

Te Tiriti in Conversation: A Qualitative Approach to Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in

Aotearoa

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A Thesis submitted in the Victoria University of Wellington  
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington

2020

*I orea te tuatara, ka patu ki waho*

A problem is solved by continuing to find solutions

### **Acknowledgements**

This research would not have been possible without the support of my primary supervisor, Dr. Tia Neha. Thank you so much for your encouragement and āwhina. You allowed me to take on a project that was different to anything I had done before and helped me through every hurdle. I really appreciate your guidance and cherish our relationship. Thanks also to my secondary supervisor, Professor Colleen Ward. Your vast knowledge of all things migration and multiculturalism was invaluable to me throughout this project, and I appreciate all your help and patience throughout my many drafts of this thesis.

To the Whānau lab – Anna, Darren, and Fin in particular – you all saw the ups and down of my life throughout this thesis, and I am glad you still want to be around me. Anna, there is no one else I would rather sit beside, thank you for being incredibly patient and thoughtful even when I was at my wits end with transcribing. Darren, thank you for motivating me to be my best and have a positive attitude even when I was at my most disorganised – you are an inspiration to us all. Fin, thank you so much for all the laughs, and the help with translations, understandings, and tikanga lessons. All three of you are going to write the best theses and I am so excited to read them.

To Johannes, thank you for sharing your passion for all things German with me- curry sauce, Birkenstocks and strong cologne. I still do not understand R but I am definitely closer than I used to be. To Alex, thank you for being so thoughtful and caring, and for being the perfect example of a researcher and student. You are such an inspiration to me and I know you will write the best PhD the world has ever seen. Tram, thank you for the constant fun, the exposure to all sorts of disgusting food, and the hikes. Kirsty and Steph, thank you for your encouragement from afar, you are the best colleagues.

To my old mates. I wish we could all be together to celebrate the ending of our theses, but only a pandemic could keep us apart. Hamish, thank you for giving me a sugar addiction that I will never break. 3pm is not the same without our daily trips to VicBooks and a break from work to watch NBA. It took a lot of convincing for you to be my friend but I am glad it was you who witnessed me meeting Chigozie. Sam, you are the only person that makes me laugh every time we are together, cheers love. We are truly the worst duo, and probably hold the record for the worst chat at VUW. I know if I can survive a spear tackle from you, I can survive anything. Thank you for Natalia, thank you for being with me (almost) every step of the way, continually making my life easier, and exposing me to plantains. We truly covered the whole city at a snail's pace every weekend and you know there is no one else I would walk slow for. Because of you three I am not sorry that I weaselled my way into the CACR, I have had so much fun distracting you all over the last two years.

To Jeremy, thank you for the support throughout. To mum and dad, I don't think either of you understand why I won't just get a job, but thanks for supporting me regardless. To Briar, I love you and I am so proud of you. Jim, you have been with me since the start and I know you'll be there at the end. Brynny, you are my favourite little human and I hope you never get too cool for me.

Finally, thank you to my participants. This research is a success only due to your incredible contributions.

### **Abstract**

*Aotearoa* is a unique context with complex relationships between many cultural groups. As a result, there are various perspectives on whether society in *Aotearoa* should adopt biculturalism or multiculturalism to ensure cultural cohesion. This thesis examines the perspectives of two minority groups on this issue by discussing these two cultural approaches with indigenous Māori and migrant groups. Focus groups were held with ten Māori and twelve migrant participants. Participants were asked questions about what biculturalism and multiculturalism mean, how these systems operate in participants' lives, and how *Aotearoa* should develop in regard to these systems. Thematic analysis was used to analyse and pool responses, with five themes identified: biculturalism, multiculturalism, generational changes, sustainability, and identity. Using these themes to help unpack how participants navigate life in *Aotearoa*, I conclude by discussing whether *Aotearoa* should be formally identifying as bicultural or multicultural, what a “New Zealand” national identity is to minority citizens, and how immigration policy could be shaped to better fit the ideals of our indigenous and “newest” New Zealanders.

*Keywords:* biculturalism, multiculturalism, Māori, migrant, *Aotearoa*

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### Glossary

I have italicised *Te Reo* Māori concepts and footnoted definitions as the terms first appear in each chapter to assist readability for non-native speakers.

