners and/or their families within their own family group. This provided ongoing stability for the young people involved. However, the families also stipulated some limits on who was in the family; practical factors such as geographic distance and travel limited inclusion. Another factor given for limits on family membership was unresolved conflict. Examples given of conflict were ostracism from their hapu (WLFP2)⁴; clash of personal values with some of her brothers who were gang members (WLFP10); and childhood abuse by parents that had resulted in estrangement from her siblings (WLFP7).

Presence of family leadership

Seven of the ten families in this composition group had family leadership, someone they considered gave their families direction and support when needed. The nature of the leadership was not as inclusive as for those in the Whanau family composition group, but it was still present and was useful for those families. The

⁴ WLF identifies wider limited family composition group; P identifies parent/caregiver; number identifies participant

three families who did not have any apparent leadership were obviously struggling with the challenges of daily life.

Participation within their Māori community

Most of the parents/caregivers said they only had some or a little participation in their community. This limited participation seemed to stem from practical and financial reasons as participation required travel for many parents/caregivers. A few of the parents/caregivers were reticent to participate in Māori community as a result of unresolved conflict or fear of criticism. One parent/caregiver had no contact with her whanau or hapu as she had chosen instead to fully participate in the Cook Island community from her father's side of her family.

Location of family residence

Nine of the ten families lived in urban centres away from their rohe, and one family lived within their own rohe. Five of those in urban centres had lived there for their whole lives after their parents had relocated for employment. For one parent/caregiver it was her grandmother who had initially relocated away from their rohe and this parent/caregiver's mother had been fully raised within the city as well. One parent/caregiver had spent most of her life living in state care in urban centres. Two parents/caregivers had relocated from their rohe to urban centres as adults in search of employment.

Overall, the families within this family composition group appeared to reflect that they were trying to replicate the features of a whanau by actively including some wider family members within their family. Being part of a larger whanau and hapu group was recognised as being Māori and these families tried to achieve that. However, the number and type of interactions and experiences that young people could be exposed to were limited. For this group the creation of geographic distance caused by relocation of family residence fitted the timing of urbanisation and the changes that occurred with the growth of the money society. Within this composition group there was some understanding of how lessening support for families affected their ability to cope with the daily challenges of life.

Nuclear family composition group

There were four families included within this family composition group. All four families were single parent families with the mother being the primary caregiver. There were six young people, three from one family. Two fathers had died, one had deserted the family, and one father was absent and reportedly tried to negatively influence the young person. Each of the parents/caregivers struggled to meet their own needs and those of their children. Their lives were not easy. Each of the parents/caregivers in this composition group had reportedly grown up in complex family backgrounds. In each of their childhood families there were differing degrees of instability and uncertainty. Only one of the parents/caregivers in this group talked about enjoying her childhood and having some level of stability. But even this was apparently insecure as a result of her father's childhood experiences and the uncertainty of his background once his whāngai father had died. None of the parents/caregivers said they had support or resource people to whom they could go to for information, guidance or support.

Membership within the nuclear family group

Descriptions of who was included in these family groups were clear - the family groups were bounded by their households. The parents/caregivers and young people did acknowledge other relatives, but they were removed or distanced from the family group and not seen or considered as part of their family.

Presence of family leadership

Family leadership was not apparent for any of these families and there also appeared to be no resource person to whom they could turn for support or assistance. They seemed to rely upon those within the household. One parent/caregiver had a close friend, or whāngai sister as she referred to her, and this person had provided support in the past. However, it was acknowledged that this person also had difficulties, so her ability to support was limited.

Participation within Māori community

Only one parent/caregiver in this group and her mother said that they participated a little in their Māori community. Two parents/caregivers were adamant that they did not want to participate in Māori community; they both had negative views of

being Māori and Māori cultural ways. The other parent/caregiver was ambivalent – she seemed reticent to be involved following her father’s death. He had provided leadership for her family and had left a large gap with his passing.

Location of family residence

Three of the four parents/caregivers had lived in an urban centre all of their lives, and in the case of two of these parents/caregivers, it had been their grandparents who had initially relocated to the city. The fourth parent/caregiver had moved to the city as an adult after an extremely troubled childhood of parental neglect and abuse.

Overall, the families in this family composition group appeared to be struggling to keep their family households together and to manage their daily challenges. The limiting of family membership seemed in many respects to be a coping strategy as it contained the number of relationships that had to be managed. However, in doing so they also seemed to limit their potential access to support and guidance. In total, the difficulties experienced by the families in this group seemed to be the result of intergenerational transmission from their own parents. As a result, the low level of coping that they displayed was also being transmitted to their own children – an ongoing cycle. The patterns of interdependence and support portrayed in the ideal scenario were not continued here.

Socialisation processes

Socialisation is generally recognised as a process that occurs primarily within family (Parke & Buriel, 2006; Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems, 2005). Socialising practices referred to in the literature were not widely described. One example given of socialising practices included “talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family’s native language” (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006, p.149). As noted earlier these examples appeared to have originated from observations of the interactions of ethnic minority groups and not Indigenous groups. The processes of a young person’s cultural framework allow for the function of relationships and

interactions between the three relationship groups facilitating broader levels of intergenerational involvement within the families (Kagitcibasi, Ataca, & Diri, 2010). Māori cultural activities, be they those of daily living and/or specific events, provide opportunities and experiences for a young person to learn and gain knowledge and skills (Rangihau, 1975). In this way the cultural meanings and values become instilled. The learning processes and opportunities available in contemporary society are different from those of historical times when this learning was part of the way of life. Many families live away from their own rohe or home area and participation in Māori cultural activities is not regular and is generally fitted into the other activities of daily life. The processes referred to below fit into the three relationship groups: family, whānau, and hapū and briefly describe the types of activities talked about by participants and may be referred to in the following chapters.

Family group processes

There was a mix of possible processes that could be included under this heading, but inclusion is dependent upon the choices made within each family group. The processes can largely be grouped into daily activities; regular activities and annual family activities. Daily activities could include: saying karakia, prayers; giving thanks at mealtimes, grace; having meals together as a family group; having regular family meetings as part of working together as a family group; observing rituals when collecting kai; observing sacredness in the home, for example removing shoes and hats at the door, and keeping hats away from kai; women respecting prohibitions regarding certain activities at particular times; observing expectations for hosting manuhiri and caring for people or family members. Regular family activities could include: going to the beach or bush to collect kai or have a picnic; visits to the family urupā as a group; learning about whakapapa and land; telling stories of ancestors and/or significant events. Annual or occasional activities could include: significant celebrations such as children's birthdays; family meetings about something significant, e.g., land or conflict to be resolved.

Whānau group processes

Activities/processes here refer to the gathering of a young person's immediate family with members of their whānau. The difference between family group and whānau was defined by the participant families and was differentiated in terms of genealogical distance and the degree of contact between them. For most of the families, whānau meant those relatives who were related to them but with whom they met only occasionally. For some, whānau included aunts, uncles, cousins, and for others, it included relatives who were further removed than their direct relatives. Gatherings between a young person's immediate family group and members of their whānau were likely to include: family, whānau reunion; significant celebrations such as wedding anniversaries or birthdays; special Christmas or New Year celebrations; unveilings; or hui about whānau land.

Hapū group and other community processes

Activities and processes at the hapū level refer to the gatherings of a young person's immediate family with members of their hapū. It is recognised that hapū members can, and most probably do include members of the young person's whānau. Size of a hapū does depend upon the number and size of whānau within the hapū grouping. Activities could include: tangihanga, weddings, land meetings, marae meetings, working bees at the marae, and wānanga.

Other community processes for young people include attendance at school, associating with their peer groups and sporting groups and, for some, attending church. These influences can at times support and enhance the cultural socialisation processes and can at other times, counter Māori cultural influences.

Summary

The family composition groups and socialising processes emerged from the data as areas to examine to better understand how Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices are incorporated into daily life among families in today's society. Family composition groups reflect the different life realities of Māori families that have occurred as a result of decades long changes to Māori society and a Māori way of life. The socialising processes reflect the patterns that are passed down within

families. Differences in socialising patterns and practices can be seen across the family composition groups.

Chapter 9 – Findings

Theory of Māori Cultural Learning – Whānau Family composition group

The Whānau family group category most closely fits the ideal scenario of the theory of Māori Cultural Learning. All the families in this composition group had followed paths away from what had historically been a Māori way of life, but through strong family relationships and a commitment to retaining Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices, these five families were physically and actively closer to Māori community than others. A number of common features highlighted the successful functioning of the cultural socialisation mechanism for the ‘Whānau’ families – they each had strong family leadership; they maintained active participation in whānau and hapū activities, three by living in their own rohe which gave the families greater opportunity to take part; two family regularly travelled to their rohe. The principle of ‘ahi kā’ applies here, literally meaning that someone keeps the home fires burning, and relates to those people who continue to take care of the hapū and whānau base for others and are seen to retain the rights to the land (Mead, 2003). As a result of regular contact with other whānau and hapū members, and participation in cultural activities, the families in this group had an established pattern of intergenerational participation within the families.

The cultural framework for the whānau family group (see Figure 5: Model of Māori Learning Cultural Framework – Whanau Family composition group) conveys the opportunity for regular contact between the family, whānau and hapū relationship groups facilitating cultural socialising and learning for the young person. This opportunity is represented by the collective circle encompassing the core of each relationship group. As the ‘whānau’ family group maintained relationships and interactions with many of the members of the other two groups that were regular and consistent, the young person was presented with opportunities for cultural socialisation and learning.

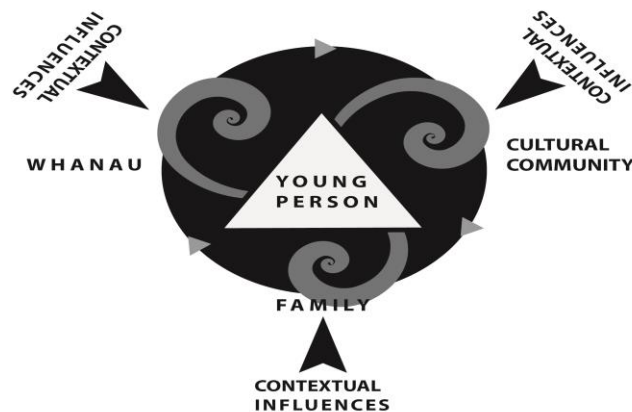


Figure 5: Model of Māori Cultural Learning Framework - Whānau family composition group

Structures

The structures of the cultural framework for a young person from a 'whānau' family composition group, that is, the family, whānau, hapū relationship groups, are separate, but are also closely linked. They were distinct in that the three sets of relationship groups resided in separate residences, but were linked by regular contact and activity, as well as by whakapapa. Being so well linked allowed for greater opportunities to practice within the relationship groups, the principles of whakapapa, leadership, roles and responsibilities. This created an environment for the socialisation and transmission of Māori culture for the young person.

Recognition and respect for seniority

Whakapapa within family, whānau and hapū ideally ensures the recognition and respect for elders who traditionally hold the genealogical and historical knowledge for their family and whānau. Each of the parents/caregivers talked about the relationships they had with the elders in their whānau. For these parents/caregivers the elders, that is, their kaumātua, had an anchoring role

providing guidance, direction, information, and encouragement for activities. Their opinions were respected and observed, but more importantly this resulted in consistency in expectations and obligations. This resulted in what could be termed a level of predictability and continuity for the future. The parents/caregivers knew that there were regular events and activities which they needed to attend and that this engagement helped to keep their family group and whānau and hapū together.

An example of how this was learned came from the experiences of one parent/caregiver (WFP1) who, after her mother had died when she was 12 years (her father dying when she was about 5 years) was invited to live with her uncle and aunt, her mother's brother, wife and their family. Through this new life with her relations she learnt about the value of whānau, the importance of her uncle's position in the whānau and hapū, and the level of stability she had within this family and whānau structure.

Pattern of leadership

Leadership was clear in these five families with parents/caregivers talking about how important the leader was within their family and whānau group. For some this leadership extended across all three relationship groups which provided an extra sense of direction, clarity and consistency. Succession to leadership was touched on by two of the parents/caregivers with both suggesting that their sons could one day step into a leadership or similar role. One parent/caregiver (WFP1) had encouraged her son to join a leadership course in his senior year at high school so he could start to learn some leadership skills. The other parent/caregiver (WFP2) encouraged her son to take on leadership activities at their marae so he could continue to grow into leadership roles within their hapū.

Another caregiver (WFP3) was faced with a less straight forward form of leadership in her whānau, where her brother (who was the eldest in their family and the nominal family leader) had inherited the family home where she lived, but because he lived in another district, he did not play an active part in whānau or hapū activities. She looked to her elderly aunt for leadership and guidance in broader

cultural and hapū matters, but had to defer to her older brother regarding family concerns.

Pattern of roles and responsibilities

Having roles and responsibilities was a usual part of life for the parents/caregivers of this category. They had all grown up with knowledge of the expectations and obligations required of a member of their collective group and as a consequence had the same expectations for their children and grandchildren. Parent/caregiver (WFP3) talked about knowing that when she was a child for any event at their marae she, together with her siblings and cousins, would be required to be in the kitchen helping in the usual roles that children and young people of their age were allocated. Having remained living in the same community she, along with the other parents/caregivers had continued to take on roles and responsibilities, for example being treasurer of the marae committee, participating at working bees at their marae, and attending other hui at their marae.

Having learned the importance of having roles and responsibilities as children, it was equally important to the parents/caregivers that their children and grandchildren also learn the same lessons about how to fit in and take their place within the collective group. While their children were able to play their part in knowing what to do for a particular event, one parent/caregiver (WFP4) said that as her children reached adulthood and were resident in the city, the level of importance of their place at their marae had been crowded out by the other activities of their lives. Her granddaughter knew her roles and though while a little reticent, knew what to do.

Appropriate environment for cultural learning

Creating an appropriate environment in these families resulted from where they resided. Two of the parents/caregivers lived in homes that had been 'family' homes since they were children, while the other two parents/caregivers had lived in the same home for approximately 20 years. Having family, whānau and hapū members living in the same community contributed positively for three of the families as they had regular daily or weekly contact. Being part of a small

community also contributed to feelings of familiarity and security or stability. The sense of community for one family had been lessened as some of their relatives had gradually sold their properties and moved to other cities, more often than not searching for a 'better life'. However; the history of the neighbourhood and the ongoing whakapapa links to the land and place helped the families to retain the feeling of connection, belonging and community.

Two of the young people talked about feeling safe in their respective communities; they were places where they knew the place and the people in the community. This helped them to feel safe.

Summary

Key features of the whanau family group were regular participation in their whānau and hapū activities and at their marae. This helped to create the opportunities for the young people to establish and maintain relationships with their relatives and practice and learning about cultural activities.

It was easier for children of the families who lived within their own rohe, especially the children of the family who had been able to remain in their family house on family land, to learn about the structure of their whānau and hapū relationships. Living in this environment meant that the relationships and interactions were more salient for them, despite the influences from other sources. It is also easier for these parents/caregivers to retain a place and role within the whānau and hapū even though this may have seemed like a burden on top of maintaining their employment and taking care of children and a household.

The life experiences of the parents/caregivers in particular, provided an illustration of the way sound structures within family contribute to security and stability. Having elders and leaders within families who encouraged the taking up of roles and responsibilities, despite the attraction of other influences, for example, from peers, ensures the perpetuation of the patterns of socialisation. Overall, the structures of the cultural framework for each of these whānau oriented families

formed a secure and consistent basis within which the socialisation processes could take place.

Socialisation Processes

Socialisation processes were in many ways a part of life for the parents/caregivers and their families. Each of the parents/caregivers had made a commitment to take part in the particular cultural activities that they deemed relevant to their family life. As a result of this commitment the young people were regularly exposed to and embedded in the socialisation processes and expected to learn and actively participate.

Family group processes

The intergenerational patterns of Māori cultural socialisation were active for the five families in this category. In two of the families the parents/caregivers were grandparents raising their grandchildren. In both families the mothers of these children had relinquished the role of parent to the grandparents. In two of the other families the grandparents had passed on and the parent/caregiver's uncles, aunts and cousins had stepped in to fill that gap for the parents/caregivers and the young people. Having these family and whānau members living close by and being available provided continuity in terms of the relationships and interactions of cultural socialisation. In the fifth family, the grandparents remained living within their rohe and the grandfather remained actively involved at their whanau marae.

Within each of the family groups socialisation processes that occurred included eating meals together, the young people helping out with family and household chores, older siblings looking after their younger brothers and sisters when needed, and abiding by the family rules. The parents/caregivers also talked about involving the young people in sports, and activities such as kapa haka, and waka ama. These were activities in which the family was involved and which were generally seen as family activities. Young people were also expected to take part in activities at their marae, helping in the kitchen and in doing so learning how things on a marae operated.

It was also acknowledged that the young people enjoyed time with their friends, hanging out, having friends visit at home, and spending time with friends away from home. This will be covered in more detail in the section - Whānau, hapū and community processes.

The way the parents/caregivers raised the young people was largely based upon how they themselves were raised. One parent/caregiver (WFP3) described living in the same small community as the one where she was raised by her mother who was supported in disciplining her by the parent/caregiver's older siblings. While she had many aunts, uncles and cousins living nearby during her childhood, there were now far fewer living in close proximity to support her and her family, though they were still supportive and did provide back-up with the young people.

Whānau, hapū and community group processes

The socialisation processes evident in the families in this category and their whānau and hapū members were very similar and have been combined. Other community influences will also be covered in this section.

Three of the families lived within their own rohe and because of this they resided in close proximity to many of their whānau and hapū members. Contact occurred with many of their whānau as a usual part of life and as the parents/caregivers regularly took part in hapū activities, contact with other hapū members also occurred in a natural way. Gatherings for tangi, weddings, significant birthdays, and hui provided additional contacts between family members and their whānau and hapū. The parents/caregivers also worked within their communities so contact with other whānau and hapū members would occur through their work day.

One parent/caregiver lived in the city but regularly travelled back to her rohe to participate in and support whānau and hapū activities. This commitment was at a personal cost to the family; however, the parent/caregiver preferred this to living within her home community. She had found that her value of self-reliance clashed with the values of many members of her whānau whom she felt were dependent

and preferred to rely upon others rather than finding ways and means to helping themselves. Through the regular contact she and her husband were able to meet their expectations and obligations to their whānau and hapū while also providing their granddaughter with opportunities to participate and learn.

The other parent/caregiver who lived in an urban centre had made the decision to travel regularly to her rohe so as to continue to participate because her parents were getting older and she and her siblings knew they had to begin taking on roles and responsibilities within their hapū and iwi. She was also encouraging her children to become involved by taking them to events to meet their relatives and become more comfortable with the place and ways of doing things.

Some of the family and whānau functioning had changed over the years. One parent/caregiver (WFP1) talked about some of the difficulties caused within the whānau as a result of her half-brothers belonging to different gangs. Two of them had died and had chosen to be buried in different cemeteries; this had disrupted the family connections to their whenua, land, and their marae. The decision about burial had apparently created subtle divisions within the family and remained a source of some conflict within the whānau. However, with strong leadership and elders who helped ease the situation, the parent/caregiver was able to feel reassured the situation was contained and managed.

Another parent/caregiver talked about the fact that her siblings and other members of her whānau had moved away from the area to live, stating that this had diminished the size of the whānau gatherings from in her childhood. She still preferred to have large family gatherings for her own children as she saw it as an ideal opportunity for her family to meet up and get on with one another.

Community

Family and young people taking part in community-based activities provided the young people with exposure to other influences – some that supported the socialisation of Māori culture and others that challenged the values of Māori

culture. Other influences included: kapa haka; waka ama or kaihoe waka; socialising with the young person's peers; school; church; and attending community programmes.

Kapa haka and Waka ama/Kaihoe waka – These very popular activities provided WFP3's family with a culturally based outdoor activity that all could have some participation in as a family group. The father was a very keen paddler and this provided the whole family with an opportunity to be involved. The young person (WFY6)⁵ did not like to participate but enjoyed watching – she said she was too shy, but hoped to join a group at the tech where she was going to be studying.

Another young person (WFY5) had been involved in kapa haka for a number of years from intermediate age. Her passion was singing and kapa haka allowed her to engage that passion. That activity was strongly linked to her feelings of being Māori.

Peers

Friends were second to family in being most important to the young people. The young people confided in their friends and appeared to have a lot in common with them. It seemed they had some clear boundaries around their friendships as they drew some distinctions between the reasons why friendships with some were bounded by specific situations.

WFY6 liked to hang out with her friends, going to parties with them, talking about relationships and themselves, or as she put it, "just the basic stuff".

On the other hand WFY7 had one good friend with whom she went running each day as she liked being fit. With her bigger group of friends she liked to talk about how she wanted to change and not get into trouble again and how to remain at school.

⁵ WF identifies whanau family composition group; Y identifies young person; number identifies participant

The third young person (WFY5) had a group of friends who were all older than her, and who were not at school. She felt that she had more in common with these friends but also acknowledged that she 'got into mischief' with them. Since returning to school she also had friends at school. Trust was the most important aspect of her friendships.

School

Two of the three young people in these families attended school. One (WFY5) had recently returned to school after non-attendance for three years after CYFS threatened to remove her from her family and put her into care. At that point she realised that her situation was serious and made the decision to return home and recommence her schooling. Since having returned to school she found that she was enjoying learning and was looking forward to her future. The unit within the school she attended catered for her needs and she had been able to catch up on her education.

The other young person (WFY7) had also not been attending school for the previous year but was now finding that she was fitting in and making new friends. School was something she had to get used to and her friends were encouraging her to remain at school.

The third young person (WFY6) had been attending a community programme and had recently commenced a bridging course in preparation for enrolling in a tourism course at the local polytechnic. She had the goal of entering into the tourism industry and hoped the bridging course would help her to succeed at this.

Church

One parent/caregiver (WFP2) had been raised as Catholic but had for a time, attended Destiny Church with her husband. Her children had not agreed with her attendance at the Destiny Church; though she and her husband had found it beneficial, after they left eventually. She had clear religious views about people who wore greenstone which clashed with her Christian beliefs. She believed that those people who wore greenstone pendants did so in the belief that they would

return to their ancestors. She called it the 'pounamu ways' and regarded these as being primitive and unchristian.

Community programme

Attendance at the community youth programmes had provided just as much or more support for the parents/caregivers as it had for the young people. While each of the programmes attempted to incorporate Māori cultural perspectives within their service delivery, in many situations the focus tended to be more on keeping the young people out of trouble or sorting out problems after they had been in trouble.

Summary of socialisation processes

It seems that because the structures within the families and communities were well established and functioned relatively well, patterns of socialisation had continued much the same for generations. Some of the whanau members had moved away and had different interests. This had lessened the size of whānau gatherings, however, the importance of holding family gatherings to maintain those relationships was still an important aspect of family life.

Influences from other areas such as peers, school, church and other sporting activities all contributed to family life in some way. However, it seems that if the structures and socialisation processes supporting Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices remain strong and functional, the effect is not detrimental.

Collective Qualities

Living in their home communities or having regular contact with their home community enabled people to have opportunities to participate, learn and practice Māori knowledge and skill; this was of benefit for the learning of collective qualities of both parents/caregivers and young people in the four 'whānau' family groups.

Sharing

Growing up in the small Māori communities had supplied the parents/caregivers with experiences of sharing that they were able to pass on to their children and grandchildren.

One parent/caregiver who had been raised with many of her whānau around her childhood family had experienced the sharing that went on at times of whānau gathering when someone would ensure the children were taken care of and fed.

... having those big whanau Xmas, where it's like all the mokos, all the aunties, the uncles and the cussies ... we used to have Xmas down at my grandmother's house ... and all the cussies, all her mokos are outside on the big whariki having peanut butter and jam bread while they're preparing lunch... (WFP3)

On the other hand another parent/caregiver (WFP1) had a slightly different experience in her early childhood. She was raised by her mother in a city and found herself left often alone. It was not until after her mother had died and she was living with her uncle, aunt and cousins that she learnt about aspects of sharing and being a member of a family, whānau and hapū. She had to learn to contribute to the household chores, learn about who was in her whānau, and actively participate in family and whānau occasions. During her early childhood though, she had learnt something about sharing, in that, whenever her mother was in trouble in her relationships, the parent/caregiver's uncle, that is, her mother's brother, would come and pick them up, provide support and make sure they were safe. This he did unreservedly. This was the core quality of manaakitanga that she learnt and was able to transfer into her adult life and her care for her own family. Her daughter fully appreciated the persistence with which her mother had continued to do her best to keep her at home, or at least persuade her to return home despite the choices she made to live on the street with her friends.

Cooperation and collaboration

Four of the five parents/caregivers had become accustomed to working at their marae from a young age and had raised their children and grandchildren to do the same. When learn as a young person, working together as a group on a marae, getting on together and achieving the given tasks became second nature; these activities then became refined in adulthood. The other parent/caregiver had not experienced participation on a marae during her childhood but had committed herself to actively participating and learning as an adult. She was also encouraging her children to also participate and learn.

Openness and acceptance

This quality relates to the feelings of confidence Māori have in their own worldview and in their participation in cultural activities. Four of the five parents/caregivers in this group had grown up within Māori communities and had been involved in sufficient Māori cultural activities to develop a level of confidence in their understanding and ability to take part. This was conveyed in the parent's/caregiver's automatic expectation that their children and grandchildren would also participate in cultural events and activities as a part of their lives. The other parent/caregiver had lived alongside her Māori community and, while her grandparents had been very active in their Māori community and her father had worked in Māori organisational roles, she and her siblings had not been expected to take part. As a consequence the parent/caregiver had a low level of knowledge and understanding and this had affected her feelings of confidence. Despite this, she had made a commitment to actively participate in her hapū activities and found that she had been welcomed and accepted by her elders.

Relationships and interactions

Each of the parents/caregivers in this category gave examples of challenges that they had experienced in maintaining the relationships within their family and whānau; some with greater success than others. It appeared that each parent/caregiver had a management pattern for dealing with relationship challenges, working to ease interactions during family gatherings, negotiating family concerns, or just managing their relationships with their young people.

Parent/caregiver (WFP4) had tried to support her daughter in the raising of her children, namely young person (WFP7), and when that failed and the young person again got into trouble with the police, the parent/caregiver stepped in to assume the parenting role full-time.

Another example was given by parent/caregiver (WFP1) whose family group was large and complex as she had half-siblings from both parents. Over the years she had retained close contacts with both sides and, despite very different life experiences, she managed them successfully. The siblings on her father's side lived

‘up north’ and she did not get to see them very often. However, she was working with them via the Internet to develop their whānau whakapapa book. The siblings on her mother’s side had become divided as some had chosen different life paths with a gang, and others not. Living closer to her mother’s side had not made the contact easier as the difficulties were deep-seated. The skills for managing these difficulties had been established in the family pattern and this parent/caregiver would probably pass these on to her children for future family functioning.

Parent/caregiver (WFP5) said her own parents had worked hard at encouraging all of their children and grandchildren to continue to gather regularly for family events as a way of keeping their whole family together. Her parents generally made the decisions about an event and gave directions to the children about organising the actual event.

Māori knowledge and skill

A Māori resource person was available for each of the families in this ‘whānau’ family category. That person supported each of the families with information about their whakapapa, history and stories. The stories were important as they contained the history of their family, identified where they were from, and where the previous generations were from.

Parent/caregiver (WFP3) described her experience:

... my aunty and my cousin [live in her grandmother’s homestead], but we go down there and I love sitting down there and she reminisces about stories and about my whanau and all the aunties, kuias, korouas that have gone, and it’s nice just sitting there.

This anecdote values the nature of the relationships, the whakapapa, the way of life that has passed, and the ways of the family and whānau that may still be in existence within the whānau. The oral tradition by which these stories are told is also a skill that is passing out of usage, but may be carried on in these families if the environment is right and if passed on to the children and grandchildren.

Decision-making

The parents/caregivers in each of these four families were strong and decisive in their own right for their own family groups. Broader decisions for whānau and hapū appeared to follow the established leadership pattern for the groups.

Leadership tended to lie with the elders, those senior members of the whānau, although for parent/caregiver (WFP2) the leadership lay with her nephew who though younger than her, had knowledge and experience which contributed to his acknowledged position as leader.

Summary

The families in the whanau family composition group provided examples of how, through active intergenerational involvement within the structure of their cultural framework and the relationship groups, they could establish a sound basis for leadership, roles and responsibilities within the function of their whanau family group. In this environment where the family household was secure, young people were able to learn as a usual part of daily life. Admittedly there were expectations and feelings of obligation, but these were accepted as being part of life and meeting the expectations and fulfilling the obligations contributed to the good of the whole family and whānau and in some circumstances, the hapū. The families were all grounded in the community of their heritage where three of the families lived, and to which two returned as they deemed necessary. Socialisation processes were a product of being part of the community with relationships and activities that were part and parcel of life in and of that community. This in turn created a natural environment for the young people in which to learn how to be part of the collective group.

Despite this positive overview, the families had all been weakened as family members had moved away over the years. Issues of conflict remained, and all had to continue to meet the diverse demands of life such as maintaining employment, managing financially in today's economic climate and meeting the challenges and expectations of today's material world. The families also had to manage young people who wanted to have other interests, like mobile phones, friends, and school,

as well as their expectations for the future. Overall, this diverse life situation created many challenges for the parents/caregivers and young people alike.

Chapter 10 – Findings

Theory of Māori Cultural Learning – Wider family composition group

The Wider family composition groups had retained some patterns of Māori cultural socialisation; however, other patterns had been interrupted as a result of historic, social and geographic changes to Māori society and communities. Signs of changes to what had been a historical Māori way of life and changes to Māori society and the function of Māori cultural ways were more obvious across the families in this family composition group than in the families in the Whanau composition group. All but one of the families in this group lived in an urban centre with half having lived there all of their lives. This meant that their children, the young people of this study, were the second generation to be raised away from the land and their whakapapa and heritage. Being urban dwellers, these family groups had two main challenges – geographic distance from the Māori cultural base of their rohe, and living in the midst of all aspects of a dominant non-Māori society. However, despite the changes that had occurred many of these families in this group had tried to retain some aspects of living as a collective group and maintain interdependent socialisation.

The Theory of Māori Cultural Learning proposes that a young person's cultural framework is made up of family, whānau and hapū, community relationship groups that establish and maintain a cultural learning environment. This environment nurtures that way a young person is able to live, experience, practice and learn all of the necessary facets of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. The cultural framework for the Wider Family composition group (see Figure 6: Model of Māori Cultural Learning Framework – Wider family composition group) depicts some contact between the family, whānau and hapū, and community relationship groups. The level of contact is expressed by the placement of the circle as it passes through the middle of the unfurling fern frond. This represents limited contact with some members of their wider family, whānau and hapū community.

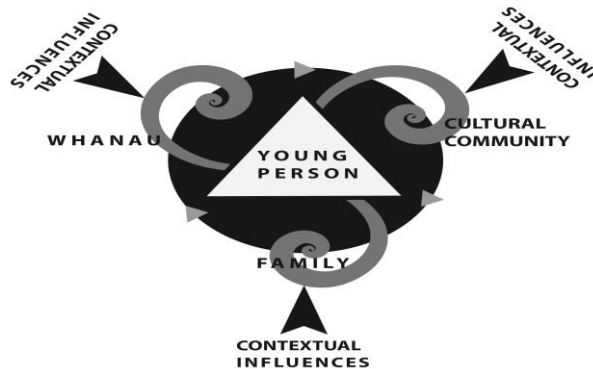


Figure 6: Model of Cultural Learning Framework - Wider family composition group

However, low level contact with these members of their whānau and hapū was in some respects made up for by closer contact within their immediate wider family group. Opportunities for young people to learn were created within their wider family group.

Structures

The cultural learning framework structures for the Wider family group appeared to be a meld of some of the features described in the 'ideal' setting but that had had to be adapted to function for the families in an urban setting.

Recognition and respect for seniority

Eight of the ten parents/caregivers in this category had an elder or senior member of their family that they could seek support or guidance from. One other parent/caregiver had the ongoing support of her Cook Island Māori grandmother and father. The other parent/caregiver did not have family of her own and relied upon her partner and his family. An active pattern of seniority functioned for four of the parents/caregivers in which senior members of the family were acknowledged for their knowledge, skill, expertise and wisdom. One of these elders/seniors lived in their own rohe and three lived in the city. The elders living

within their own rohe both actively directed and participated in their own whānau and hapū activities.

In two families the pattern of seniority was being re-established. In one family the change in circumstances had been brought about by the death of a parent/caregiver's mother and who was to step into her roles and responsibilities within the family was still being settled upon. The other parent/caregiver was re-establishing a pattern of seniority in her family following her marriage to a man from another iwi. She had previously considered herself and her children as a nuclear family so this change was significant. Seniority for one other parents/caregivers was not active. One parent/caregiver whose parents had been ostracised from her mother's marae many years previously had an aunt who had offered support to her and her siblings, but this offer was not taken up. Sadly, her parents were evidently not considered as elders by their children.

Overall, the pattern of seniority was recognised and respected within these family groups, even the families where leadership was not particularly evident; this set the basis for the 'wider limited' family structure. Where the pattern of seniority was active the family had retained a feeling of cohesiveness, and intergenerational involvement in family functioning was considered important and a predominant feature of the family group.

Pattern of leadership

Leadership was evident for seven of the parents/caregivers as they talked about who gave direction for family activities, who held Māori knowledge, and who supported and encouraged family members. In families where the pattern of leadership was obviously strong it was evident that leadership had been active for those of the previous generation, that is, the parent/caregivers' grandparents' generation. The primary aspect evident in families with clear leadership was the act of keeping the family physically close. This was achieved by family members choosing to live in relatively close proximity, as well as regularly meeting face-to-face for meals, spending time together, or just visiting.

Three parents/caregivers in this group had no clear pattern of leadership in their family groups, that is, there was no elder or family senior who provided guidance, support or direction. One parent/caregiver talked about an aunty who had expressed a willingness to provide support; however the parent/caregiver refused this, apparently out of residual feelings of animosity from past issues. In the situations of two other parents/caregivers, one had no family and relied on her partner and his family, and the other had irregular contact with her elder brothers whom she seemed to acknowledge as her family leaders.

Overall, leadership within family groups appeared to contribute to greater levels of family cohesiveness, especially where physical closeness between family members resulted in a higher level of interdependence in their family function.

Pattern of roles and responsibilities

Taking on roles and responsibilities is about active participation in family- and whānau-based activities based on a pattern of interdependence. The orientation of interdependence created by intergenerational patterns of leadership in the eight families where leadership was evident, also had the effect of family members taking on roles and responsibilities within their wider family group. Examples of this were described by one of the parents/caregivers (WLFP8) who had been allocated the role of caring for her father's gardens and drains following the death of her mother, while her siblings took on other roles and responsibilities in the family. Another parent/caregiver (WLFP4) talked about how her family gathered at least weekly at the home of one of the family and had a shared meal. Everyone contributed to that meal so everyone had a part in the occasion.

One parent/caregiver in this category took a reasonably active role at the family marae. This parent/caregiver (WLF7) had been encouraged by her mother-in-law to take part on the family marae and had become more confident as she had gradually learnt about the roles, starting with those in the kitchen of the marae. The parent/caregiver was very happy to be encouraged and supported so she could

support her own children to participate on the marae. The young person in this family (WLFY18) said she loved being at the marae as she considered it to be her home. This young person had also been encouraged by her grandparents to be involved at their marae.

Six of the parents/caregivers in this group made very occasional visits to their marae, or that of their husband/partner, usually to attend tangi, working bees, or hui. All seemed to have an implicit understanding of the roles they needed to engage in on those occasions. The remaining three parents/caregivers did not take an active role on their marae as they each had their own concerns. One parent/caregiver (WLF1) had been raised a state ward and did not know her iwi or hapu affiliation. The two other parents/caregivers (WLF2 & WLF3) both had unresolved conflict issues with whanau and hapu which made active participation very difficult for them.

At home the young people were given opportunities to learn roles and responsibilities through role modelling by their parents/caregivers and other family members. Most of the young people had household chores to contribute to daily family functioning as an active part of learning the pattern of roles and responsibilities and the types of expectations and obligations that go with being part of a collective.

Eight of the 14 young people had some experience of being on a marae, gained mostly by attending tangi, but only three of them appeared to have had enough marae experience to feel comfortable to take on an active role, such as in the kitchen or at working bees. One young person (WLFY23) said it was a chore going to working bees and he preferred to go off and ride horses.

Overall, the pattern of roles and responsibilities in the structure of the cultural framework helped to create a sense of belonging to the groups as well as assisting in maintaining family cohesion. In the three families where no leadership was evident and where there were no clear roles and responsibilities, it was apparent

that there was less cohesion and a lowered sense of belonging. However, the intermittent nature of contact with and participation in hapu and marae activities made it difficult for the young people to feel comfortable, a part of that community, let alone for them to internalise the values and feelings of belonging.

Appropriate environment for cultural learning

Most of the family groups in this category experienced a family environment that facilitated their wider family group coming together to share meals, space and time. The physical space had to accommodate the family members coming together for whatever activities were planned. One parent/caregiver (WLFP4) said she and her husband had created the equivalent of a sports bar in a room at the back of their section to accommodate family for meals, watching sports on television as well as catering for all of their children. Another parent/caregiver (WLFP9) said the family met either at his place or his mother-in-law's house for meals and to provide an opportunity for his nephew (whom he and his family cared for) to spend time with his nephew's siblings (who were being cared for by their grandmother).

One parent/caregiver (WLFP3) said members of her family often came to her small home to meet up and for meals and it was not entirely suitable for that. She felt taken for granted and preferred to go to her brother's place, but he was rarely home as he worked long hours. Another parent/caregiver (WLFP1) said her children regularly saw their father's side of the family. Her son described regularly seeing his aunts, uncles and cousins at the premises of his father's gang. This young person described what he considered an appropriate environment in which to meet members of his wider family. As his mother did not describe that place at all, it could be considered that she did not agree with the situation but did not want to say.

Overall, the underlying driver to create and use a suitable environment appeared to be to enable family to get together and ensure the young people had opportunities to get to know their family in a safe environment. However, the physical building of an environment incurred cost which restricted availability to some families and

therefore limited family gatherings. But where it worked well, the patterns of family interdependence and intergenerational family function were able to be perpetuated to some degree within the urban setting.

Summary of Structures for Wider family composition group

The focus for the families of this Wider family composition group on the members of their household plus those family members who lived close by, created a smaller collective type of group within which the young people were able to establish and maintain relationships. In most of the families there were elders and leaders who were recognised as guides and supports for the young people and parents/caregivers alike. These relationships and roles established a pattern for the family, and while only one parent/caregiver talked about succession planning for family leadership following the death of her mother; it is possible other families would also have considered this type of progression.

This way of functioning as a family was easier for some than for others. Those families who had leadership appeared to be able to organise and function far more effectively than those without clear leadership. Where the parents/caregivers had experienced a difficult childhood and had no leadership for their family, the ongoing struggles appeared to be more challenging. The combinations of life circumstances appeared to add to the layers of difficulty.

Socialisation Processes

Most of the families within the wider family composition group were geographically removed from their whakapapa or hapū base but they had strived to retain some Māori cultural values and practices within their family function. Some families succeeded better at this than others, the differences appeared to arise from the differences in levels of support and leadership available from the wider family group.

Family group processes

How families functioned as a group at home set the foundation of the family learning environment for the young people. Most of the families (eight) had retained an intergenerational involvement in their usual family activity. For some

of the families (five) this meant daily contact with visits, meals, or just telephone or electronic contact. For others (three) it was not as frequent but usual for weekly or fortnightly contact. One of the remaining two families, the parent/caregiver (WLFP2) had made it clear that she did not want active contact with her aunt who had offered support. The other (WLFP3) had only very irregular contact with her elder siblings but saw her older children and grandchildren every day. It was as if these parents/caregivers may have considered that they included other members of their wider family within their immediate family group, though, in practice this may not have occurred. But this was their life reality.

It was important for these families to spend time together – family was important to them and most of them worked to ensure that their family groups functioned well together. There were marked differences across the eight family groups: the families with a stronger function of interdependence seemed to have an openness in communication characterised by trust, respect, and honesty that helped to create a safe environment for sharing. Interdependence within the families was a function of sharing for the well-being of the family group and was non-competitive. Communication or effective communication appeared to be important to maintaining these relationships well. An ability to identify problems, followed by an effective problem solving technique was also useful to resolve difficulties that arose.

Three of the parents/caregivers talked about their family groups getting together for meetings, formal and informal, to actively plan for events or address issues or concerns. Some examples include:

Parent/caregiver (WLFP4) described talking openly to her family about the issues she had with her son and feeling safe and respected so she could be open and honest about her feelings and being able to receive support with dealing with her son. She said that her husband also received the same type of emotional support from the whole family when he became unwell, and in particular from the men in the family. The parent/caregiver said that her

parents had created a safe environment at home and always encouraged them to talk openly.