Aotearoa: New Zealand

Awa: River, stream, creek

Āwhina: Assistance, aid, help, benefit

Haka: A Māori ceremonial dance

Hapū: Subdivision of iwi, a subtribe determined by genealogical descent

Hui: Gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference

Iwi: Extended kinship group, tribe, nation

Kai: Food, meal

Kaikiri: Racism, discrimination, hostility

Kaitiaki: Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward

Karakia: Incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity

Kaumātua: Adult, elder – a person of status within the whānau

Kaupapa Māori: Māori approach, Māori customary practice, Māori agenda, Māori principles, Māori ideology - a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values of Māori society

Kāwanatanga: Governorship, dominion, rule, authority

Kohanga Reo: Preschool Māori language centre, also called Māori language nests

Kōrero: Speech, story, account, discussion, conversation, discourse

Kupu: Word, vocabulary, saying, message

Kura Kaupapa: Māori language primary schools

Mamae: Ache, pain, injury

Mana: Prestige, authority, power, control, influence, status

Manaaki: To support, take care of, give hospitality to

Marae: Courtyard in front of the wharehau, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often used to refer to the buildings around the marae.

Mātauranga: Knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill

Māiuiui: Sick, fatigued, weary

Ngahere: Bush, forest

Pākehā: Non-Māori persons, typically used to refer to people of European descent

Pōwhiri: Welcome ceremony on a marae

Rangatahi: Younger generation, youth

Rangatira: Chief, high ranking, nobility

Ringa raupa: Calloused hands – a symbolic term for hardworking

Taiao: World, Earth, environment, nature

Tangata whenua: Local people, hosts, indigenous people, people born of the whenua

Taonga: Property, goods, possessions, treasure, applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas, and techniques

Tauwiwi: Foreigner, person coming from afar

Tautoko: To support, give backing

Te Ao Māori: The Māori world

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: The Treaty of Waitangi

Te Reo Māori: The Māori language

Tiaki: To guard, look after, protect

Tikanga: Correct procedure, custom, method

Tino Rangatiratanga: Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power

Tīpuna: Ancestors, grandparents

Tohunga: Skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer

Tūturu: Commitment, dedication, devotion

Waiata: Song, chant, psalm

Waka: Canoe, vehicle, conveyance

Whakaaro: Thought, opinion, plan, understanding, idea, intention

Whakapapa: Genealogy, lineage, descent

Whānau: Extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society

Whāngai: Feed, nourish, bring up, foster, adopt, raise, nurture, rear. In this thesis refers to the whānau adoption or fostering of a child– a customary practice for Māori.

Whenua: Land, country, nation, state (can also refer to the placenta or afterbirth).

### **Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in Aotearoa**

Migration is at historically high levels, and in *Aotearoa*<sup>1</sup>, more than a quarter of the current population was born overseas (Fry & Wilson, 2018). Many different ethnic groups now reside in *Aotearoa*, alongside the indigenous Māori people, as well as long term settlers of European descent, known as *Pākehā*<sup>2</sup>. Although there is little ethnic conflict between these groups, there is also no common understanding of how these different groups relate, nor of how *Aotearoa* as a country recognises its many different populations. This thesis attempts to unpack ethnic relations within *Aotearoa*, and to examine what biculturalism and multiculturalism mean in this country, from the perspective of indigenous peoples and more recent arrivals.

Migrant arrivals have increased in recent years, and data from 2019 showed a net migration of 52,700, up from 48,700 arrivals in 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2019a). Tourism is also increasing, and nearly ten percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in *Aotearoa* is created from the tourism market (although COVID-19 will obviously impact on this industry throughout 2020; Statistics New Zealand, 2019b). This migration enriches society in *Aotearoa*, but can also create animosity between different ethnic groups, with the government now discussing how many migrants should be allowed to settle, where they should be allowed to settle, and which migrants are “right” for *Aotearoa*. With these questions come the issue of multiculturalism – is this idea a good fit for *Aotearoa*? Is this an approach that *Aotearoa* could use to understand its increasing cultural diversity?

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<sup>1</sup> Aotearoa is the Te Reo Māori word for New Zealand. I largely use this term within this thesis, as I prefer to use indigenous wording where possible.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term *Pākehā* to signal the unique relationship European settlers have with Māori, and to respect the name given to us by the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. It is worth noting that some have sought to use the term *Pākehā* to insinuate an equivalent indigeneity, which I entirely disagree with. The term *Pākehā* can also be used to separate the position of European settlers in Aotearoa from those who have not necessarily benefitted from the British colonial system. For more discussion of this term, see Snedden, (2006).