Parent/caregiver (WLFP6) talked about her family meeting once a month to formally talk about how family members were managing, consider upcoming events that they may have, or discussing any financial commitments or difficulties that any of them had. If there was a requirement for funds they would all set aside some money to help out with the cost if necessary. It helped the family.

Parent/caregiver (WLFP8) said that she and her siblings all talked about, planned and organised family gatherings, helping out and sharing responsibility for what had to be done.

Parent/caregiver (WLF9) and his adult children met with other wider family members including his sister and mother-in-law, the grandmother of the children, to discuss and determine the best family situation for caring for nephews and nieces whose parents had died. Among them, they organised both care for the children and a pattern of contact and interaction among family members to best support the children. This required the whole family working together and sharing resources for the wellbeing of the children.

The underpinning aspect of these examples was the importance of family being able to move through the various events, issues or difficulties and find a way to remain cohesive as a family group. The degree to which this occurred successfully seemed to be dependent upon two factors: their ability to maintain a safe environment in which family members could express themselves without criticism or judgement, and individuals' abilities to express themselves. Those families who worked together appeared to have the most ongoing support.

Valuing the function of interdependence was also highlighted as an important aspect of being able to work together as a family group. One parent/caregiver

(WLFP10) had, as a child, experienced encouragement to be self-reliant and independent as those abilities were valued by her parents. She idolised her father who had run a businesses, and she wanted to be like him. However she had to adjust to a greater interdependent orientation to better fit her husband's approach to family relationships. This had been a challenge for her and at the time of the interview she was working at the change but it was taking her time to make the necessary personal adjustment.

Three parents/caregivers who had experienced difficulties in their childhood appeared to have replicated patterns from their childhood in their adult family groups. These patterns inhibited relationships and interactions necessary for positive socialisation. One parent/caregiver (WLFP1) who had been raised in state care and foster homes had obviously not been raised in an intergenerational, interdependent family home. She raised her children with the best of care, however, it was hard for her to counter the influence of her partner and his family and their involvement in a gang. She did not have the family support that others may have had to call on.

Another parent/caregiver (WLFP3) had been raised in a family of 12 siblings that included four sets of twins. She and her twin sister were reportedly mischievous and their mother found it hard to cope with them so she sent them to their grandparents just around the corner for care. She learnt from this that to cope a parent could send the children to someone else. By her own admission she had been a bad-tempered, grumpy parent to her children. She complained about her daughter being a bad-tempered and grumpy mother to her children. Her daughter sent her children to the parent/caregiver for care when she needed a break. In her younger years her brothers had joined competing gangs which created a great deal of conflict in the family. She did not like the conflict so moved to the city to avoid or escape it. It seemed that she did not like any conflict. Another type of conflict that she talked about related to the Waitangi settlements that had occurred in the area where she now lived. A lot of discussion, debate and general conflict was generated around this topic. To avoid the conflict she did not attend certain events

or go to certain places where the topic could arise. These examples seemed to reflect a continuing pattern of avoiding people and situations where relationships needed to be managed. This parent/caregiver seemed to not have developed the skills and awareness to help her manage the relationships around her. She had role-modelled certain behaviours to her children and the pattern seemed to have continued to the next generation.

The third parent/caregiver (WLFP7) experienced parental abuse in her childhood family and was removed to state care as a child. She did not want her children to be mistreated and over-compensated giving them a great deal of pocket money. She became very ill and could no longer work or afford the weekly cost. Her daughter (young person) had become accustomed to the weekly sum of money, did not accept her mother's disability and in turn treated her badly. In her early life the parent/caregiver had not learned to manage her relationships and this pattern had been passed on to her daughter. Her mother-in-law and brother-in-law had supported her by providing physical and emotional assistance to her and her children. This parent/caregiver was also encouraged to take a greater part in her in-laws whānau and hapū as an additional avenue of support and inclusion into their community. This was despite her marriage having broken down quite some time before. It had been obvious that the parent/caregiver needed support following her illness and her in-laws provided what they thought was necessary.

These examples cover a range of life experiences and life realities for these families that can challenge how families function and also further alter how Māori culture is socialised and learned by both young people and adults.

Young people

Cultural learning is dependent upon the nature of the environment (Keller & Otto, 2009) created by parents/caregivers as well as the type of relationships and interactions that occur within that environment. Being Māori and participating in Māori cultural activities seemed to be particular focus for the young people in this group as compared to the young people in the Whanau family composition group.

The young people in the Wider family group were not as immersed within their own Māori community. They appeared to have reached an age at which they realised that being Māori required knowing more about Māori cultural ways. This could have manifested itself in terms of feeling comfortable or uncomfortable in different situations.

Most of the young people said that they were Māori because one or both of their parents were Māori. Overall, though, the young people had different types of interpretations of what being Māori and Māori culture were like. Two young people related being Māori to appearance, one because of her blackness (WLFY24), and one because of what he looked like and how he dressed (WLFY14). One young person (WLFY12) acknowledged her ethnicity as Māori, but then said: "I'm not really of my iwi and stuff cos I don't really know it." Another young person (WLFY11) related being Māori to what he experienced in his father's gang: "rough, rugged and raw ... they are the same, cos mostly they talk Māori".

Getting to know who their relatives were was very important to one young person (WLFY17). He said he liked to know where any potential girlfriends came from because he did not know all of his relatives and he did not want to 'date' one of his cousins. The first thing he asked a girl was where she was from and if they came from up north he did not go out with them just in case. For some, family functions were seen as important opportunities to get to know who relatives were. Young people wanted to know who their cousins were, and re-establish those connections. One young person (WLFY21) talked about "coming together as a family ... interacting with each other ... like as a whole family, not like individuals, us three, or us two ...". This interesting way of describing the subtle difference in how he understood that his family had changed showed some insight into the alterations to his family's cohesiveness.

Learning for most of the young people seemed to be implicit within the function of their family group with only one young person (WLFY24) talking specifically about being taught aspects of Māori cultural ways by her stepfather. She felt that she had

been raised 'English' as she associated not being able to speak Māori language with the conclusion that therefore she must be 'English'. This was even though her stepfather had been trying to teach her and her siblings some Māori cultural principles. These included - as a family they needed to eat at the table together, they were not allowed to wear hats inside and no elbows on the table. She said that all of these points were to teach them to show respect and that it was tapu to keep your hat on when at the table. Her family was important to this young person and to be Māori she considered it necessary to be able to speak Māori. She could not speak Māori so she, in her eyes, must be 'English', because that is all she knew.

Overall, the key aspects of socialising processes for the wider families in this category had some features necessary for Māori cultural socialisation and learning for young people, but within that there was little content that was Māori. It was apparent that most of the parents/caregivers had not achieved a level of cultural agency themselves in their lives which meant that they were not well equipped or sufficiently confident to socialise their own children, particularly in terms of Māori cultural knowledge and skills. As a result of the limited contact that the parents/caregivers had with their own Māori community, the young people were exposed to few cultural opportunities. This was likely to mean that they too would have little chance of achieving an adequate level of cultural competence, let alone cultural agency. Given the limited contact with whānau and hapū, and community groups, opportunities for any further cultural socialisation remained minimal.

Whānau group processes

Relationships and interactions with members of their whānau created opportunities for the young people to expand their learning environment. However, contact with whānau members of the parents/caregivers was not straight forward among the family groups. They nearly all lived in urban settings away from their rohe where these types of contacts are more usual. Because of this contact, whānau members became part of a specific event.

Three of the parents/caregivers had some contact with members of their whānau and this occurred in different ways: at marae events or meeting up with whānau supported by mother-in-law (WLFP7); or attending whānau events with her partner (WLFP6). One caregiver's family (WLFP1) had more contact with their whānau through going to their father's marae as well as at their father's gang premises. It was considered by the young person in this family that these premises were a Māori cultural environment.

Other parents/caregivers had contact with whānau members on occasions in diverse ways: by attending tangi occasionally (WLFP3; WLFP4 – on her husband's family side; WLFP9); through her mother (WLFP4) or uncle (WLFP9) attending land meetings; very occasional visits by or to members of whānau (WLFP2; WLFP8); or meeting her husband's family and whānau (WLFP10). These events were infrequent and were considered important but at the same time were an addition to their usual activities and not just a part of daily life as it used to be in earlier times.

Two parents/caregivers did not meet with members of their whānau. One (WLFP1) did not know her family, and (WLFP5) did not want to know her mother's whānau after being abandoned by her as a baby. This parent/caregiver viewed herself as Cook Island Māori only and did not want to actively retain contacts with her children's father who was Maori or with his family or whānau. This aspect of their life had become unimportant.

The socialisation processes of whānau relationship group members that aimed to expand the cultural learning for young people were occasional. Such sporadic contact was insufficient to be effective in this regard. Also, most of the parents/caregivers still had a lot to learn about their relationships with members of their whānau so were not in a good position to support this aspect of the learning of the young people.

Hapū and community group processes

Interactions with hapū had been limited for some of the parents/caregivers in this group, while young people interacted more within their local community. Hapū and community participation were two completely different concepts for the parents/caregivers in this family composition group. The parents/caregivers had very little contact with their hapū, with some relying on others to maintain contact for them. For example, one parent/caregiver (WLF4) said she and her siblings relied on her mother and uncle to attend land meetings, keep records and information about their whakapapa and land shares. After talking about this in the interview she did admit that she had just realised that she and her siblings needed to start learning about their whakapapa and land and taking more responsibility for those. Another parent/caregiver (WLF9) relied on his uncle and sister for information about whakapapa and land, as did parent/caregiver (WLF8), who relied upon her older siblings and an aunt and cousins to represent her and provide her with information when she needed it.

One parent/caregiver (WLF3) did not want to return to her hapū and marae as she believed that their marae had come under the control of gang members which had caused conflict. This was something that she wished to avoid. Unresolved conflict also kept another parent/caregiver (WLF2), and her siblings and all of their children from their hapū marae.

For all of these parents/caregivers and their families it appeared that distance and travel were not the only factors acting as barriers and inhibiting ongoing relationships between them and their hapū community. In spite of this, the parents/caregivers and young people did have some participation in their local communities.

Community

Participation in other community activities offered other socialisation influences for the young people. Some of these sources of influence offered and encouraged support for cultural learning, while others challenged the achievement of cultural learning through competing values, beliefs and practices. Some of the

parents/caregivers took part in some community activities and the young people had their own community activities. Parent/caregiver activities included: undertaking volunteer work, training courses and ongoing involvement in sports. Young people's activities involved their peers; sports; music; and computer games.

Parent/caregiver activities in the community

Parents/caregivers were asked about their willingness to access Māori organisations within the local community using the examples of urban marae as a type of replacement for their own hapu or marae community. One parent/caregiver (WLFP3) was adamant that she would not go to her local urban marae because otherwise everyone would know her business and she would be expected to participate. She found this expectation intrusive and unreasonable.

Another parent/caregiver (WLFP8) said that based on her previous negative experiences of Māori cultural activities within the urban centre she would be fearful of criticism and judgement for not knowing her whakapapa or how to korero Māori. Her fear was such that she was too inhibited to even try to pronounce Māori words in front of me because of her fear that her pronunciation could be incorrect. This parent/caregiver had also been mortified to realise that when we discussed the meaning of manaakitanga she had neglected to offer me a cup of tea when I first arrived, something she inherently knew to be the correct thing to do, but that had slipped from the function of her daily life. This generalised fear also impacted on the way the collective values and qualities were practiced; this is covered in the next section.

In the absence of participation in Māori cultural community activities parents/caregivers took part in a range of other organised activities. Three of the parents/caregivers had been involved in some type of volunteer work that gave them a role outside the home. Agencies in which they did volunteer work included: Habitat for Humanity (WLFP1); a Pacific social service agency (WLFP6); and Playcentre (WLFP8).

Finding sources of training was also important for some parents/caregivers. Three parents/caregivers had undertaken some training courses which had assisted them with learning a little more about aspects of being Māori. One parent/caregiver (WLFP8) had undertaken a Treaty of Waitangi training course with Playcentre which she had found useful and this encouraged her to continue with her playcentre training and gradually increase her involvement in this organisation. Undertaking a training course on the Treaty of Waitangi with a social service agency had helped another parent/caregiver (WLFP7) to better understand the place of Māori in New Zealand society. This training course had also helped her to meet new people and have new experiences. Another parent/caregiver (WLFP1) had undertaken a training course at her place of work on the Māori health model, Te Whare Tapa Whā. She said that this information had helped with a great deal as she did not know her own whakapapa and this model had given her a framework she could use to think about her life. She said she had also used this information to try and guide her own children.

Two parents/caregivers (WLFP6 & WLFP10) had involvement within their church that was also attended by their sons. With her family, parent/caregiver (WLFP6) had been a member of the Seventh Day Adventist church all her life and this gave her a great deal of support and guidance. Parent/caregiver (WLFP10) had been a member of a church for five years and had found that that had helped her with her personal relationships. She had been able to develop relationships within the church community and had over time learned to trust people there which had helped with her relationships at home. But it was a work in progress.

One parent/caregiver (WLFP4) said she and her family were very involved in sports and this supported her son who was also involved in multiple sports.

Young people activities in the community

Young people had different types of interests and were involved in a range of different activities which are listed as follows:

Kapa haka and Waka ama/Kaihoe waka - Only two of the young people had had any involvement in kapa haka. One young person (WLFY17) had been involved in kapa haka from a young age, and by his reckoning had excelled at this, but the involvement had stopped following the death of his father. The other young person (WLFY18) had been involved in kapa haka at primary school and had enjoyed being taught by her favourite teacher there. Her involvement stopped once she left to attend secondary school.

Peers

Having friends was very important to all of the young people, and some of them spent a great deal of time with their friends, or kept in contact by mobile phone. Four young people said that they had a boyfriend/girlfriend, and of them two knew there was a pregnancy and the other two suspected there was a pregnancy. Hanging out with their friends was the main activity; they went out talking, walking, checking out shops for the latest look in clothes or image. Three of the young people talked about their involvement with street gangs – it was important to them to be part of a gang or group to give them that sense of belonging, as opposed to not being part of a group. This was in relation to the presence of other street gangs and the rivalry that created between different groups of young people. One young person had experienced a great deal of bullying because he would not join a street gang. This was resolved only by his family shifting to another suburb so he could attend a new school.

Ethnicity of friends did not seem to be something that the young people were particular about with most having friends of different ethnicities. One young person (WLFY24) said her friends were of Pākehā, Samoan, Chinese and Indian descent.

School

There were a range of education situations for the young people in this group. Four young people attended school, one young person attended an alternative education programme and three were attending private training courses. Three of the young people at school said that they enjoyed attending school, although two

said they found the work difficult. Both of these young people had been offered extra support and assistance by their schools. One young person was undertaking correspondence school at home after he had been suspended from school and attempts were being made to find another school or education option for him. This young person said he preferred doing correspondence at home because he did not have to cope with the interpersonal relationship difficulties that attracted the attention of teachers and other students at school. He said that he had also struggled at school until he was allocated a teacher aide who stayed with him daily for a few weeks and he had made some progress with his school work. Once his time with the teacher aide was finished, his progress slowed and he struggled once again.

The remaining three young people were not in school or training. One of the young people (WLFY2) was on home detention as part of her sentencing conditions. She hoped to commence a hair dressing training course once her sentence had been completed. Another young person (WLFY7) was supposed to be attending a training course but had been distracted by another court appearance. The third young person (WLFY23) had been expelled from school and attempts to get him enrolled at another school had failed.

All of the parents/caregivers wanted their children to do well in school, however, it seemed that the parents/caregivers were not all well-equipped to know how best to support their children in school. One parent/caregiver (WLFP8) said she had recently learnt how to help one of her younger children with his reading after attending a parent day at their school. She had found this very useful and felt much better able to support her children's reading. Another parent/caregiver's (WLFP6) sister had helped her find a new school for her son after he had become a chronic truant at his previous school because of serious bullying. The new school had proved to be a more supportive environment for the young person and he had settled into learning. In the final example here, the parent/caregiver's (WLFP9) adult children had spent days in the classroom with his nephew to help him settle into his new school. This young person had felt overwhelmed after being shifted to

live with his aunt, uncle and cousins as well as starting a new school. Having one of his older cousins with him at school had helped him adjust and become accustomed to the larger school that had more students than he had been used to. The area of schooling seemed to be one where the parents/caregivers own schooling experiences had limited their ability to know how to help the young people.

Church

Two young people talked about attending church. One young person (WLFY6) attended a Seventh Day Adventist church with his family. This church had introduced him to his wider Samoan family and his attendance appeared to have increased following the death of his father (who was Māori). Church was an important aspect of his life and seemed to provide him with stability as all of his mother's family attended this church. The other young person (WLFY21) attended Destiny Church with his family. He said he gained direction and stability from attending the church. When this comment is considered together with those of his mother (above), that is, that her attendance had helped her to review and change her life for the better, the positive synergy gained from socialising as a family in the church is understandable.

Interests

A few of the young people in this group had other interests. One young person talked about his full involvement in multiple sports year round. This focus kept him very busy with training, attending practices and games. Only two other young people mentioned that they enjoyed playing informal sports with family. Two young people talked about their interest in music, namely playing guitar. Both enjoyed this activity a great deal as it seemed to help them express themselves. One of the parents/caregivers said she always knew her son's mood by how he played his guitar. While a few of the young people talked about playing computer games, only one young person talked about saving his pocket money so he could go to an internet café to play computer games by himself. He said that he preferred to do this on his own.

Community Youth Programme

With regard to the socialising role the community youth programmes had for the young people, contact with the staff of the community youth programmes had varied quite a lot. Some young people said that the programme staff had helped them become self-aware, to think about the choices available to them, and helped them to make significant changes in their lives.

One young person (WLFY18) considered that the programme staff members were her family. She said that they had supported her, encouraged her, “they helped me to open up, and then I actually talk to them about my past and all that, and then I’ve trusted them since ‘cos they’ve kept everything confidential and all that, and then I’ve just started to open up now and I can talk about it more.” To her the key had been that they had not given up on her and had kept chasing her, that is, searching for her whenever she did not attend the programme or court or any other important appointment that had been made with her. They also continued to encourage her and helped her to see herself in a more positive light.

Another young person (WLFY21) said he felt like he had become a better person because of his contact with the programme and working with his case worker. He felt that the communication between them had always been positive and helpful.

Others were not clear about their contact with the programme staff. One young person (WLFY15) saw his case worker as a mentor as did one other young person (WLFY25), but neither seemed to have fully appreciated the extent of the work that the programme staff had undertaken on their behalf. Cultural components were not a high priority for any of the young people as they were not mentioned by any of the young people.

Collective Qualities

Learning about the collective qualities generally occurs implicitly as a result of participating in collective activities with family, whānau and/or hapū and are abilities and skills that are the catalysts which ease the path within a collective group. Participation that occurs from childhood through to adulthood helps those

qualities become an inherent part of the person's worldview and way of being in that environment and contributes to a person achieving a level of cultural competence and ultimately cultural agency. However, most of the parents/caregivers had a limited level of participation within Māori cultural activities and environments. Any learning with regard to collective qualities would have occurred primarily within the context of their family group and would have come about through living and working together as a group to maintain the well-being of the group as a whole. Young people would learn about collective qualities from the experiences they were exposed to through their family experiences.

The following examples under each collective quality heading aim to document the range of experiences and life situations that are the reality for the parents/caregivers and young people in this wider family composition group. The purpose is to illustrate the range of abilities and skills that may exist for these family members and many others who successfully practice the collective qualities.

Sharing

The quality of sharing was present in the families included in this category that had adopted an orientation of close family functioning with regular gatherings for meals, sharing time, space and personal experiences. Three parents/caregivers (WLFP4; WLFP6; WLFP9) talked about members of their respective families coming together regularly for shared meals, visits, and spending time together. The quality of sharing was core to those family gatherings: family members contributed to the gathering and the purpose of the gathering was to share. One young person (WLFY25) talked about his mum and stepfather supporting some members of their whanau when they were in need of help.

In general, distance appeared to be a factor in three family groups not gathering very often, although other factors may have played a part in this.

The other five family groups did not talk about family gatherings and sharing food, space and time together. During their interview one parent/caregiver (WLFP10)

realised that her family did not have meals or eat together regularly. In hindsight she felt she needed to try and change this practice. The family tended to get their meals together but then go off to different rooms to sit and eat. This action may be a reflection of the nature of the family relationship or perhaps the sharing and contributing nature of gatherings may have created a barrier. Family gathering less often does not offer people the same opportunities to refine the abilities and ways of thinking that might inhibit or challenge how well such sharing occurs. The young people that did gather and share had opportunities to learn, however, in families that did not have family gatherings, the young people had no examples to observe and learn from.

Cooperation and collaboration

Working together as a group is a skill that builds on the quality of sharing. Working together for the well-being and good of the group as a whole is a goal that all of those taking part need to feel is of benefit not only for them but also for the whole family.

As with sharing, the three families (WLFP4; WLFP6; WLFP9) that met regularly were able to utilise this quality of cooperation and collaboration. Working together, communicating, planning, and organising are actions that require an ability to work as a group to help achieve the joint goal. Regular meetings like this had become their way of life and this offered the young people regular exposure to learning the nature of this quality.

However, in families where conflict or disagreement had been experienced, achieving the quality of cooperation and collaboration may have been difficult as in the case of parent/caregiver (WLFP2). Her parents had been ostracised from their family marae and this ostracism had resulted in an unresolved rift within the family, and between the whānau and hapū. The parent/caregiver said that she and her siblings got on well and worked together to organise family activities such as birthday parties for the children and celebrations like Xmas. However, in situations involving contact with other family members, such as the aunt who had offered

support, it was not easy for her to get past the troubling issues and begin to work together, cooperating and collaborating on activities.

Another example was that of parent/caregiver (WLFP10) whose brothers had different values regarding how they lived their lives with which she did not agree. Because of this her only recourse was to not have contact with them and not include them in her family or in any activities or celebrations.

Also, the families that met up less regularly found it difficult to achieve the flexibility required to work in a cooperative and collaborative way when it was needed. Overall, it seems that though parents/caregivers might know how to work cooperatively and collaboratively, they found it difficult to do so as the relationships were not well managed and there were many outstanding difficulties.

Openness and acceptance

Participation on a marae in a hapū setting was an occasional event for most of the parents/caregivers, as they were present mainly to attend tangi. A few of the parents/caregivers expressed nervousness and reticence about knowing what was required of them in a marae setting and they did not have high levels of confidence in their own abilities. This level of reserve presented what could be seen as a barrier to openness and acceptance that would inhibit practice and being open to being able to recognise what a person knows and does not know so that greater learning can occur. Some parents/caregivers expressed fear of criticism and avoidance of conflict, however, on top of these emotional hurdles, few of the parents/caregivers had support people who could or would support and guide them when attending an event on their marae within their own hapū, let alone any other iwi or hapū area. The lack of a functioning framework of cultural relationship groups acted as a barrier to cultural participation. This ultimately also had an impact on what and how much the young people learned. At the end of the day this issue is not just about the gaps in support for the parents/caregivers but it also says a lot about the hapū communities which are not, or do not appear to be open

and accepting of people who do not have much Māori cultural knowledge or skill and need assistance and support.

Relationships and interactions

There had been challenges in family relationships that the parents/caregivers talked about, some of which had been worked on and others that had continued to have an effect on the family group. Where conflict had been experienced, the impact upon the family relationships was marked regarding how the parents/caregivers talked about the situation and the family. This tended to indicate that some family groups had developed problem solving techniques to help their family manage relationship difficulties. Others though did not seem to have the same resources within their family group. It is possible that the difficulties were more than the family group could easily manage, but little to no contact with whānau and hapū support networks limits a family's resource base. One parent/caregiver (WLFP4) had approached her local friends and church agencies for assistance to find resources to help her and her family deal with the problem of her son being in trouble. Another parent/caregiver (WLFP9) talked about working within their own family to try and find a way of helping their nephew to curb his tendency to increase his difficulties with authorities. Their task was hindered however as a result of past relationship problems within the family and the need to maintain good relationships with an increasingly frail grandmother who was loathe to relinquish care of her grandchildren. These situations all required delicate relationship management skills that not participants had developed.

Māori knowledge and skill

Māori knowledge and skill had not been a big part of the parents/caregivers' lives. This was most clearly described by one parent/caregiver (WLFP8) who talked about how her own mother had tried to limit their participation in learning te reo and doing kapa haka. She said her mother had told that family that it was because she had been punished at school for speaking te reo Māori and she did not want her own children to go through the same sorts of feelings of humiliation and shame. This had had a profound effect on the mother that had been passed on to her children. This parent/caregiver had been left not knowing how to feel about

learning anything Māori so she was not sufficiently well informed to help her own children. She was aware of her own limitations and she was trying to learn more about Māori beliefs and practices (primarily through her experiences in playcentre) but these efforts were hindered not only by her own feelings of inadequacy, but also by the daily family demands of children and household.

Most of the parents/caregivers had a little Māori knowledge, but were not confident in the knowledge they had. All but one of the parents/caregivers said they either had a resource person available for them or had sought out resources for themselves. The one parent/caregiver who did not have a resource person was not interested in learning. Resource people available for parents/caregivers ranged from: mother and uncle and mother-in-law (WLFP4; WLFP7); husband (WLFP6; WLFP10); sister and uncle (WLFP9). Two other parents/caregivers had been actively seeking resource people to give them information they wanted. One parent/caregiver (WLFP8) had been contacting her older siblings and an older aunt to obtain information about her family whakapapa and history. The other parent/caregiver had been seeking information from training packages, resources from her volunteer placement, and from friends to try and learn more about Māori culture. Two parents/caregivers (WLFP2; WLFP3) who did have someone available as a resource person were not interested in using them. One was not interested because she wanted to continue to avoid possible conflict or arguments about Māori land that she believed would occur if she continued to visit her local urban marae. The other did not want to have contact with her aunt.

Active participation in Māori cultural activities makes Māori knowledge and skill have relevance, meaning and value. Participation would require commitment on the part of the parents/caregivers, possible for a few, but to have commitment means the parents/caregivers have to feel secure enough in themselves to potentially withstand criticism and judgement. However, not all of them did feel secure or confident enough in their own knowledge and abilities to be able to cope with being judged. These types of doubts and uncertainty do tap into the question of authenticity (Sissons, 2005) that can emerge from questions about ethnicity and

measures of what makes someone authentically Māori. It is doubtful that a person can judge someone else as being legitimately Māori (Carter, 1998), however, that has been the experience for many of the parents/caregivers in this group.

Decision-making

Leadership and cooperative family process are key aspects of consensus decision making and required the bringing together of many of the abilities from the other collective qualities to ensure group input, sharing, cooperation, openness and the acquisition of Māori knowledge.

As already described three of the families in this group had set up processes by which they regularly met up to discuss and plan for dealing with any issues or problems and to plan for family events or activities and make decisions together. These families had become used to sharing and respecting everyone's input into the process. One parent/caregiver (WLFP8) said that her family worked together to plan for events such as celebrations and events like Xmas but decision making was not always by consensus. Once they had all made the major decisions it fell to the person in charge of particular tasks to make all the decisions about that area of responsibility. This process reportedly worked for her family as there were no major debates or arguments. Generally it seemed that with most of the families having in-built leadership, major family decisions were left to this person(s).

Summary

A description of the collective values and qualities has made up the final part of the description of the cultural framework for the families of the Wider family composition group. Generally it appeared that most of the parents/caregivers either had not internalised the collective values and qualities in their own childhood or the practice and implementation of them had been overwhelmed by the competing values and ways of the dominant society in which they lived. Feelings of low self-confidence may also have resulted in some parents/caregivers feeling too reticent to insist on those practices within their family groups. It can be difficult to justify a request to an adolescent when there is no solid backup in the nature or make-up of the wider family, community or wider context of society that supports

that request. As a result the collective values and qualities were inconsistently applied and this was reflected in the distant and inconsistent contact of family participation within their Māori cultural community. The collective or socio-centric orientation seemed to have a presence and its importance and value was highlighted at times, for example: in the inherent knowing that comes with needing to attend a tangi; in knowing to offer visitors hospitality – manaakitanga; and in offering support to family and whānau members who were in need. But for many of these families relationship difficulties had continued to hinder the functioning of the family, whānau and hapū relationship groups. This of course also hindered the function of the collective values and qualities.

The collective values and qualities were reflected in the family relationships and interactions that worked well. This was the case for parent/caregiver (WLFP4) and young person (WLFY15). While the family had limited contact with whānau and hapū, under the leadership and guidance of grandmother and great uncle, this family group had a strong collective function where a safe and secure environment for the whole family group allowed for cultural transmission and learning.

Overall, this chapter has aimed to illustrate that ongoing impacts from colonising activities resulted in Māori families moving into urban centres for employment and to create new lives for themselves. This relocation has meant that structures and processes that make up a young person's cultural framework have not worked together well due to the geographic distance between the family and many of their whānau and hapū and marae. This has meant that an emotional distance has been created and as a result the values, beliefs and practices have been difficult to retain. Some of the stronger, more implicitly learned values and strong family leadership had kept the role of elders and the collective function of the immediate family in place for some of the family groups. But the family function for most of the family groups had been affected by damaged and difficult family relationships and this in turn impacted on how the young people learnt about how to maintain family relationships. Unfortunately, because the relationships within these families were

so damaged, they had little support or guidance with which to try and effect any repair of those relationships.

Chapter 11 - Findings

Theory of Māori Cultural Learning – Nuclear family composition group

Māori cultural socialisation for young people in families in this Nuclear family composition group was limited because of the nature of the composition of the families, their very limited contact with members of their whānau and hapū, and the choices made by the parents/caregivers as a consequence of their life experiences. This is not a statement of blame, but an explanation of the impacts of the social, political and historical context and its flow on effect on the nature of cultural socialisation for the young people in these families. The changes to what can be considered a historical Māori way of life have led to many diverse realities for Māori families and the families included in this Nuclear family composition group appear to be following one of those diverse realities, in particular.

While the family context offers the primary focus for cultural socialisation, setting the value base, guiding behaviour and the management of relationships and interactions with others, the young people are also influenced by others outside their family group. The influences can include for example, school, peers, alternative education settings, church, or community programmes the young people may attend. For young people in nuclear oriented family groups these external influences appear to have a stronger sway because of the absence of the whānau and hapū presence in their lives.

The Nuclear family groups had clearly defined their family as parent/caregiver and children, with two families also including a grandmother. A range of life circumstances had contributed to the parents/caregivers and young people viewing themselves as such, however, the effect of this style of family was similar – limited support and few resources were available and there appeared to be a degree of isolation. The families in this composition group retained few of the patterns of Māori cultural socialisation of historic times, and it seemed that their life experiences provided illustrations of the many impacts of colonising activities of the

past – relocation to urban centres for employment; experiencing unemployment; breakdown in the function of Māori communities in their hapū rohe; and competing value systems of ways of being derived from the dominant society. All of the families lived in urban centres, with one of the parents/caregivers living in the rohe of her step-father, which also happened to be the rohe of her estranged father. She and her mother affiliated to the step-father’s hapū and marae, but her mother’s own hapū was from another region. Each of these families faced many struggles in their daily lives and observing aspects of Māori cultural ways and participation in Māori cultural life was not a high priority for them.

The Theory of Māori Cultural Learning proposes that a young person’s cultural framework comprises three relationship groups: immediate family relationship group; whānau relationship group; and hapū, community relationship group. Together these three relationship groups create a learning environment in

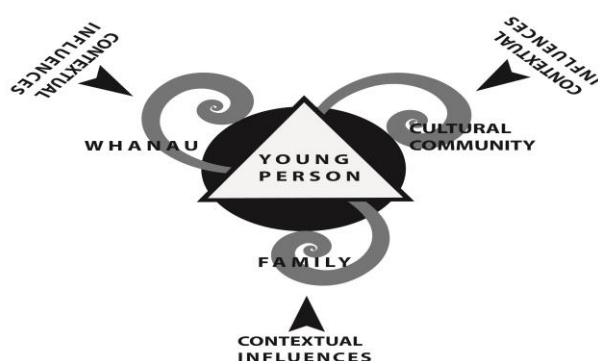


Figure 7: Model of cultural learning framework: Nuclear family composition group

which a young person is able to live, experience, practice and learn all of the facets of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices relevant to their particular hapū and whānau. The cultural framework for the Nuclear family composition group (see

figure 7: Model of Māori Cultural Learning Framework – Nuclear family composition group) depicts little or no contact between the immediate family, whānau and hapū, and community relationship groups. This very low level of contact is expressed by the placement of the circle passing below the unfurling fern frond and represents the quite separate function of the relationship groups. Having the placement of the circle so low across the relationship groups suggests that there is far greater scope for external influences to have more effect on the young people without this being balanced by interactions with the other relationship groups. This placement of the circle in effect highlights the potential isolation of the immediate family unit. A result of the isolated family life, the processes for Māori cultural socialisation were not readily available for the young people in these family groups. This is explained in more detail in the next sections.

Structures

Four features are key to the structures of a young person's cultural framework and these set the foundation for a young person's learning environment. There are features in each structure which embody the cultural values that are observed within each relationship group.

Recognition and respect for seniority

Historically seniority within a whānau was determined through whakapapa and elders were recognised and acknowledged by their roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skill. None of the four families in this composition group had retained an ongoing functional relationship with elders or seniors of the parents/caregivers whakapapa-based whānau or hapū. Each family had very occasional contact with grandparents' siblings, usually at a specific event such as a tangi, but these events were not common. The grandmothers in two of the families were the only elders considered to have a senior or elder position within their family groups alongside the parents/caregivers. In the other two family groups the parents/caregivers had the senior position. People in these senior positions did not hold what would be normally considered Māori knowledge and skill with which to guide their family and provide stability and security in that cultural area. The pattern of recognising and respecting seniority appeared to have been lost through

what were unfortunate events that damaged the perspective each parent/caregiver had of their elders. In each instance someone from their family had been hurt by the actions of an elder; this hurt had not been repaired or forgiven thus causing ongoing upset. This indicates that the seniority structure of the previous generation had not functioned well enough to reconcile the damage done at that time. The following three examples provide some indication of the type of circumstances the parents/caregivers described.

As a child the parent/caregiver (NFP1) had experienced parental neglect as she had been 'given' (as she termed it) to other relatives to be cared for for short periods of time. She said that each of those carers abused her in some way, emotionally, physically or sexually. After some time being with those carers she would be given back to her mother. This pattern continued until she made the choice to live with an older brother and his gang. In her opinion what damaged her view of the elders of her hapū was that none of them intervened during the years of neglect and abuse. The family lived in a small, rural Māori community where she felt that knowledge of her treatment must have been apparent to others. She believed that non-action by the elders of her hapū was a type of collusion in the maltreatment and they did not deserve her respect. She no longer returned to her hapū area at all.

Parent/caregiver's (NFP3) father had been born out of wedlock and was raised by his grandfather. His mother never told him who his father was and this remained an issue for him until his death. During his childhood he had been raised as a brother with his uncles and aunts. On the grandfather's death her father had been left interests in a property, house and land, and was entitled, like the others, to the proceeds from this property. However, one of his uncles did not approve of this arrangement and apparently ensured that the parent/caregiver's father did not receive a share of the proceeds. This situation had remained unresolved and the parent/caregiver was searching for further information about the situation but she had no other family support in this matter.

The third example highlights parent/caregiver's (NFP2) complex childhood and the experiences she had at the time that appeared to have continued to influence how she viewed life in general. As a young child she had been adopted by her paternal grandparents because her parents had been unable to care for their children. At times the grandparents had the care of all four children. The parent/caregiver said that although her grandfather had been strict he spoiled her with gifts of whatever she wanted. Following her grandfather's death at twelve she stopped going to school to care for her grandmother. As her grandparents were Mormons, they had very strict moral beliefs about how to live and manage a home, which she also adopted. These beliefs ranged from clear boundaries about relationships and remaining faithful to one's partner with no extra-marital relations, to not sweeping the floor at night – though she could vacuum the floor at night - to not cutting hair at night. It was not so much what these rules were but the strength of the unquestioning conviction by which this parent/caregiver adhered to these rules that was striking. She could not explain the reasoning behind these beliefs, but said that when these rules were breached, she got angry, even though she appeared to have very little respect for her grandparents. Her grandparents had been so strict that they had stopped her participating in many activities in her life; one example of this was to stop her from attending cooking classes through her primary schooling years. She had apparently missed out on cooking food which her classmates had enjoyed, and after many years, remembering this still visibly upset her. These experiences had contributed to her separating herself from her whānau and her consequent decision to not participate in any Māori cultural activities.

Each of these examples stem from different circumstances. However, the effect of this on the way seniors or elders of Māori community were viewed may have reflected a breakdown in how Māori community functioned, but also appeared to contribute to further breakdown. Where respect for elders does not exist or is damaged then that part of the structure is also damaged.

Pattern of leadership

Leadership within a family can provide direction, guidance and support. In this instance leadership refers to someone who had Māori cultural knowledge, a role and responsibilities within their Māori community. However, there was no leadership evident in the families of this nuclear family composition group. One of the parents/caregivers (NFP3) talked of her father as someone who had filled a leadership role for her family until he died. No-one had assumed the tasks of his role – it seemed that either no-one felt they had the knowledge and skills or felt confident enough to step into his place. The other three parents/caregivers appeared to have no-one whom they considered in that way. Leadership within the families fell to the parents/caregivers, and in the two households where a grandmother held a place, she also appeared to have a role in leadership within the family. Leadership in the families related to the function of the household and management of the children.

The parent/caregiver (NFP1) had had a leadership role within the gang she belonged to but she had stepped aside from that role in order to re-establish her household and family after her children had recently been returned to her from Child Youth and Family Service (CYFS) care. She had realised that she needed to consider her behaviour in terms of being a role-model for her children. She recognised belatedly that the skills of leadership established within the gang were not suitable for her role as a parent. She had been raised with physical violence and was having to learn how to change those patterns of behaviour.

Leadership within the other two families was not distinctive. One parent/caregiver (NFP2) seemed to run her household somewhat unconventionally, allowing the children to come and go as they pleased, despite talking about having rules that everybody had to abide by. On the other hand, parent/caregiver (NFP4) tried to have rules and provide direction for her children but her directions were not consistent as she struggled with her own health and coming to terms with her partner's desertion of her and the children. She excused the boys' bad behaviour and violence as coming from their feelings of anger and frustration at their father's

sudden departure. Her mother provided the parent/caregiver with practical and emotional support, but thought the boys needed to help their mother more and that her daughter was too lenient with them. The eldest son apparently took some role in directing his younger siblings at times, but the overall effect was a household that was somewhat disordered.

For all of these families it seemed that the pattern of leadership had not been strong in the previous generation and perhaps even the generation before that. This meant that none of the parents/caregivers had established any skills of leadership. The impact of this lack of parental leadership modelling also needs to be considered in terms of the formation of the young person's cultural framework.

Pattern of roles and responsibilities

Ideally roles and responsibilities within a cultural framework referred to those of a collective function where children grew up learning roles and the associated responsibilities that enabled them to know how to fit into a collective group. The families in this nuclear family composition group had not retained any function with a collective group so this aspect of learning was not available for the young people. The parents/caregivers did however expect the young people to undertake some chores around the house, but it seemed without consistent leadership the ability of the young people to achieve these tasks was at best intermittent. Overall, all of the parents/caregivers were each struggling with daily challenges and this also made the organising of roles and responsibilities within each household difficult.

Creation of an appropriate environment for cultural learning

Given that these families did not participate within any Māori community the learning environment was restricted to that of their family household. Each of the four families was striving to create a home environment that was safe and secure for themselves and their children. The independent young person (NFY10) was boarding with a young couple where she had found a safe environment in which to live. The parents/caregivers ability to build a safe and secure environment was constrained by the circumstances of their respective situations. Three of the parents/caregivers were living in rental accommodation and one was living with her

mother and children in her childhood family home. Two of the parents/caregivers in rental accommodation were very particular about who came to their home as they viewed it as a place of safety, a haven. One parent/caregiver (NFP2) did not easily welcome people into her home. Her strict standards, if breached, rapidly attracted an angry response. One of her examples was beating her visiting daughter one day after being informed that her daughter was seeing a married man. Her daughter called the police. To mitigate these types of situations the parent/caregiver preferred to restrict who came to her haven so that she did not have to consider or change her own behaviour or way of being to accommodate others.

The parent/caregiver (NFP1) tried to keep her home a haven for herself and her children after they were returned to her care from CYFS. She, too, actively restricted who came to her home because she felt it was safer to operate this way as she found it hard to trust people. This parent/caregiver had to meet and talk to me twice as part of a vetting process before she agreed to an interview. Containing her home life seemed to be a way of helping her to manage interpersonal relationships.

Parent/caregiver (NFP4) had managed to rent a home near her mother after her partner and the father of her children deserted the family. This living situation had given the family a sense of security following his sudden departure. The fourth parent/caregiver (NFP3) and her children had been living with her parents for some time before her father died. She had continued to stay with and care for her mother and she and the children continued to have a safe and secure home.