On the other hand, the indigenous peoples of *Aotearoa*, Māori, are experiencing a cultural revitalisation that has steadily grown since the 1970s (Matahaere-Atariki, 2017). More people identify as Māori and are learning the language. Governmental departments and private businesses alike are incorporating Māori *tikanga*<sup>3</sup> and worldviews into their practises. With this increase in the use and practice of Māori culture and language, *Aotearoa* has strengthened its connection to bicultural practice. However, is biculturalism fully recognised in *Aotearoa*, and is this what we should be aiming for?

While the psychological literature discussing different cultural strategies in *Aotearoa* is small, there is much literature – from the fields of politics and legislation, as well as internationally – arguing the benefits and pitfalls of both biculturalism and multiculturalism, as well as other strategies. It is important to understand how biculturalism and multiculturalism fit into *Aotearoa*'s society however, to ensure that the diverse groups that identify as New Zealanders continue to co-exist peacefully.

In this thesis, I discuss biculturalism and multiculturalism as they are in *Aotearoa*. I begin with an historical overview of the initial meetings between Māori and *Pākehā*, and the subsequent colonisation and signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*<sup>4</sup>. This provides a setting for a discussion of biculturalism, and how this historical context has influenced New Zealand policy and practises to this day. Following this, I examine migration through history to the present day, and then discuss how multiculturalism fits in a New Zealand context, and locate my own role as a researcher within this project. I discuss the meanings of biculturalism and multiculturalism with two groups of participants (Māori and migrant) through focus groups, concluding with a thematic analysis that explores what ethnic cohesion means to these groups.

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<sup>3</sup> Correct procedure, custom, method

<sup>4</sup> The Treaty of Waitangi

This investigation begins with an examination of how biculturalism came to have a unique meaning in *Aotearoa*, and how our history of colonisation has created a unique environment for cultural communication. Given the lack of psychological research in this area, much of this research will be taken from historical accounts and political sources.

## **Biculturalism**

### **Historical Relations between Māori and Pākehā**

The first arrivals to New Zealand were Polynesian people, in approximately 1250-1300 AD (Phillips, 2005). These people arrived by *waka*<sup>5</sup> and developed a distinct consanguine culture (although they were not necessarily self-identifying as Māori until renamed by European arrival much later) (Wilson, 2005). This evidence is also restated through Māori tribal genealogies or *whakapapa*<sup>6</sup>, with documents from the early 2000s showing settlement from approximately 24 to 27 generations ago. From this, we can get a date of 1325-1400 AD as time of first settlements in *Aotearoa* (Irwin & Waldron, 2016).

Abel Tasman only sighted *Aotearoa* New Zealand much later, in December 1642, and was not welcomed by the Māori people when he attempted to land in Golden Bay – four members of his crew were murdered. After this encounter, Europeans did not attempt settlement until 1769, when Captain James Cook “discovered” *Aotearoa*. After this landing, in the late 1700s and early 1800s, sealers and whalers made up the first European settlements in *Aotearoa*. The European and Māori populations lived largely peacefully, although the introduction of firearms and European diseases impacted the Māori people, and the population began to decrease (Orange, 2013). The increasing British settlement and decreasing indigenous population set the backdrop for the signing of He Whakaputanga o te

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<sup>5</sup> Canoe

<sup>6</sup> Genealogy, lineage, descent

Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirenī (the Declaration of Independence). This 1835 declaration was signed by British Resident James Busby (who symbolised the official British presence in New Zealand, although he had been granted little authority from the Crown) and 34 chiefs from the North Island and asserted *mana*<sup>7</sup> and sovereign power to Māori – explicitly stating that foreigners would not be allowed to make laws in *Aotearoa* (Irwin & Waldron, 2016). This declaration framed biculturalism in a way that had Māori as sovereign, and able to hold *mana*, while protecting the British subjects in their territory. This declaration also had benefits to the British – with James Busby noting that it prevented other countries (e.g. France and North America) from making formal deals with Māori (O'Malley, 2011). However, there were difficulties in communicating with power residing with multiple *iwi*<sup>8</sup>, so in 1840 Busby and other British representatives such as William Hobson met to create a treaty that would transfer sovereignty of *Aotearoa* to the British Crown. This decision impacted how biculturalism would form, with the Crown displaying clear preference to proceed monoculturally.