Overall, the nature of the learning environments for the young people in these families was tailored to the requirements of the parents/caregivers rather than the cultural framework of relationship groups. There was no tangible Māori cultural input into any of the homes in this group as the focus for the parents/caregivers tended to be on coping with each day. As a consequence, it is reasonable to

support that the socialising processes in evidence would reflect the structure, leadership and functions of the parents/caregivers households.

Socialisation Processes

With the structure as it is for the nuclear family groups, the orientation for the socialising processes continued to have a focus on coping with daily challenges and saw limited, if any, contact with other family, whānau and hapū members. This then meant few interactions and therefore fewer opportunities in which the young people could be exposed to and experience cultural learning.

Family group processes

Patterns for learning by young people occurred within the families of the Nuclear family composition group and were contained by the parameters put in place by the parents/caregivers. The independent young person (NFY10) was experiencing living in a stable home environment and was finding that good, but a challenge.

Each of the families in this group had experienced difficulties in family relationships, which in turn had altered how intergenerational involvement occurred across and within the family. Only one parent/caregiver (NFP1) had spent her childhood in her own rohe, but as explained, neglect and abuse at that time had altered how she viewed and valued Māori elders, the function of Māori cultural ways, and the place of the marae in her life. Her decision to have no part in any aspect of Māori cultural community or cultural ways meant no involvement of elders in her family processes. Another parent/caregiver (NFP3) said that apart from her mother her family had no contact with other family, including elders. Parent/caregiver's (NFP4) mother was the only elder who was also involved with her family. She said she was most reticent to have other aunts, uncles and cousins involved with her children as they drank alcohol to excess and she did not want to expose her children to that. She did admit in the interview that her sons drank a lot of alcohol so it is possible that the issue may not solely have to do with the use of alcohol but also the nature of the relationships with wider family. The fourth parent/caregiver (NFP2) kept her household contained so that other than her, the children interacted with few other people in their home. Containing the household in this way for these family groups

did restrict the opportunities the young people had to experience cultural activities within their homes. Their main contact was with other family or whānau members so was experienced during the occasional birthday parties, Xmas or other celebrations. The geographic distance these families had from their hapū and whānau that was established in the grandparent's generation meant the parents/caregivers grew into adulthood one step removed from Māori cultural socialisation. This then resulted in their own children being two steps removed from cultural socialisation opportunities.

Growing up as a young person in families in this group highlighted some of the ambivalence of the parents/caregivers and their confusion about knowing they were of Māori heritage and being raised away from the mechanisms of Māori cultural socialisation. The young people all identified as Māori, some expressing pride in knowing they were Māori, although when asked what made them Māori only one young person related the link to whakapapa. The others stated a mix of, 'coming from New Zealand', 'how I can do the haka', 'how I can talk ... like a mean Māori when I want to ...', and not knowing.

In trying to get the young people to consider the types of cultural activities they engaged in and around their home they came up with a range of thoughts. One young person related this to spending time with his friends who were all Māori:

What we do around here, with the bros, is just ... to get drunk all the time cos there's nothing to do, cos we don't go to school either .. (NFY9)

Two young people had a more considered view – one who had thought about the different realities that she had experienced, while the other had discovered she enjoyed learning about her heritage.

my culture's mean as, kapa haka, hangi, hula .. I love my culture, but it's just that some Maoris have some out of it ways ... just think about themselves more ... (NFY10)

and

Kapa haka, learning about my Ngāpuhi and that sort of stuff, and learning about my other side of me, ... like where we are from like (name of area), it's actually interesting, cos you get to know where you are from .. (NFY6)

One young person (NFY7) said that he liked seeing his paternal grandmother occasionally as she cooked his favourite meal (boil-up).

From the minimal contact with Māori culture that these young people had in their lives they had grasped a little understanding of how cultural aspects and Māori knowledge could fit into their lives. Key people with access to Māori culture who were involved in their lives played an important role in this. For one (NFY6), this was her paternal grandmother whom she saw irregularly, but who was still able to convey key pieces of information to her about her whakapapa and the importance and meaning of those connections. For the other young person (NFY10) it was her case worker and the manager at the community programme she attended who were able to convey the importance of her whakapapa linkages and to give her some understanding of the behaviours that she had been exposed to in her short life that were not acceptable.

Whānau and hapū, community group processes

Because the parents/caregivers had constrained their family interactions so severely I collapsed the following two sections together, whānau and hapū, community processes.

Parent/caregiver whānau, hapū, community experiences

In their interviews the parents/caregivers and young people only mentioned the occasional family reunion, significant birthday or Xmas where they met up with some of their 'family' (they did not refer to them as whānau or hapū members but they were members of their wider family group). Some of the examples given also highlighted some of the outstanding issues or difficulties which maintained their reasoning for not being involved with these family members.

One parent/caregiver (NFP4) talked about a planned birthday party for her step-father's whāngai child that a few of her aunts, uncles and cousins were expected to attend. These family members were known for their overuse of alcohol; the parent/caregiver and her mother did not approve of this as it breached their values and expectations of behaviour. The parent/caregiver's father was an alcoholic and neither she nor her mother drank.

Another parent/caregiver (NFP2) had also distanced herself from some of her 'family' members because of their misuse of alcohol. She also did not approve of what she viewed as immoral behaviour in situations where alcohol was being consumed.

Making a return trip to her father's marae, the place he had been buried had been a daunting trip for one parent/caregiver (NFP3). For her and her siblings, her father had been the resource person and guide for all things Māori. Her father had become estranged from his family following the death of his grandfather by whom he had been whāngai. A dispute over the management of family property had arisen between her father and his whāngai father's children which had continued and caused a significant split within the family/whānau. This dispute meant the curtailment of any interaction with these members of their whanau and hapu until this parent/caregiver and/or her mother found a way to resolve the impasse.

Only one parent/caregiver (NFP2) was active in her local community and that was to participate in housie held at a local community hall. This was an activity she had been involved in for many years and it obviously gave her a sense of belonging to the community and confidence in her relationships with the other people who attended. After so many years, she knew many of the others who attended and taking part gave her a sense of pride.

Young people whanau, hapu, community experiences

For the young people, attending family gatherings meant that they got to enjoy meeting up with and spending some time with their cousins. The gatherings were social occasions, times to re-establish some level of relationship, but with no time to strengthen these links. These contacts with cousins, however, while fun, occurred much less often than their contacts with their peers, experiences at the alternative education centres some attended, or the interactions with their case workers at the community programmes they attended. Young people also had experiences of other community activities.

Kapa haka, waka ama/kaihoe waka

Only one young person (NFY5) said she had been involved in kapa haka at primary school. While she had enjoyed that experience she said when she moved on to secondary school she had “ditched it”. The activity had lost its appeal with age it seems. Māori cultural activities were not of interest to the young people in this family composition group.

Peers

Friends were very important to most of the young people in this group. The independent young person (NFY10) did not talk about her friends. She did have friends but at that point in her life it seemed that attending church and completing her training course had taken priority. Two of the boys (NFY8; NFY9) said they liked to go walking with their friends and that while they did that they did not talk very much. One of them (NFY8) said he liked to challenge his friends to arcade games. Young person (NFY6) had a “bestie”, a friend with whom she could share secrets that she could tell no-one else. She liked to go to the mall with her friends to shop and she also liked drinking alcohol with her friends so that she could forget everything. Young person (NFY5) liked to hang out with her friends, talking about boys, clothes, shoes and listening to music. She and her friends would sometimes play volley-ball or touch at the local park. Being with her friends allowed this young person to get away from her family. The other boy in this group liked “hanging out” with his friends at the basketball courts near his home. There he and his friends

could 'hang out' and play basketball and talk. They would also occasionally spend time swimming in the bay near his home.

Overall, friends provided the young people with an interest and activity that varied their home lives. Their parents/caregivers were focused on coping with the challenges of everyday life and there was not much variety in people or activities to keep them active and challenged.

School

As a significant socialising mechanism school potentially offered the young people an avenue of experience of cultural input. However, their experiences, while varied, had the common theme of non-achievement. One young person was attending school, while three were attending Alternative Education courses. One young person was in a state of limbo waiting to hear whether he would be readmitted to a course.

Young person (NFY7) attended school and said he found it okay, but had recently been suspended for fighting. He knew it was important to go to school to get an education so he could go on to find employment – he wanted to be a truck driver. This young person had been struggling with his schooling and had been receiving help from Special Education, however, that was about to end, so his parent/caregiver was concerned about how she would cope with providing the extra assistance young person had been able to access previously.

Young person (NFY6) enjoyed her alternative education course and felt that she had learnt a lot since she started the course. In particular she liked learning about the Treaty of Waitangi and what that meant for Māori and the country. At school she had found it difficult to comprehend what was being taught and said that when she asked for assistance her teachers had not been as helpful as she would have liked. Her older sister then taught her how to “wag school”, and this led to chronic truancy.

One young person (NFY5) was attending an Alternative Education course and hoped to begin a hair dressing course at polytech in the new year. She had been a chronic truant while at school and eventually her name had been removed from the school roll. Even though she knew school and education were important for her future, she was unsure why she did truant.

The other young person had shifted to an alternative education course from school because he had found the transition to high school with so many more students all from different schools, very difficult. He was expelled from school after setting fire to a tree in the school grounds. His behaviour got him into trouble at the first alternative education course he attended, but he had settled into the second course more easily. The classes were smaller, apparently, and he felt more comfortable with fewer people and was also able to play sports during the days he was there.

Young person (NFY9) had been asked to leave the Alternative Education course he was attending because of his behaviour. At the time of the interview he was waiting to see if he could return to the course. He had originally been expelled from secondary school for fighting, but he had friends at school and because he had changed his attitude he maintained that he would prefer to return to high school than go back to the alternative education course.

The independent young person (NFY10) was attending a training course at a wananga and was enjoying the learning. She had attended many schools throughout her childhood as she had been moved around the country while in CYFS care and also had a family with nomadic tendencies. She felt that she had managed her schooling quite well until she commenced secondary school when she started drinking and drug taking and then the standard of her learning slipped.

In general the parents/caregivers said they wanted the young people to do well at school but their preoccupation with their own issues and problems meant there

was probably little scope or skill to devote to providing support and guidance to their children.

Church

Only one young person talked about attending church. Young person (NFY10) had been placed with a foster family when she was in her early teens and this family introduced her to church. After some initial inhibitions about going to church, she said that she found it helpful with direction and guidance. After she left that family and the town they lived in she found it hard to keep attending church and subsequently went off the tracks. Her case worker had encouraged her to return to church and once again she had found it helpful.

Interests

Not all the young people had interests other than their friends. Young person (NFY7) said he liked riding motor bikes, especially with his cousins “down the line”. Unfortunately he did not have a licence so was aware he needed to stay off the road. One of the other boys (NFY3) said he liked his x-box 360 and playing the video games with his friends. The independent young person (NFY10) said she liked horse riding and physical sports and cars. She found the thrill of speed attractive, liked the challenge and felt like she was achieving something when she doing those things. With the training course she had also discovered the thrill of learning and finding new knowledge – well new to her, and was enjoying experiencing that. One example she used was thinking about Māori people changing their style of dress and moving from piupiu to dressing like Settlers.

The small of range of interests here I believe gives an indication of the narrow scope of the lives of those in this group not being exposed to different people and different activities.

Community youth programme

These young people were recruited into this research from different community youth programmes which were providing them with case workers and mentoring services as well as providing support to the parents/caregivers. The three siblings interviewed were very clear about what their case worker was trying to achieve in

her work with them. However, the other three were less clear in how they described what was trying to be achieved for them. The independent young person was focused mainly on her course and had little clarity about how her case worker was trying to help her. One young person (NFY3) said he thought that the purpose of this being on the programme was to help him change his behaviour and said he had noticed one day that he had stopped back-chatting. He acknowledged that he also had to complete his sentence of community hours as part of the programme, but that he had not completely understood the purpose of the programme.

Another young person (NFY9) was most unclear about the purpose of his involvement in a programme and did not seem to have identified that there were a number of different organisations involved with his case that were trying to help his situation. None of the young people was interested in experiencing cultural activities as part of their programme.

Summary

The parents/caregivers and young people in this group had been experiencing and coping with the effects of historical difficulties, events or results of events which had manifested in relationship difficulties that appeared to be in the process of being transmitted on to yet another generation. The social structures and process mechanisms present in an historical Māori way of life were no longer available to these families, so the families' difficulties seemed to continue.

Collective Qualities

The collective qualities learned implicitly through the relationships and interactions of the collective groups, family, whānau and hapū, remained out of reach for the young people in these nuclear oriented families due to their limited contact with whānau and hapū. As the parents/caregivers also reached adulthood with little active participation with their whānau and hapū they also had little understanding of the collective qualities. Little was conveyed in the interviews as examples of how the collective qualities functioned within the lives of the parents/caregivers and young people. However, barriers that could be considered as continuing to hinder the take up and practice of the collective qualities by the parents/caregivers and young people, were evident.

Sharing

Each of the four families in this group was financially constrained and regularly struggled to make ends meet. Scarce resources and little support appeared to govern how each of the parents/caregivers approached their lives. Having no collective group within which the sharing qualities could be utilised, lessened any motivation to try and learn about the sharing quality. This gap in learning inherently supports the alternative value set that comes from functioning as a family in isolation where the person's focus has to be on their own lives, meeting their own needs without having to worry about how, when, or why to share with others. This fundamental aspect of living interdependently within a Māori whānau and hapū community has no longer exists.

Cooperation and collaboration

The primary focus for each of the parents/caregivers was on how they could survive on a day-to-day basis. They each wanted their children to cooperate and work together within and around the home, and they achieved this with differing degrees of success. However, not taking part in a collective group where cooperation and collaboration are necessary meant the parents/caregivers were not required to function in this way and that therefore their children were less likely to learn these skills. This quality presents an opposing way of thinking and behaving for someone who is struggling to cope and meet the daily needs of their family without adequate support.

Openness and acceptance

The basis of this quality is a person's feeling of confidence in their own Māori knowledge and skill as well as in that of the other members of any given Māori cultural context. Each of the parents/caregivers had a little Māori knowledge; this was evident in the few words they were able to talk about from the list of common Māori words. Despite this, three parents/caregivers said that they had a lot of Māori knowledge stating that they were confident in what they knew. However, not taking part in Māori cultural activities limited their learning about being part of that particular cultural setting and increasing their understanding of the processes and their faith in how those processes work.

Relationships and interactions

Each of the parents/caregivers in this group had troubled relationships with some members of their close family which made any interactions with family difficult. There appeared to be a pattern of difficult relationships that stemmed from the previous generation with the parents/caregivers reporting difficulties occurring in their parents' generation. As a result there seemed to be a spiral effect of people not learning how to work at and improve relationships. As the preceding generation had not been able manage relationships, the next generation would not learn this skill. There was also no motivation to learn how to manage relationships and work out how to effectively inter-relate with others because the family does not have an active relationship with the whānau and hapū groups of their collective.

Māori knowledge and skill

Māori knowledge and skill provides the basis of meaning, relevance and purpose to a Māori cultural collective. Each of the parents/caregivers believed that they had a reasonable to good level of Māori knowledge; however, they had little opportunity to participate in Māori cultural activities to put that knowledge into practice. One had chosen not to be involved in any aspect of Māori culture, one other said she was most reluctant to take part in cultural activities, and the other two were reticent about taking part, although it seemed that with guidance and support participation was a possibility.

Decision-making

Leadership was not obvious in any of the four families of this group although the parents/caregivers were acting as leaders by virtue of their position within their small family groups. A process of decision-making was not obvious, although the parents/caregivers did spend time talking things over with their children at times. However, the lack of support from other family, whānau and hapū members meant that dealing with any issues, conflicts or problems had to be managed by the parent/caregiver alone. This was role-modelled to the young people.

Summary

Overall, the families included within this group had experienced effects of the breakdown of Māori cultural community and within their families. All of the families in this group had experienced intergenerational relationship difficulties, which continued to cause issues for all of the family groups. As a result the young people had reduced contact with members of their wider family, whanau and their cultural community and therefore had fewer opportunities for cultural identification development. Their family life tended to include limited activities, primarily as a result of the constrained financial situations of the parents/caregivers, and this limited scope appeared to encourage the young people to seek other experiences with their friends and peers. The contact with the community youth programme offered and encouraged the young people the possibility of changing their behaviour, however, not all of the young people were clear about how this could occur. Māori cultural activities were of little interest to the young people.

Chapter 12 - Discussion

Introduction

Following an evaluation I undertook with some community youth programmes for young Māori offenders (Young, Burns, Malins, & Thomas, 2006) it became evident that research was required to determine the purpose and nature of Māori cultural compensatory components used within these programmes. Although the primary focus of the programmes was to reduce re-offending, the inclusion of cultural aspects was expected by funding agencies because the programmes were working with young Māori. Nevertheless, there were no guidelines stating the purpose or specifying the nature of cultural components that needed to be included. As a result the programme providers involved in the evaluation had chosen different types of cultural activities. Neither were there also guidelines, indicators or measures to determine effectiveness of these cultural components.

The inclusion of cultural components in those programmes was viewed differently by the young people and the parents/caregivers. Cultural activities seemed to be considered a natural part of a programme for Māori young people, and overall, they were thought to be enjoyable. However, the activities as a whole had no perceived relevance either to the lives of the young people or their parents/caregivers.

The research in this thesis was undertaken to explore the degree to which Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices were incorporated into the family lives of Māori young people who attended a community programme for young Māori. Three community programmes catering for young Māori, who had come to the attention of the police, were approached and each agreed to participate in the project. Given my past working experience with these programmes, I expected that the young people and families associated with these programmes would reflect families who had become disconnected from participation in Māori cultural activities. As such, it was expected that these families would be able to provide some valuable insights into their experiences regarding Māori cultural participation and the inclusion of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices in their lives.

I was able to interview young people and their parents/caregivers across the three community programme provider organisations for this research. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 young people and 19 parents/caregivers. Programme staff from each of the three organisations took part in a group interview/discussion with 14 staff participating. Ten community stakeholders were also interviewed. Grounded Theory was used to generate a Theory of Māori Cultural Learning and a model of a Māori Cultural Learning Framework. This method was chosen because this area of research was new and the process of grounded theory allows for the building of knowledge in areas that are as yet poorly understood; it enabled the researcher to acquire greater understanding of the lives and experiences of the young people and their families. The development of the theory of Māori cultural learning and the model of a Māori cultural framework for that learning, are the main outcomes of this research. The theory and model provide a framework within which to understand the diverse experiences of the young people and their families.

Discussion of findings

The following discussion responds to the research questions in light of the literature review and findings from the interviews. There are several implications described under each question area with many being interconnected, however, each point highlights different effects. It must be remembered when reading this discussion, as with the rest of this thesis, that I am not promoting one view over another. In essence I am exploring a situation where an improved understanding of two groups of people with two sets of cultural values, beliefs and practices is urgently needed.

The three research questions were:

1. What is the cultural identification of the families and young people and what cultural values, beliefs and practices do they use to guide the cultural aspects of their lives, and how does this occur?
2. To what extent do traditional Māori values influence the families and young people and how does this occur?

3. Given the cultural identification, cultural values, beliefs and practices of the families and young people, what are the implications for Young Offender programmes?

Response to a combination of Questions 1 and 2

Before I respond to the specific questions, I need to discuss the development of the Theory of Māori cultural learning, the Model of a Māori cultural framework and the identification of the three family composition groups. These developments arose from and in response to the first two research questions. The grounded theory process of constant comparison and looking for relationships and patterns led to the identification of differences in life experiences and family situations across the participant families. Ultimately, out of this analytic process emerged an integrated theory of Māori cultural learning that placed the young person at the centre of three relationship groups: their immediate family group, whānau group and the hapū community group. These three relationship groups make up the structures involved within Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational cultural transmission. The cultural framework comprised the three relationship groups: the learning environment is created through the interactions between these groups. Within this learning environment a process of socialisation occurs by means of which the young person develops their cultural identification. Cultural identification develops over a lifetime, becomes more integrated and confident as each person participates and takes on more roles, more responsibilities and their cultural values and knowledge become internalised.

From these developments there are two particular contrasts which I wish to highlight: the first is the structures and process which are tangible in people and described in roles and actions; the second is aspects of everyday living that are subtle, unspoken and nuanced and are less noticeable and understandable. However, the distinction between these two contrasts lies behind the nature of cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission that takes place within the learning environment. It is natural to talk about cultural aspects that exist within a family and especially within a cultural setting, but it is less likely that everyday expectations and tasks that are a usual part of life will be discussed. For example,

during a tangi it is usual that those attending know where to go to sit within the wharehau, meeting house, know when to stand and for how long before sitting again, know when to be quiet and still, not talk, and certainly know when not to get up and walk out. This includes young people. The subtleties associated with this implicit knowledge are gained by living with and consistently participating in ritual behaviour – children and young people learn from observing what their elders do, how their elders behave, and more importantly, what their elders do not do.

Within this learning environment the following are present; there is an event - a tangi; a culturally appropriate place - a marae; people with cultural knowledge and skill – elders and other adults; and a community of people that take on many roles and responsibilities in that context – the family, whānau and hapū members who help the function of the kitchen and dining room to feed and accommodate all who attend the tangi. Learning environments such as these immerse young people in cultural activities which aid the implicit learning and development of cultural identification and help them find their place in the world.

Response to Research Question 1

The aim of this question was to determine the cultural identification of the young people and their families and the socialisation processes that the family used in their everyday life to maintain that cultural identification. This involved determining what was culturally important to the young person and their parents/caregivers and how this importance was transmitted from the parents/caregivers to the young people.

It is important at this point to restate how cultural identification is defined: Cultural identification is characterised by a person's involvement with a group where there was a personal stake in the group and personal involvement in the cultural activities of the group (Oetting, Donnermeyer, et. al., 1998). Cultural identification emerges from a process of socialisation in a cultural context. The socialisation process is circular whereby the requirements of the community of culture are met by the individuals and the community of culture in turn meets the cultural needs of the

participating individuals. The key factor here is the requirement of individuals to actively participate in their cultural community in order for the socialising to occur.

It was evident that the development of cultural Identification occurred differently across the three family composition group families. Four features emerged as being important to the development of cultural identification; how a family thought about their family composition, the nature and presence of leadership in the family, the location of the family residence, and the degree to which the family participated in their cultural community.

Cultural identification and the opportunity for it to develop varied across the three family composition groups, and the most significant factor in this was primarily through the possibility of family participation in their cultural community. Any participation in a family's cultural community was encouraged by the family leader. Active participation also nurtured Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices by virtue of family members taking part in cultural activities.

Some of the young people from the Whanau family composition group who lived with their families in their own rohe were naturally exposed to their own cultural community. Two of the young people in this whanau composition group lived in urban centres but were encouraged to participate in their cultural community with their parents/caregivers. This meant that the parents/caregivers in this group were proactive in their children's learning.

Young people in families included in the Wider family composition group had some opportunities to participate in their Māori cultural community. However, most of the families in this group lived in urban centres so any participation meant they had to travel and some parents/caregivers felt reticent to participate. This limited participation obviously limited the opportunities for not only the young people to develop cultural identification, but it meant that the parents/caregivers ongoing cultural identification development was also limited. Family leadership was present

in most of the families in this group and this seemed to make the difference to the family taking part in some cultural activities.

Nearly all of the six young people from families in the Nuclear family composition group had no opportunity to participate in their Māori cultural community which meant that their ability to develop cultural identification was severely limited. The parents/caregivers in this group had not had their own opportunities to develop their cultural identification. Family leadership was not evident in the families in this group. There also appeared to be no support for these families to help them address the issues that had contributed to their non- participation in their cultural community.

It was apparent that the cultural-historic context had played a role in contributing to the limitations for these families. Urbanisation had created geographic distance; however, another key factor that impacted on many of the families was unresolved conflict. There was a mix of issues that had remained unresolved across all of the families that tended to inhibit their active participation with other family, whānau and hapū members. Poor family cohesiveness over two or more generations indicated the intergenerational perpetuation of difficulties and continued weakening of the structures and processes necessary for cultural identification development.

As the structures and processes necessary for Māori cultural socialisation have weakened, an increasing number of parents/caregivers have not had the opportunities to learn about Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices nor implement them regularly. The result has been that they had not been taught or learnt how to pass that knowledge on to their children, nor do they have access to the cultural environments to expose them to this knowledge. Instead, most of the parents/caregivers had grown up in an urban setting where their lives had been dominated by the society around them. Many of the parents/caregivers named their way of life as “Kiwi”, which, by their description had been a meld of going to the beach, camping, picnics, family barbeques, collecting kai moana, and spending a

happy childhood at home with family. They talked about wanting the same types of activities for their children. They wanted to pass on to their children what they had learnt from their own childhood.

To enable these young people to develop a Māori cultural identification requires change. But what would need to change? Changes have already come about within Aotearoa New Zealand that have been termed the Māori renaissance (King, 1997). Over time the renaissance has involved many developments and initiatives on the part of Māori businesses, organisations and individuals in response to the break-up of Māori community and the disruption of Māori cultural function brought about through colonising activities. There are currently Māori businesses, Māori television and other Māori media, Kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, Māori sporting activities, kapa haka and waka ama groups. All of these activities have heightened the overall image of Māori within Aotearoa New Zealand, but have not overall increased access to Māori cultural learning environments for young people and families similar to those who participated in this research.

While the profile of Māori has been heightened as a result of these developments and initiatives, it appears that there is still a gap that has not yet been filled. The gap is an absence of cultural structure, cultural process and cultural learning. In this instance, the notion of cultural structure defines a community that has leadership, roles and responsibilities through which people can belong and participate in cultural activities. The processes refer to the events and undertakings required to maintain relationships, community and cultural values, beliefs and practices. Cultural learning refers to the creation and maintenance of the learning environment that enables members of this community to continue to learn and retain their cultural heritage.

This gap was reflected or evident in most of the families across the three family composition groups. Where the gap did not exist, the families the opportunity to access their cultural community and were able to participate in the cultural processes of that community and continue cultural learning. Where the gap did

exist the families had very little or no opportunity to access a cultural community. This structural and process gap relates to the need for Māori families to have access to a Māori community. If a person has access to a Māori community then there are opportunities for roles and responsibilities to develop; the community is a place where cultural learning can occur. This proposal is circular much like the proposed Theory of Māori cultural learning and Model of a cultural framework - all aspects support the other aspects.

Given the developments and initiatives that have emerged from the Māori renaissance, it is interesting to consider how this gap was created and why it still exists. It appears that the origins of the lack of cultural community lie in the cultural-historical context. For families now living in urban centres, the gap originated in the colonising activities, undergone primarily, when members of these families were still living in rural or provincial areas, and land loss and allocation of land shares occurred. Disadvantage and inequity were created as smaller amounts of shares were allocated to some families. These families were then less likely to be able to access education, employment and other material advantages that would have helped to secure their future. They would also be less likely to have the means to support themselves as they lost access to hapū-owned land which had previously sustained those living in smaller communities. As a result these families were likely to be the ones who took advantage of employment opportunities in urban centres away from their rohe. They may also have become somewhat disenchanted with the values and ways of being Māori given the inequity and disadvantage with which they had to live. While some of this is speculative, the patterns and beliefs reflect those of most of the participant families.

There appear to be six factors that have maintained the gap. Firstly, nothing appears to have been done to try and identify the gap and change it, until now. Secondly, because the gap has not previously been identified, the issues raised here have not been consciously recognised or discussed as such. Inequity and disadvantage for some Māori has been discussed at length, but not in relation to cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission. Thirdly, some urban

marae have been established and have operated for some years and have met a need within their communities. However, there have been challenges as they have had to contend with the complexities of competing values, different cultural practices across iwi, and the realities of living and operating a cultural community in a money and materialistic society. Some of the parent/caregivers held misconceptions about the place of urban marae and stated that they would not seek support or assistance from their services.

Fourth, there have been Māori responses and reactions to colonising activities (described in chapter 3). However, these developments and initiatives, while raising the Māori profile overall, do not fill the gap of structure and process, although some of those developments may have gone some way to addressing the learning aspect of the gap. Unfortunately, some of the business oriented initiatives and developments may actually supported the maintenance of the gap by virtue of the values that they uphold. Fifth, Māori families, like those who took part in this research, live in a society with dominant values, most of which compete with Māori cultural values. Many aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand society promote and endorse the values of individualism and materialism. With no countering Māori community to support and uphold Māori cultural values, these families have no motivation to live by Māori values. Also, they have lived and survived in their own way, as had their parents and grandparents – this is their reality with which many must struggle to cope; they have no motivation, power or control to make changes.

Finally, for people to make changes to their lives requires upsetting the status quo. Any change in thinking, action, way of life or values is challenging and can create fear and uncertainty. Knowing what to change, especially in this situation, could also be difficult. But change is needed if Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission is to be made available to all Māori families. Young people in these families need to have access to the appropriate environments for cultural learning, to have opportunities to develop cultural identification and reach a level of cultural efficacy.

In summary, the first research question aimed to identify young people's cultural identification and the way it was maintained. Research data suggests that colonising activities together with the breakdown of Māori family and Māori community had created inequity and disadvantage. These factors had combined to inhibit Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission. Participant young people and parents/caregivers valued family and their lives focused on keeping family together as Māori, but for most there was a need to develop and strengthen cultural identification. Change is needed to provide these families access to Māori cultural communities and opportunities to participate in cultural activities, learn and develop cultural identification.

Response to Research Question 2

As discussed in response to question one, many of the participant families had very little or no contact with or were influenced by Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices passed down from their tipuna, ancestors. It was evident that Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices were adhered to most strongly by the families included in the Whānau family group. The families in this composition group had presented the features that contributed most to the development of Māori cultural identification, that is, the inclusion of whanau members in their family group, the presence of a family leader, most lived in their own rohe or they regularly returned to their rohe, and they actively participated in their Māori cultural community. All of these features indicate the maintenance of Māori cultural values, and their regular participation in their cultural community also indicates that these values are practiced and valued. Living by these cultural values, beliefs and practices, while not as it had been in the past, most closely retained the principles of Māori collective living and the qualities needed to get on in that group.

Families in the Wider family composition group had some opportunity to participate in their cultural community which would have given them some exposure to traditional Māori cultural values. However, without ongoing, regular contact, the likelihood of being able to practice those values regularly was not high. Some aspects of the cultural values was visible in some of the family activities such

as having regular shared meals together, and working together to help each other by in family meetings. Many of these families had barriers that inhibited their ability to retain Māori cultural values.

In the families included in the Nuclear family composition group, traditional Māori cultural values were inhibited by the daily struggles that these families faced. In each instance, the families' situations were difficult and focused on meeting their family needs. Living by Māori cultural values became less important for these families, especially given the distance between them and their cultural community. Overall, the life realities across the families in the three family composition groups provided an illustration of how differently Māori cultural values are practiced and maintained.

There have been two main factors have inhibited the continued strength of Māori cultural values, namely, the breakdown of Māori cultural community, Māori whānau and hapū groups, and the presence of competing values of dominant society.

Breakdown of Māori cultural community, whanau and hapu groups
Māori cultural communities embody the essence of traditional Māori values.

Retaining those values in practice has become an ongoing struggle to the point that Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Māori Development, has undertaken surveys to monitor how well these communities are faring (Te Puni Koriki, 2012). The people within many Māori cultural communities have difficulty maintaining not only the physical structures, but there is also difficulty to retain the people structures. This includes roles of leadership, cultural knowledge, whaikorero, karanga, waiata and other practical roles for ceremonies and rituals important for cultural life. Most of these communities are in rural or provincial settings away from urban centres where the majority of families live for employment and other apparent advantages of belonging to a money society. In reality, many of these families did not benefit from those advantages. It seems that a balance needs to be found here. There is a need on both sides: cultural communities need people, and people living in urban

centres need cultural communities. Currently there appears to be no practical way of addressing this need.

The cultural communities had difficulty attracting people back to take on the roles and responsibilities of maintaining the community. People who do return are expected to have appropriate knowledge and skill for the roles. But it seems that these expectations are off-putting when families have been away for so long, feel that they have insufficient or little cultural knowledge, and they lack confidence in anything that they do know. Some parents/caregivers talked about being criticised by Māori in different situations for not knowing things like how to speak te reo Māori, knowing their whakapapa, knowing how to say their pepeha, not knowing waiata or being unsure of tikanga. They had experienced being judged, feeling belittled, and made to feel not worthy. As a result some of the parents/caregivers had learnt to protect themselves from further judgement and preferred to remain removed from situations in which they could be criticised. It appeared that some of the competitive aspects of the dominant society had been adopted and existed in the form of Māori authenticity. As a result of this type of competition there is little or no acknowledgment or acceptance of different life realities across the Māori population.

Values of dominant society

All of the young people identified that family was an important factor in their lives. But family had to compete with their other interests such as their friends, mobile telephones, and for some, sporting activities. These interests are indicative of the impact of the cultural-historical context and how the differences between a Māori way of life and that of the dominant of Aotearoa New Zealand have created challenges for Māori. Without ongoing involvement in a Māori cultural community there is no effective mechanism to consistently counter the individualistic and materialistic values of the dominant society. Some of the parent/caregivers talked about their obtaining cultural learning in formal education settings in an effort to learn more about Māori culture values and practices. Having undertaken this learning, they did not then have a cultural community in which they could practice

or find themselves a role that could give them a sense of belonging and participation. Urban marae were originally created to meet a cultural need in urban centres and while some still exist their ability to become the cultural community for Māori has been limited. However, it seems that this resource could still be developed in the future to provide Māori cultural learning environments.

Another point to be made with regard to the cultural-historical context relates to the differences between a Māori way of life and that of the dominant society of Aotearoa New Zealand. Following the arrival of Settlers and the introduction of the five institutions, Māori people and a Māori way of life were disparaged. While much negative comment was overt at that time, speaking about those types of attitudes has latterly become unacceptable. However, some of the participants, young people and parents/caregivers did refer to experiencing the hurt of racist comments. They had no cultural community to which to belong that would continuously counter negative comments and stereotypes. Further, their sense of cultural identification was not sufficiently firmly rooted in participation in cultural activities to discount those views.

Learning environments were described by Keller and Otto (2009) as occupying an environmental setting and having accessible people relevant to that setting engaging in socialising strategies and activities. Their proposed concept is relevant to Māori settings for cultural socialisation. Because a Māori way of life is no longer a reality for most Māori families, cultural socialisation is dependent upon family groups, whānau and cultural communities creating their own cultural learning environments. The process and content of the socialising strategies and activities would need to contain Māori cultural knowledge and skills. As participation in cultural communities is no longer a way of life, the families' perspectives on the collective values and qualities would need to be developed into socialising strategies and activities to facilitate learning in those areas. This learning would need to counter the values and ways of living that exist within the dominant society. Members of family groups, whānau and hapū communities would need to identify the differences between the two sets of values in order to make changes.

This process would be challenging and could be difficult for people; the resultant upset does not encourage learning and turning that learning into new behaviour. But, these sorts of changes are likely to be needed, in order to learn and develop cultural identification.

It could be said that this discussion of family groups, whānau and hapū communities is based on the assumption that they all get on together and are happy to work together on the tasks of creating learning environments. Many of the parents/caregivers identified that conflict existed within their family, whānau and hapū groups, and that most of that conflict had remained unresolved. These situations would need to be considered in any developments. Also, some of the programme provider staff talked about some of the young people not liking their fathers. This created a barrier for the staff who were working to attempt to repair family situations and relationships for the young people. These types of situations would also need to be considered in any developments.

In summary, families from the three family composition groups were influenced by Māori cultural values in different ways which reflected the different levels of participation and involvement in Māori cultural community. The breakdown of Māori community and competing values have also influenced how Māori cultural values have been observed within families. Strengthening of Māori community through learning environments could help consistent development of Māori cultural identification for young people and parents/caregivers.

Response to Research Question 3

In light of the research there are a number of implications for community programme providers, but I must first acknowledge that the programme providers are funded by contract to deliver programmes for funding agencies, such as NZ Police and Ministry of Justice. Programme providers do not necessarily have free choice about what services they provide, though the nature of the programme is negotiated. Given that proviso, what are the implications of the research regarding the inclusion of compensatory cultural components?

Generally, compensatory cultural components aim to meet a perceived need for young people to learn their culture. Within the provision of cultural activities there is a desire for the young people to learn something about the nature of Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices. The three programmes that participated in this research included different activities but all had the goal of helping young people, as Māori, to feel better connected to their family and whanau and have some understanding of their whakapapa. In group activities the young people were also exposed to learning about karakia, waiata, visiting marae, learning about those places and the protocols involved with marae function.

However, with regard to the findings of this research, there are some areas that do have implications for programme providers. The first of these implications relates to the identification of the three family composition groups and the cultural-historical origins that have contributed to the different life paths of Māori families. The needs of each of the families in three different family composition groups were different and programme providers would need to consider these needs differently.

Whanau family composition group

Families in this group tended to have greater access to not only their Māori cultural community, they also had access to support resource people who were able to provide back up and encouragement. These resources appeared to enable them to deal with issues that arose more readily. Having regular access to their own cultural community suggests that cultural needs may not be as great for young people from these families. Parents/caregivers in this group were more likely to be able to create learning environments for the young people and also to have the cultural knowledge and know how to pass this on to the young people.

Wider family composition group

In this family composition group most of the families had some participation in their Māori cultural community. Parents/caregivers had some Māori knowledge and in the families that had leadership there were opportunities for young people

to learn a little of some collective values and qualities. Most of these families had some ongoing support with other family members living nearby. Overall, there remained a need for greater cultural learning for both the young people and their parents/caregivers.

Nuclear family composition group

The families in this group had very little or no participation in their Māori cultural communities and the need for Māori cultural knowledge was high. However, it seemed that this knowledge need was not the main priority for these families as they appeared to have other, more pressing practical and emotional needs.

Overall, however, it does appear that the structural and process difficulties for Māori cultural socialisation and transmission that became evident in this research for some families in the development of cultural identification for young people, go beyond the scope of being addressed by just compensatory cultural components in community youth programmes. Much wider initiatives are needed to help Māori families strengthen the features that help facilitate the continued development of Māori cultural identification. These would include:

- Māori cultural communities' proactively encouraging and supporting members of their hapu and whānau to return and participate in cultural activities; and
- Strategies are developed to acknowledge historic conflicts and support provided to family groups to help heal the relationship damage that have arisen from issues of the past;

It seems that to help contribute to an overall strategy to help young people develop Māori cultural identification programme providers would need to work with other Māori communities to build Māori cultural learning environments. These environments could provide young people with consistent cultural knowledge and create a sense of belonging and help them to learn about the roles and responsibilities that accompany being part of a Māori collective group. Any

compensatory cultural components need to be delivered within an appropriate Māori cultural context to help make cultural learning relevant for the young people.

Added to this development, parents/caregivers could be encouraged to also participate in cultural activities within these environments to help nurture and strengthen their cultural identification. A result of this would be not only to support and encourage their own children, but to also support the parents/caregivers to build cultural confidence so they feel more able to return to their own cultural community, whānau and hapū.

For some families, however, cultural needs did not seem to be a priority. Many of the families had a high level of need, not just cultural need, which needed addressing before they could be open to considering their cultural needs. Emphasis on cultural need belied the importance of support needed by parents/caregivers to help address needs of past conflict, unresolved impacts of past childhood of abuse, or persistent intergenerational impacts of negative attitudes to being Māori previously taught at school. It seemed that for a few families, the impacts of these past events continued to affect not only how well the families got on together, but also contributed to how they perceived themselves as Māori. The issues of the parents/caregivers directly impacted onto a number of the young people and this indicated that some support for addressing these issues would be of benefit for their children. I acknowledge that the programme providers are not funded to meet the needs of the parents/caregivers; however, some avenue of support is needed.

The second implication follows on from the point above about creating learning environments. There are two aspects related to this point. Firstly, as well as working with other Māori cultural communities, programme providers may find it beneficial to create a cultural learning environment in their working space and be more conscious of and strategic about creating socialising opportunities for the young people. I believe that most of the programme providers already include these types of situations; however, my suggestion here is to make this provision far

more conscious and strategic. The second point is that it is important for programme providers to encourage and assist the parents/caregivers to also create a cultural learning environment within their homes and family groups. I recognise that this may be more difficult for them to achieve as their work with families is not usually funded, thus making extra work with families challenging. However, I do believe that work with the young people would benefit from this type of development and this in effect, leads me to my next point.

The third point relates to the need to make cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission explicit. As most Māori families no longer live a Māori way of life where cultural socialisation and transmission are a natural part of everyday life, programme providers can become natural mechanisms for Māori cultural socialisation. This would require provider staff to have Māori cultural knowledge and understand how to create learning situations for young people where they are able to learn and participate in cultural activities. This of course also relates to the point regarding the creation of learning environments.