*Te Tiriti o Waitangi* has three main clauses; however, these are somewhat different in English and *Te Reo Māori*<sup>9</sup>. Māori scholars have critiqued the poor translation of the Treaty and argued that sovereignty was not ceded to the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The first clause in English cedes sovereignty from Māori chiefs to the British Crown – in *te reo* Māori it cedes only governorship, which meant little to Māori. The second clause in English guarantees Māori full and undisturbed possession of their lands and treasures – in *te reo* Māori this clause guarantees *tino rangatiratanga*<sup>10</sup>. To Māori, *tino rangatiratanga* was more equivocal with the English sovereignty than the *te reo* Māori word *kāwanatanga*<sup>11</sup>, which

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<sup>7</sup> Prestige, authority, power, control, influence, status

<sup>8</sup> Extended kinship group, tribe, nation

<sup>9</sup> The Māori language

<sup>10</sup> Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy

<sup>11</sup> Governorship, rule, authority

was used to mean governorship in the first clause (Walker, 2004). This second clause also allowed the Crown the ability to purchase land from Māori. The third clause offers Māori the protection of the Crown and gives Māori the same rights as British subjects. The interpretation of the *te reo* Māori translation of the treaty was hugely different for the British Crown and Māori *iwi*. However, the representatives of the Crown proceeded with the signings, with William Hobson sending out a circular inviting chiefs to attend a meeting at Waitangi on 5<sup>th</sup> February 1840 to discuss the Treaty. At this meeting, the Treaty was read aloud to the chiefs in English, with a translation given by Henry Williams. After this, discussion of the principles took place, with chiefs asking to retire for the day and consider the matter between themselves. The Crown obliged, with a meeting set for the 6<sup>th</sup> February to collect signatures; however, as the Crown had not provided food for the visiting Māori, some chiefs left rather than stay hungry. On the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1840, the meeting reconvened, with Crown representatives calling on Māori chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi. Forty-three *rangatira*<sup>12</sup> signed at that meeting and were gifted blankets and tobacco in exchange. Following the original signing, the Treaty was taken around the country to collect more signatures, with 540 signatures gathered in total (Walker, 2004). However, not all *rangatira* signed – notably, large *iwi* groups such as Tainui, Ngai Tuhoe and Ngāti Tuwharetoa were suspicious of the treaty and did not agree to it (Orange, 2013). However, the Crown was satisfied with its efforts, and on the 21<sup>st</sup> May 1840, Hobson declared sovereignty over the North Island based on the Treaty of Waitangi, and sovereignty over the South Island on the basis that it was *terra nullius*, ignoring the presence of *iwi*. While the Crown now assumed sovereignty/ownership over *Aotearoa*, Māori perceived to have only given governorship. Essentially, the dubious biculturalism that had existed through He Whakaputanga was

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<sup>12</sup> Chief, high ranking persons

reduced to the beginnings of attempts by the Crown to impose British culture. This double standard was cemented when warfare broke out between Māori and the Crown over land disputes.

Pre-treaty, Māori had expressed anger at the appropriation of land by the British Crown. Warfare between different *iwi* was increasingly an issue, as *iwi* favoured by the Crown had access to firearms while others were still using traditional warfare techniques (Walker, 2004). These tensions did not dissipate with the signing of the Treaty, and with more *Pākehā* beginning to claim ownership of land, warfare broke out between Māori and settlers. The first major conflict was in 1843, where forty-nine armed settlers travelled to Wairau and attempted to enforce a disputed sale against Ngāti Toa, the local *iwi* led by Te Rauparaha. The New Zealand Company, an English company founded with the goal of systematic colonisation of *Aotearoa*, had allegedly bought Wairau, although this was disputed by Ngāti Toa who petitioned the Land Commissioner to stop the surveying of the *whenua*<sup>13</sup>. When the Land Commissioner declined to stop the New Zealand Company, the *iwi* burnt a surveyor's hut to the ground. On June 17, the group of forty-nine "Special Constables" made up largely of untrained labourers sailed to Wairau to execute this warrant, finding Te Rauparaha and the *iwi* and disregarding their pleas for peace, approaching them across a stream. This triggered a battle, where approximately four to nine Māori and twenty-two special constables were killed (Werry, 2018). This battle began a pattern of warfare between Māori and the Crown that continued for the next 40+ years, even as Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata were exonerated and it was found that Wairau had not been sold to the New Zealand Company (Werry, 2018).