The fourth and final point highlights the nature of the collective values and qualities and how learning about these may help young people fit into collective contexts more easily and aid their learning through participation. How this could occur does require further research, however, I believe that it is an area that will create a useful stepping stone for young people on their journey to developing their cultural identification.

In conclusion, this research has explored the development of Māori cultural identification for some young people and their parents/caregivers and found that there are different experiences for different families depending upon some key features. Three family composition groups; Whanau family group, Wider family group and Nuclear family group, represent three different life paths for Māori each with varying experiences of Māori cultural socialisation and transmission. Only by strengthening these family, whanau and hapu, community structures and the

processes by which Māori socialisation and transmission occurs will cultural identification for young Māori also be strengthened.

Limitations of research

Five limitations have been identified in this research. The first two limitations relate to the small sample of young people and families that took part in interviews. The development of the Theory of Māori Cultural Learning was based on the views of nineteen parents/caregivers and twenty-three young people. These views were supported by additional information from fourteen programme provider staff members and eight community stakeholders. Qualitative research findings cannot be generalised to the general population because such research usually has smaller samples that have not been based upon statistically representative samples. However, findings may be relevant to Māori within the wider population and some other Indigenous groups, though this would need to be confirmed by further research to ensure applicability.

Secondly, the findings regarding the different family composition groups and different life pathways cannot be generalised to the wider population, but do provide indications of the different life pathways that have resulted from the events of our cultural-historical past. Further research is required including different groups of young Māori and their families, and explores the consistency of the findings for family composition groups and different life realities and pathways.

Thirdly, the area of Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission for learning by young people is a new area, so while the sample of young people and parents/caregivers may not be viewed as numerous, it is the start of exploring and expanding this area of development for Indigenous groups so, this approach/smaller research groups could also be viewed as an advantage or benefit for Indigenous groups.

A fourth area of limitation relates to the historical analysis conducted in this research. The new approach taken to tracking the breakdown of Māori family and

whanau groups, Māori communities, and Māori cultural function and aligning that to the introduction of five institutions was undertaken due to limitations in the literature. Grounded Theory process suggests completing the data analysis, generation of a model and theory, then matching these findings to the literature. I found that the literature did not provide me with descriptions or analysis of life situations that matched those of the participant families. Only by critically analysing the historical, political, anthropological and educational literature could I compile the cultural-historical context that more accurately reflected the differing life realities for these families. This is an area in which further research needs to be carried out to explore the psychological impacts of colonising activities upon Māori families, whanau and hapu groups more deeply.

Finally, another area of limitation concerns the development of the collective values and qualities. While these are firmly based in Māori cultural values and practice, they were identified and described for this research because of the gap in learning that was identified now that a Māori way of life does not exist for so many Māori families. This is an area that requires more research and it is an area I intend to continue to explore.

Suggestions for further research

Further research is suggested in areas that stem from the findings of this research.

First, the findings that identified three family composition groups that reflect different life paths for Māori families is an area that requires further research. It is suggested that further research carried out with a wider range of groups of young people and their families to determine the consistency of these findings. Conducting research with groups of young people with varying levels of experience with and degrees of participation in Māori cultural activities in relation to their parents/caregivers and grandparents experience with and participation in Māori cultural activities, would provide a more stable indication of replication of these findings. It would be particularly useful to include young people without anti-social behaviours.

Secondly, greater understanding is needed regarding the psychological impact upon Māori family, whānau and hapū groups from colonising and subsequent activities. It is suggested that further research is undertaken to explore the experiences of Māori resulting from colonising activities. I focused primarily upon the creation and allocation of land shares and education; however, there were many other actions that occurred during that period of our history that would also have had a psychological impact.

Thirdly, further research is required in relation to Māori collective values and qualities to clarify how these are perceived and learnt. These values and qualities used to be learned implicitly but now more explicit ways of teaching and learning need to be found, in particular to assist young Māori, and perhaps their parents/caregivers, to better fit into Māori collective groups. This is an area I wish to continue to develop.

Fourth, conflict was an area that created issues for parents/caregivers and their families and warrants further research. Much of the conflict spoken about by the parents/caregivers was unresolved. It continued to impact upon their family

functioning and interactions with their particular Māori cultural communities. Research into skills for dealing with conflict and problem solving would increase understanding of this area. Also, research into historical methods of dispute resolution in Maori cultural communities would be of benefit and provide guidance in terms of how today's cultural communities can better help families cope with unresolved conflict. This is an area that I wish to continue to develop.

Finally, the findings have implications for the inclusion of compensatory cultural components for community programmes for young people, but it is possible that these findings may also relate to programme delivery in other sectors. For example, it may be relevant to consider the specific needs of the three family composition groups with different life realities in health or social service delivery. It is suggested that further research be considered in other sectors given these findings.

Conclusion

The structures and processes of Māori cultural socialisation and intergenerational transmission have been disrupted by events from our cultural-historical past. As a result of this disruption over two to three generations, young people from many Māori families have grown up increasingly removed from participation in Māori cultural activities. The findings of this research suggest that interactions between three relationship groups, family, whanau and cultural community, create a cultural learning environment and are important for Māori cultural socialisation. Each young person is central to this learning environment and without access to and opportunities for participation in these interactions cultural identification development is less likely to occur. Only in close and consistent interaction with the three relationship groups can Māori cultural values be learnt and internalised by young people and perpetuate the Māori cultural way of life.

The findings of this research suggest that the creation of cultural learning environments is an important step in addressing the need for young people to develop Māori cultural identification. The socialising strategies experienced and

activities engaged in cultural learning environments offer young people participation in cultural activities which are valuable learning opportunities. Over generations, young people will, without this type of learning, become increasingly imbued with the values of non-Māori society, and therefore further removed from Māori cultural communities.

In conclusion, changes are urgently needed regarding how we as Māori consider our Māori way of life. Young Māori are the future of Māori families, whānau, hapū and iwi and steps must be taken to ensure this remains the reality.

Glossary

Aroha – love, respect, compassion

Atua – god or gods, many of whom form the foundation within Māori creation stories

Āwhinatanga - caring, embracing, support, help (ref Herbert, 2001)

Hapū – commonly known as sub-tribe and is made up of whānau groupings where there is a whakapapa linkage. A Hapū is usually linked to a marae that is commonly used by the whānau groupings.

Iwi – commonly known as tribe that is made up of many hapū that are most usually located within a common geographical area.

Kaikaranga – caller, the woman (or women) who has the role of making the ceremonial call

Kaikōrero – speaker, narrator

Kaimoana - seafood

Kaitiaki - guardians

Kaitaikitanga - guardianship

Kākahu – woven feathered cloak

Kaumātua – elders who may be close family members or from the wider whānau

Kawa – marae protocols

Kete – flax woven basket

Manaakitanga - show of care; kindness; hospitality

Manuhiri – visitors, guests

Marae – a place located with the rohe or area of a Hapū where the members of the Hapū meet for particular purposes. A marae is most usually made up of a wharenuī (meeting house); wharekai (dining room); wharepuni (smaller sleeping house); sometimes a whare karakia (a church); and Marae ātea (sacred space in front of the wharenuī).

Patupaiarehe – fairy or nymph

Pounamu – greenstone, a prized stone within Māori culture used traditionally for weapons, pendants, some of which were believed to carry with them the spirits of ancestors and which provided and needed protection, and therefore were, and still are highly valued

Rangatiratanga – status, respect

Ringawera – kitchen worker, kitchen hand

Rohe – the geographic area where an iwi or hapū commonly belong. For example, my own iwi, Te Arawa belongs to the rohe of Waiariki. My hapū, Ngāti Kea Ngāti Tuara belongs to the rohe of Horohoro with Waiariki.

Tangi – commonly used term for tangihanga which is the formal process of mourning following a bereavement. Normally held over a period of 2 – 4 days a body is held in state, normally at a marae, so mourners are able to visit to pay their respects and farewell the person and mourn with the family of the bereaved person.

Taonga – a highly prized object

Te Ao Māori – Māori world.

Te reo Māori – Māori language

Tikanga - customs, rules or guiding principles for Māori culture

Tikanga tuku iho – tikanga passed from generation to generation

Tūpuna – ancestors, grandparents

Tūrangawaewae – place for the feet to stand, home (locality)

Wairua – soul, spirit

Wānanga – teaching/learning forum

Whakaaro – thought; a koha or gift

Whakamā – feelings of embarrassment, shyness

Whakapapa – genealogical links which connect an individual to their whanau, hapū, iwi, marae and land; family tree

Whānau – for the purposes of this study this word describes the inclusion of wider whānau members, including grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins. This term is differentiated from ‘family’ which for the purposes of this study relates to ‘nuclear’ family groups made up of parent and children, although sometimes g’parents are included in the family. The primary difference being the sentiment for the parent/caregiver about including wider family members within their ‘family group’ – the greater openness to including wider family encompasses whānau.

Whanaungatanga – it is a process - interactions between whanau members⁶, to strengthen family relationships

Whāngai – a traditional process of adoption where usually an older aunt or uncle or grandparent took over the care of a child. This generally occurred when the older relative had no dependents and the parents of the child had experienced difficulties of some sort and they agreed to the whāngai arrangement. Some whāngai situations can raise questions about the rights of the whāngai child to inherit land rights from their whāngai parents – these are generally discussed as they arise by the whānau as well as the hapū.

⁶ Ref: (Herbert, 2001. p.14); Williams, 1971

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Appendices

Appendix 1

6.1 - Information Sheets

- Young people
- Parents/caregivers
- Whanau
- Community stakeholders
- Programme providers
- Youth Justice sector stakeholders



Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Information Sheet: Young People

Thanks for thinking about taking part in this research project. The project is part of my University study. I am looking at how to make youth offender programmes better at meeting the needs of the young people and their whanau.

Why do the research?

Youth offender programmes for young Maori include cultural activities but we do not know how this helps the young people. I want to find out what is important to you as a young person who attends a programme and also members of your whanau.

What will I be asked to do if I take part in the research?

- If you agree, you will take part in up to 2 interviews
- Interviews will last about 1 hour and can be in your home or somewhere comfortable that can be arranged
- If you agree, the interviews will be audio-recorded. If you do not agree written notes will be taken
- A support system will be put in place for you and your whanau if you need support after your interview
- If you agree, information about your offending information will be obtained from Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust

What if I want to pull out of the research?

- Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary
- You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time and you do not have to give a reason
- You do not have to answer any particular question if you feel uncomfortable

Who will know that I took part in the research?

- The information you give to the research will be kept confidential
- Only your first name will be used on audio recordings and a unique number will be used on the transcript of the interview
- None of your personal information will be passed on to any other agency, except if you disclose abuse or risk in an interview. If this happens an appropriate agency will need to be notified about this. You will be told about this before it happens

What will happen to the information?

- The information gathered from all of the young people and whanau will be grouped together to see the similar sorts of things that everyone is saying
- If you want a copy of your interview transcript will be sent to you
- When all of the interviews have finished a report will be written
- A summary report can be sent to you if you want one
- A complete research report will be presented to Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust
- Once the report has been completed the interview transcripts will be securely stored and as the researcher I will be the only one to have access to it. These will not have your name on them.

Who will see my information?

- As the researcher I will see all of the research information
- My supervisors, Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, will see only some of the research information and this may include your anonymised information
- An assistant will help me to write up some of the audio recordings of the interviews and they will hear and see only the information from those interviews. Only the first name will be on those recordings so they will not know the full name of who has been interviewed

Who else will be spoken to?

- Members of your whanau will be asked about what is important to you all as a family
- If you agree I may talk to someone in your community who has helped you to make positive changes in your life
- If you agree I will also talk to Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust management/staff about the programme and your participation in the programme
- Some people from the Youth Justice sector that develop and fund youth offender programmes and some Youth Court judges and Youth Court Advocates about youth offender programmes will be interviewed

What if I have questions about the research?

- Before any interviews I will meet with you and talk about the research and answer any of your questions
- If you have questions at any other time you can talk to Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust manager/staff and if they cannot help you they will let me know and I will talk to you
- Or you can text me at 021 265 7481 and I will contact you to talk through your questions

Who is conducting the research?

I am Trish Young and I am conducting the research as part of my university study. I attend Victoria University of Wellington. I am originally from Rotorua and I belong to Te Arawa and Ngāti Awa. In the past I have worked with youth offender programmes in Auckland and Rotorua. I have two supervisors who are helping me with my study and they are: Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward.

Ethics Approval

Ethics for this research was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, in August 2009.



Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Information Sheet: Parents/Caregivers

Thank you for thinking about taking part in this research. This project is part of my University research into how to make youth offender programmes for young Maori better able to meet the needs of the young people and their whanau.

What is the purpose of this research?

Young Maori who attend youth offender programmes are offered Maori cultural activities as part of the programme. It is not known how this helps the young people. This project aims to look at what is important to young Maori and their families so that cultural activities can be tailored to better suit their needs.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to take part in the research?

- You need to agree to your son/daughter and yourself taking part in up to 2 interviews
- Members of your whanau can also take part in those whanau interviews
- Interviews will last about 1 – 1.5 hours and can be in your home or somewhere comfortable that can be arranged
- If you agree, the interviews will be audio-recorded. If you do not agree written notes will be taken
- If you agree, information about your son/daughters offending information will be obtained from Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust

Can I change my mind and withdraw from taking part?

- Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary
- You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time and you do not have to give a reason
- You do not have to answer any particular question if you feel uncomfortable

How will my personal information be kept safe and confidential?

- The information you give to the research will be kept confidential. All documentation will be kept in secure storage and as the research only I will have access to that
- Only your first name will be used on audio recordings and a unique number will be used on the transcript of the interview
- All audio recordings will be destroyed after being transcribed
- None of your personal information will be passed on to any other agency, except if your son/daughter discloses abuse or risk in an interview. If this happens an appropriate agency will need to be notified about this. You will be told about this before it happens

What will happen to the information?

- The information gathered from all of the young people and whanau will be grouped together to see the similar sorts of things that everyone is saying
- If you want a copy of your interview transcript will be sent to you
- When all of the interviews have finished a report will be written
- A summary report can be sent to you if you want one
- A complete research report will be presented to Te Waiariki Pura Trust
- Once the report has been completed the interview transcripts will be securely stored for five years and as the researcher I will be the only one to have access to it. These will not have your name on them.

Who will see my information?

- As the researcher I will see all of the research information
- My supervisors, Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, will see only some of the research information and this may include your anonymised information
- An assistant will help me to write up some of the audio recordings of the interviews and they will hear and see only the information from those interviews. Only the first name will be on those recordings so they will not know the full name of who has been interviewed

Who else will be spoken to?

- If they agree I will talk to members of your whanau about what is important to you all as a family
- If you agree I may talk to someone in your community who has helped your son/daughter to make positive changes in their life
- If you agree I will also talk to Te Waiariki Pura Trust management/staff about the programme and your son/daughter's participation in the programme
- Some people from the Youth Justice sector that develop and fund youth offender programmes and some Youth Court judges and Youth Court Advocates about youth offender programmes will be interviewed

What if I have questions about the research?

- Before any interviews I will meet with you and talk about the research and answer any of your questions
- If you have questions at any other time you can talk to Te Waiariki Pura Trust manager/staff and if they cannot help you they will let me know and I will talk to you
- Or you can text me at 021 265 7481 and I will contact you to talk through your questions

Who is conducting the research?

I am Trish Young and I am conducting the research as part of my PhD study at Victoria University, Wellington. I am (Te Arawa and Ngati Awa) originally from Rotorua and have worked with youth offender programmes before as an evaluator.

Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, School of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, are supervising Trish to do this study.

Ethics Approval

Ethics for this research was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, in August 2009.



Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Information Sheet: Whanau members

Thank you for showing an interest in taking part in this research. This project is part of my University research into how to make youth offender programmes for young Maori better able to meet the needs of the young people and their whanau.

What is the purpose of this research?

Young Maori who attend youth offender programmes are offered Maori cultural activities as part of the programme. It is not known how this helps the young people. This project aims to look at what is important to young Maori and their families so that cultural activities can be tailored to better suit their needs.

What will I be asked to do?

- If you agree you will take part in up to 2 interviews
- Interviews will last about 1 – 1.5 hours and can be in the whanau home or somewhere comfortable that can be arranged
- If you agree as a whanau, the interviews will be audio-recorded. If you do not agree written notes will be taken

Can I change my mind and withdraw from taking part?

- Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary
- You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time and you do not have to give a reason
- You do not have to answer any particular question if you feel uncomfortable

How will my personal information be kept safe and confidential?

- The information you give to the research will be kept confidential. All documentation will be kept in secure storage and as the researcher only I will have access to that
- Only your first name will be used on audio recordings and a unique number will be used on the transcript of the interview
- All audio recordings will be destroyed after being transcribed
- None of your personal information will be passed on to any other agency

What will happen to the information?

- The information gathered from all of the young people and whanau will be grouped together to see the similar sorts of things that everyone is saying
- If you want a copy of your interview transcript will be sent to you
- When all of the interviews have finished a report will be written

- A summary report can be sent to you if you want one
- A complete research report will be presented to Te Waiariki Pura Trust
- Once the report has been completed the interview transcripts will be securely stored for five years and as the researcher I will be the only one to have access to it. These will not have your name on them.

Who will see my information?

- As the researcher I will see all of the research information
- My supervisors, Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, will see only some of the research information and this may include your anonymised information
- An assistant will help me to write up some of the audio recordings of the interviews and they will hear and see only the information from those interviews. Only the first name will be on the recordings so they will not know the full name of who has been interviewed

Who else will be spoken to?

- Members of your whanau will be asked about what is important to you all as a family
- If agreed, someone in the local community who has helped your young person to make positive changes in their life
- If agreed, Te Waiariki Pura Trust management/staff will be interviewed about the programme and your young person's participation in the programme
- Some people from the Youth Justice sector that develop and fund youth offender programmes and some Youth Court judges and Youth Court Advocates about youth offender programmes will be interviewed

What if I have any questions about the research?

- Before any interviews I will meet with you and talk about the research and answer any of your questions
- If you have questions at any other time you can talk to Te Waiariki Pura Trust manager/staff and if they cannot help you they will let me know and I will contact you and talk to you
- Or you can text me at 021 265 7481 and I will contact you to talk through your questions

Who is conducting the research?

I am Trish Young and I am conducting the research as part of my PhD study at Victoria University, Wellington. I am (Te Arawa and Ngati Awa) originally from Rotorua and have worked with youth offender programmes before as an evaluator.

Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, School of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, are supervising Trish to do this study.

Ethics Approval

Ethics for this research was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, in August 2009.



Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Information Sheet: Community Stakeholders

What is the purpose of the research?

Youth offender programmes for young Maori contain different types of cultural activities as part of the programme. While the intention of the cultural activities is to improve the young person's connection to Maori culture it is not known how this helps the young person or their whanau. This research will explore with the young people and their whanau what is important to them in their everyday living and identify the events, people, places and things that give their lives meaning.

How many young people and whanau will be involved in the research?

- Three youth offender programme providers situated in Mangere, Panmure and Rotorua have agreed to participate in this study
- Ten young people and their whanau from each of the programmes will be invited to participate in interviews conducted over the period of one year
- The young people will be aged between 12 and 17 years of age and have been referred from a Family Group Conference, Youth Court or Police Youth Aid
- A detailed process to obtain consent will be set up for the young people and their whanau
- A support system will be put in place to ensure that if after an interview it is found that a young person or their whanau needs support this need will be met

Why have I been asked to take part in the research?

- A young person and their whanau who are attending the Te Waiariki Pūrea Trust have identified you as someone who has positively influenced the young person's life
- Your interview will help to build a picture about what is important to the young person and their whanau that can help them to make positive changes in their lives

Who else will be involved in the research?

- If they agree, management and staff members of each programme provider will be interviewed
- Youth Justice sector stakeholders who fund youth offender programmes and who work with young Maori offenders will also be invited to participate in an interview for this research.

How will the research be conducted?

- A series of site visits will be made to each programme site over one year during which interviews with young people, whanau and relevant stakeholders will be conducted
- Interviews with some management and staff of each programme will be conducted at each site visit
- Each young person and whanau who agree to participate will be involved in one or two interviews during the research
- Demographic information will also be collected from all participants

Who will see the research information?

- As the researcher I will see all of the research information
- My supervisors, Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, will see only some of the research information
- An assistant will help me to write up some of the audio recordings of the interviews and they will hear and see only the information from those interviews. Only the first name will be on the recordings so they will not know the identity of the participants

How will personal information be kept safe and confidential?

- The information given by participants to the research will be kept confidential. All documentation will be kept in secure storage and only I will have access to that
- Only first names will be used on audio recordings and a unique number will be used on the transcript of the interview
- All audio recordings will be destroyed after transcription is completed
- None of the personal information will be passed on to any other agency, except in instances where a young person discloses abuse or risk in an interview. If this happens an appropriate agency will be notified about this. The young person and their parents/caregivers will be told of this before the agency is contacted

How will the information from this research be used?

- It is expected that this research will help each programme provider to enhance the quality and effectiveness of their programmes. A research report will be presented to each programme provider at the conclusion of the research
- The New Zealand Police and Ministry of Justice have been kept in touch with the conduct of this research so any relevant findings can be made available to them for future programme development
- Findings from this research will also be submitted to relevant peer-reviewed journals and be presented at appropriate conferences

What if I have questions about the research?

- Before any interview I will meet with you and talk about the research and answer any of your questions
- If you have any questions at any other time you can contact me on: 021 254 7681 or email: trish.young@vuw.ac.nz

Who is conducting the research?

I am Trish Young and I am conducting the research as part of my PhD study at Victoria University, Wellington. I am (Te Arawa and Ngati Awa) originally from Rotorua and have worked with youth offender programmes before as an evaluator.

Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, School of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, are supervising Trish to do this study.

Ethics Approval

Ethics for this research was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, in July 2009.



Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Information Sheet: Programme Providers

What is the purpose of the research?

Youth offender programmes for young Maori contain different types of cultural activities as part of the programme. While the intention of the cultural activities is to improve the young person's connection to Maori culture is it not known how this helps the young person or their whanau. This research will explore with the young people and their whanau what is important to them in their everyday living and identify the events, people, places and things that give their lives meaning.

How many young people and whanau will be involved in the research?

- Three youth offender programme providers situated in Mangere, Panmure and Rotorua have agreed to participate in this study
- Fifteen young people and their whanau from each of the programmes will be invited to participate in interviews conducted over the period of one year
- The young people will be aged between 12 and 17 years of age and have been referred from a Family Group Conference, Youth Court or Police Youth Aid
- A detailed process to obtain consent will be set up for the young people and their whanau
- A support system will be put in place to ensure that if after an interview it is found that a young person or their whanau needs support this need will be met

Who else will be involved in the research?

- If agreed, management and staff members of each programme provider will be interviewed
- If agreed, relevant community stakeholders who have worked with the young person and their whanau may also be interviewed
- Youth Justice sector stakeholders who fund youth offender programmes and who work with young Maori offenders will also be invited to participate in an interview for this research.

How will the research be conducted?

- A series of site visits will be made to each programme site over one year during which interviews with young people, whanau and relevant stakeholders will be conducted
- Interviews with some management and staff of each programme will be conducted at each site visit
- Each young person and whanau who agree to participate will be involved in three interviews during the research
- Demographic information will also be collected from all participants

Who will see the research information?

- As the researcher I will see all of the research information
- My supervisors, Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, will see only some of the research information
- An assistant will help me to write up some of the audio recordings of the interviews and they will hear and see only the information from those interviews. Only the first name will be on the recordings so they will not know the identity of the participants

How will personal information be kept safe and confidential?

- The information given by participants to the research will be kept confidential. All documentation will be kept in secure storage and as researcher only I will have access to that
- Only first names will be used on audio recordings and a unique number will be used on the transcript of the interview
- All audio recordings will be destroyed after transcription is completed
- None of the personal information will be passed on to any other agency, except in instances where a young person discloses abuse or risk in an interview. If this happens appropriate agencies will be notified about this. The young person and their parents/caregivers will be told of this before the agency is contacted

How will the information from this research be used?

- It is expected that this research will help each programme provider to enhance the quality and effectiveness of their programmes. A research report will be presented to each programme provider at the conclusion of the research
- The New Zealand Police and Ministry of Justice have been kept in touch with the conduct of this research so any relevant findings can be made available to them for future programme development
- Findings from this research will also be submitted to relevant peer-reviewed journals and be presented at appropriate conferences

Who is conducting the research?

I am Trish Young and I am conducting the research as part of my PhD study at Victoria University, Wellington. I am (Te Arawa and Ngati Awa) originally from Rotorua and have worked with youth offender programmes before as an evaluator.

Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, School of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, are supervising Trish to do this study.

Ethics Approval

Ethics for this research was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, in July 2009.



Information Sheet: Youth Justice Sector Stakeholders

What is the purpose of the research?

Youth offender programmes for young Maori contain different types of cultural activities as part of the programme. While the intention of the cultural activities is to improve the young person's connection to Maori culture it is not known how this helps the young person or their whanau. This research will explore with the young people and their whanau what is important to them in their everyday living and identify the events, people, places and things that give their lives meaning.

How many young people and whanau will be involved in the research?

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- The young people will be aged between 12 and 17 years of age and have been referred from a Family Group Conference, Youth Court or Police Youth Aid
- A detailed process to obtain consent will be set up for the young people and their whanau
- A support system will be put in place to ensure that if after an interview it is found that a young person or their whanau needs support this need will be met

Why have I been asked to take part in the research?

- You have been asked to take part in the research to ensure that this research has a full picture of the development, purpose and funding of youth offender programmes for young Maori offenders

Who else will be involved in the research?

- If they agree, management and staff members of each programme provider will be interviewed
- If they agree, relevant community stakeholders who have worked with the young person and their whanau may also be interviewed about the positive changes a young person has made

How will the research be conducted?

- A series of site visits will be made to each programme site over one year during which interviews with young people, whanau and relevant stakeholders will be conducted
- Interviews with some management and staff of each programme will be conducted at each site visit
- Each young person and whanau who agree to participate will be involved in three interviews during the research
- Demographic information will also be collected from all participants

Who will see the research information?

- As the researcher I will see all of the research information
- My supervisors, Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, will see only some of the research information
- An assistant will help me to write up some of the audio recordings of the interviews and they will hear and see only the information from those interviews. Only the first name will be on the recordings so they will not know the identity of the participants

How will personal information be kept safe and confidential?

- The information given by participants to the research will be kept confidential. All documentation will be kept in secure storage and only I will have access to that
- Only first names will be used on audio recordings and a unique number will be used on the transcript of the interview
- All audio recordings will be destroyed after transcription is completed
- None of the personal information will be passed on to any other agency, except in instances where a young person discloses abuse or risk in an interview. If this happens an appropriate agency will be notified about this. The young person and their parents/caregivers will be told of this before the agency is contacted

How will the information from this research be used?

- It is expected that this research will help each programme provider to enhance the quality and effectiveness of their programmes. A research report will be presented to each programme provider at the conclusion of the research
- The New Zealand Police and Ministry of Justice have been kept in touch with the conduct of this research so any relevant findings can be made available to them for future programme development
- Findings from this research will also be submitted to relevant peer-reviewed journals and be presented at appropriate conferences

What if I have questions about the research?

- Before any interview I will meet with you and talk about the research and answer any of your questions
- If you have any questions at any other time you can contact me on: 021 254 7681 or email: trish.young@vuw.ac.nz

Who is conducting the research?

I am Trish Young and I am conducting the research as part of my PhD study at Victoria University, Wellington. I am (Te Arawa and Ngati Awa) originally from Rotorua and have worked with youth offender programmes before as an evaluator.

Professor Tony Ward and Professor Colleen Ward, School of Psychology, Victoria University, Wellington, are supervising Trish to do this study.

Ethics Approval

Ethics for this research was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Wellington, in July 2009.

Appendix 2

6.2 - Consent Forms

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Young People

(Young Person's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

The manager and staff of Te Waiariki Pura Trust will be interviewed about the programme and my participation in the programme. Information about my offending will be obtained from Te Waiariki Pura Trust.

- ☐ I agree to Te Waiariki Pura Trust sharing my offending information and information about my progress in the programme

I understand that if I disclose current abuse or risk during the interview an appropriate agency will be notified about this.

- ☐ I understand that a notification will be made to the appropriate agencies if abuse or risk is disclosed during an interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Young People

(Researcher's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

The manager and staff of Te Waiariki Pura Trust will be interviewed about the programme and my participation in the programme. Information about my offending will be obtained from Te Waiariki Pura Trust.

- ☐ I agree to Te Waiariki Pura Trust sharing my offending information and information about my progress in the programme

I understand that if I disclose current abuse or risk during the interview an appropriate agency will be notified about this.

- ☐ I understand that a notification will be made to the appropriate agencies if abuse or risk is disclosed during an interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Parents/Caregivers

(Parent/Caregiver's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that I also need to provide consent for my son/daughter to participate in this research.

- ☐ I agree to my son/daughter participating in this research.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

The manager and staff of Te Waiariki Pura Trust will be interviewed about the programme and my son/daughter's participation in the programme. Information about my son/daughter's offending will be obtained from Te Waiariki Pura Trust.

- ☐ I agree to Te Waiariki Pura Trust sharing my son/daughter's offending information and information about their progress in the programme

I understand that if my son/daughter discloses current abuse or risk during their interview an appropriate agency will be notified about this.

- ☐ I understand that a notification will be made to the appropriate agencies if abuse or risk is disclosed during an interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Parents/Caregivers

(Researcher's Copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that I also need to provide consent for my son/daughter to participate in this research.

- ☐ I agree to my son/daughter participating in this research.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

The manager and staff of Te Waiariki Pura Trust will be interviewed about the programme and my son/daughter's participation in the programme. Information about my son/daughter's offending will be obtained from Te Waiariki Pura Trust.

- ☐ I agree to Te Waiariki Pura Trust sharing my son/daughter's offending information and information about their progress in the programme

I understand that if my son/daughter discloses current abuse or risk during their interview an appropriate agency will be notified about this.

- ☐ I understand that a notification will be made to the appropriate agencies if abuse or risk is disclosed during an interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Whanau member

(Whanau member's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Whanau member

(Researcher's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Community Stakeholder

(Community Stakeholder's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Community Stakeholder

(Researcher's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Programme Provider

(Programme Provider's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Programme Provider

(Researcher's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Youth Justice Sector Stakeholder

(Youth Justice Sector Stakeholder's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Developing Maori Identity: What is important to young Maori?

Statement of consent – Youth Justice Sector Stakeholder

(Researcher's copy)

I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

- ☐ I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time without having to provide any reason.

I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and that only my first name will be used during the interview

- ☐ I agree to audio-recording of the interview

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3

6.3 – Interview schedules

- Young people
- Parents/caregivers
- Programme providers
- Community stakeholders/Youth Justice sector stakeholders

Interviews with Young People

Family

Family Unit

Q: Current family situation –

- who lives at home with parent(s);
- Number of children, ages, gender;
- location of other children – where live, who with;
- where father/mother not currently living with young person – location of parent, frequency of contact with young person;

Family experiences

Q: nature of young person's childhood

- Childhood, raised by whom, where, experiences with siblings
- Discipline was provided by whom, was it respected

Extended whanau

Q: Who makes up your extended whanau

- Who does the young person include in their extended whanau;
- How much contact is maintained with members of their extended whanau;

Socialisation

Function of Family Unit

Q: what type of events, activities, celebrations, and functions does the family hold –

- Does the young person have chores to do in the family, or have any responsibility in family function;
- Family gatherings, frequency, nature, who attends, purpose;
- What does YP want to get out of family gatherings;
- Does young person enjoy family gatherings;

Schooling

Q: what are the young person's views of schooling

- How important is schooling to the young person;
- What goals does the young person have for their future;
- What are schooling experiences like for the young person;

Culture

Q: how would the young person describe their culture

- What does culture look like and what cultural activities are held in family
- Where did cultural activities, events come from and how are they maintained within the family, what do they mean to the family/parents

Being Maori

Identifying as Maori

Q: does young person identify as Maori

- What is their ethnicity and how does that relate to their ethnic identification
- What does it mean to the young person to identify as Maori
- If not identify as Maori, what do they think are the barriers to this;

Being Maori

Q: Is it important to be Maori and why

- what does the young person believe makes them Maori
- How does the young person feel about being Maori
- What does the young person like about being Maori
- What does the young person not like about being Maori
- Does the young person want to know more about being Maori

Young Person

Activities

Q: Tell me about you

- What sorts of things get you excited – music, sport, friends, ‘hanging out’, going places;
- What makes these things exciting;
- Where do you like to go with your friends;
- What sorts of places do you feel comfortable – what makes them comfortable for you;
- What places do you feel uncomfortable – what makes them so;
- When listening to music – do you like listening to Maori music; Maori bands;

Friends/Peers

Q: Tell me about your friends

- Who are your friends now, do they live nearby, how often do you get together;
- What sorts of things do you do with your friends;
- When you are walking about or just hanging out with your friends, what do you talk about;
- What ethnicity are your friends;
- Do your parents like your friends

Introduce the line of importance and how everything that is important to each young person fits onto the line

Offending

Q: Tell me about your getting into trouble

- what types of offences/ trouble have you got into – with the police or just at school or in the community – do you have convictions
- How old were you when you started offending – when did they first get caught – was this by the police or someone else
- Do you know why you started offending
- What are your views of the programme you are registered with
- What do you think the programme is trying to achieve
- Will they be effective in helping you make changes

- What do you want to get out of the programme
- (if not mentioned cultural aspects) what do you want to get out of the cultural activities on the programme
- Is there someone in the community or your whanau who has positively influenced you – what have they done for you

Future

What are your dreams for yourself, and/ or what do you see in your future?, or what would you like to see in your future?

Finally, is there anything else that you would like to comment on before we end.

Interviews with Parents/caregivers, whanau - Family

Family Unit

Q: Current family situation –

- who lives at home with parent(s);
- Number of children, ages, gender – who takes care of and disciplines children;
- location of other children – where live, who with;
- any grandchildren, where they live, ages, gender:
- where father/mother not currently living with young person – location of parent, frequency of contact with young person;

Use ancestry sheet here to obtain structure of whanau, children, spouse/other parent, identify where connection with iwi, hapu, whanau was strongest and how link was weakened

Family experiences

Q: what was the nature of childhood for parents/caregivers

- Nature of parent childhood, where, raised by whom, experiences with siblings;
- What is the parents strongest memory of their childhood, and why it comes to mind
- Discipline was provided by whom, was it respected
- G'parents experience as children if known

Extended whanau

Q: who is in their extended whanau and how is that connection maintained

- Who makes up the extended whanau;
- Do they want to maintain connections with those people and if so, how is that done;
- Is there any conflict with extended whanau and if so how is that resolved

Cultural Socialisation

Function of Family Unit

Q: what types of events, activities, celebrations, and functions are important to the family –

- Does the family have meals together;
- How do chores get done in the family; * How is discipline administered in family;
- Do they have family gatherings – purpose, frequency, nature, who is invited, planned, spontaneous, what happens;
- What do they want to get out of having family gatherings;
- What do the parents want the children to get out of having family gatherings;
- What is the current status of health and wellbeing in the family

Schooling

Q: what are the general views of schooling in the family

- How important is schooling to parents/caregivers;
- What goals are held for young people in the family; * what do you want children to get out of schooling
- What were schooling experiences for parents/caregivers and how has this influenced what they want for their own children;
- If known, what was schooling like for grandparents and how did this influence parents life;

Culture

Q: how would parents/caregivers describe their culture

- What does culture look like and what cultural activities are held in family
- Where did cultural activities, events come from and how are they maintained within the family, what do they mean to the family/parents
- What is the parents strongest memory of cultural activities as a child
- What routines or traditions do you have for your family, ie parent and children

Community activities/ employment/ training

Q: to what degree are parents/caregivers involved in community activities, employment, or training

- What do these activities look like and why are they undertaken;
- If not take part – are there activities you would like to take part in, or training?
- What do parents want to get out of being involved in these activities;
- Collective – support, what type of support want from community organisation – In traditional times the collective worked for the good of the group, roles, responsibilities – how does that fit with how you like things to happen?

Being Maori

Identifying as Maori

Q: do parents identify as Maori

- What is their ethnicity and how does that relate to their ethnic identification
- What does it mean to the parents to identify as Maori
- If not identify as Maori, what are the barriers to this;
- How do you believe others see you ethnically;

Being Maori

Q: Is it important to be Maori and why

- what do the parents believe makes them Maori
- do the parents take part in Maori community activities
- What do the parents like about being Maori
- What do the parents not like about being Maori
- If not know much about being Maori do they want to know more and if so where/who would they go to to learn;

Introduce list of words at this point to determine how Maori principles, concepts and values are incorporated into the parents life

Young Person

Activities

Q: what does your son/daughter like doing – music, sport, friends, ‘hanging out’, going places

- what do they get excited about

Friends/Peers

Q: Tell me about your son/daughter’s friends

- Who are their friends, do they live nearby, how often do they get together;
- What sorts of things do they do;

- What ethnicity are their friends
- Do you like your son/daughter's friends

Offending

Q: Tell me about your son/daughter's getting into trouble

- what types of offences/ trouble have they got into – with the police or just at school or in the community – do they have convictions
- How old were they when they started offending – when did they first get caught by the police
- Do you know why he/she started offending
- What are your views of the programme they are registered with
- What do you think the programme is trying to achieve with your son/daughter
- Will they be effective in helping your son/daughter make changes
- What do you want your son/daughter to get out of the programme
- (if not mentioned cultural aspects) what do you want your son/daughter to get out of the cultural activities on the programme
- Is there someone in the community or your whanau who has positively influenced your son/daughter – what have they done

Finally, is there anything else that you would like to comment on before we end.

Interview Guides: Community Stakeholder Interview/Discussion

Introduction

Background for research

- Consider the inclusion of cultural components within programmes for young Maori offenders
- To do that need to look at the cultural identity make up of the young people and their families
- Research looking at what is important to young Maori offenders and their families

Consent forms to be signed

Questions?

Interview/Discussion

Three areas to cover

- Needs of young Maori offenders and their families
- Specifically explore the cultural needs of young Maori offenders and their families
- Look at the main themes that have emerged from interviews to date and consider what may be appropriate for young Maori offenders and their families

Interview Guide: Programme Provider Interview/Discussion

Introduction

Background for research

- Consider the inclusion of cultural components within programmes for young Maori offenders
- To do that need to look at the cultural identity make up of the young people and their families
- Research looking at what is important to young Maori offenders and their families

Consent forms to be signed

Questions?

Interview/Discussion

Three areas to cover

- Needs of young Maori offenders and their families
- Specifically explore the cultural needs of young Maori offenders and their families
- Look at the main themes that have emerged from interviews to date and consider what may be appropriate for young Maori offenders and their families

Interview/Discussion

1. Needs of young Maori offenders and their families

In course of your work what do you see as being the needs of young Maori offenders and their families? (list them separately)

[needs in this context could include: housing issues; ill health; parenting issues; unemployment; low income; truancy; gang influences; problems with alcohol, drugs; etc]

Make a list, with brief discussion around why these things are an issue for the young people and their families.

Confirmation that programme exists to meet the needs of young people and families?

2. Cultural needs of young Maori offenders and their families

In working with young Maori offenders and their families what would you identify as being a cultural need for the young people and for their family? (list them separately)

[cultural needs in this context could include: not know their whakapapa; not know te reo; not know tikanga; living away from their own iwi and hapu; not know their marae; etc]

Make a list, with brief discussion around why and how these things are an issue for the young people and their families.

How do you believe these issues have become a problem for young people and their families?

Do you as a programme provider believe that you have a role in addressing cultural needs of young Maori offenders and their families? (is it feasible and appropriate - especially in the long term?)

3. Main Themes and Feedback – consider

Present the main themes to have emerged from the analysis of interviews

Interview Guides: NZ Police Youth Aid Officers Interviews

Introduction

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Consent forms to be signed

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Interview/Discussion

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Appendix 4

6.4 - List of Words

Some commonly known guiding Maori values, thoughts

Whakapapa – genealogy, family tree

Turangawaewae – place for the feet to stand, home (locality)

Whanaungatanga – it is a process - interactions between whanau members⁷, to strengthen family relationships

Manaakitanga - show of care; kindness; hospitality

Awhinatanga - caring, embracing, support, help (ref Herbert, 2001)

Tikanga Maori – customs, rules or guiding principles for Maori culture

Tikanga tuku iho – tikanga passed from generation to generation

Kaitiaki - guardians

Kaitiakitanga - guardianship

Rangatiratanga – status, respect

Wairua – soul, spirit

Aroha – love, respect, compassion

Taonga – a highly prized object

Whakaaro – thought; a koha or gift

⁷ Ref: (Herbert, 2001. p.14); Williams, 1971

Some commonly known guiding Maori values, thoughts

Whakapapa
Turangawaewae

Whanaungatanga

Manaakitanga

Awhinatanga

Tikanga Maori
Tikanga tuku iho

Kaitiaki
Kaitaikitanga

Rangatiratanga

Wairua

Aroha

Taonga

Whakaaro