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<sup>13</sup> Land, country, nation, state



This conflict spurred many other wars, with raids and attacks in the Hutt Valley (1846) and Whanganui (1847) areas; as well as in the Bay of Islands (Northern War, 1845-46) following the Wairau gaffe. Following these, continued disputes over land sales (among other breaches of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*) led to larger wars in Taranaki (First Taranaki War, 1860-61; Second Taranaki War, 1863-66; Third Taranaki War/Tītokowaru's War, 1868-69), Waikato and Tauranga (1863-64) and the East Coast (East Coast War, 1865-66; Te Kooti's War, 1868-72). Alongside these wars were other, more one-sided attacks, such as the invasion of Parihaka in 1881. These conflicts symbolised a disregard for the Treaty of Waitangi by the British Crown and its representatives, and although Māori fought for their equality, they were undermined not only through land theft. Throughout the period of the land wars, the New Zealand government enacted a series of legislation that disenfranchised Māori further. In 1852, the Constitution Act gave settlers the right to vote if they were landowners, reforming the definition of land ownership in *Aotearoa* and removing the right of communal landowners to vote. This disqualified many Māori from voting, as communal land was common. In 1863 the government passed the 'New Zealand Settlements Act' and the 'Suppression of Rebellion Act'. These laws enabled the Crown to further confiscate land if it was seen to belong to "rebel" Māori, as well as giving the Crown power to take land for public works (e.g. sewerage pipelines through villages in Okahu Bay, roads or railways). The New Zealand Wars – Ngā Pakanga o *Aotearoa* and the legislation and practices of the Crown alongside them ensured that the Treaty principles had been disregarded, and the British firmly held sovereignty of *Aotearoa*. Any attempts by Māori to gain equal status as partners was quelled by the Crown, physically and through legislation favouring a *Pākehā* culture.

**Figure 1***Māori Land losses 1860-1939 North Island, 1844-1864 South Island*


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*Note:* Images adapted from Orange, 2012

Throughout this period, population levels of Māori and *Pākehā* differed dramatically. At the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori population was estimated at 70-90,000 people, while the non-Māori population was approximately 2000. Post the New Zealand Wars – *Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, the 1896 census described less than 40,000 Māori, while the non-Māori population was 703,360 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2019c). These changes were not only as a result of the losses from battles in the New Zealand Wars – *Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, but also due to deaths from introduced diseases Māori were exposed to. At the same time, *Pākehā* were invoking theories of social Darwinism that declared Māori as inferior to their European counterparts (including Darwin himself, in 1906), arguing that the race was soon to die out. Artists such as Charles Goldie created portraits of *kaumātua*<sup>14</sup> to apparently preserve Māori heritage. Māori were pressured to assimilate culturally and were further alienated from their land as *Aotearoa* New Zealand's economy changed, with labour shortages in the cities. *Te Reo* Māori was discouraged, with legislation marginalising the

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<sup>14</sup>Adult, elder – a person of status within the *whānau*

language in place until the 1960s. Assimilation was further encouraged by prominent European New Zealanders, who praised the country as having the best race relations in the world, with the Hunn Report (a document which reviewed the Department of Māori Affairs, 1961) recommending Māori migrate to the cities, and encouraging the hastening of “integration” between Māori and *Pākehā* to prevent a “colour problem”. Government policy promoted the “pepper potting” of Māori, where Māori *whānau*<sup>15</sup> were scattered in largely *Pākehā* neighbourhoods, separate from their ancestral and kinship ties (Meredith, 2015). European monoculturalism was becoming the norm in *Aotearoa* New Zealand.

However, in the late 1960s a Māori cultural renaissance began. This renaissance has been widely credited to the earlier work of leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea Herangi; who promoted a Māori cultural identity throughout the early 1900’s. Ngata promoted a redress of past injustices throughout his time in politics, introducing some of the first legislation that addressed land reclamations. This work set the stage for much protest action from Māori that took place through the 1960s, beginning with the fight for Waitangi Day to become a public holiday, until the present day. Some notable protests during this time period were essential to the formation of biculturalism in *Aotearoa*, as Māori challenged the Crown on their Tiriti promises, and *Pākehā* began to look critically at their history (Orange, 2012). The Hīkoi (Land March) of 1974 brought *Te Tiriti* to the forefront of political issues, with the *mana* of Dame Whina Cooper highlighting the theft of Māori land, as well as The Treaty of Waitangi Bill passing through parliament. Occupations at Takaparawhā (Bastion Point, which took place throughout the 1970s and 1980s) and the Whāingaroa golf course (Raglan, in 1978, which was led by Māori elder and politician Eva Rickard) further displayed Māori displeasure at land displacement and loss. Other protest action, such as the disruption

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<sup>15</sup> Extended family

of the Springbok rugby tour in 1981 illustrated how Māori were emphatically seeking equal rights and protections, as they were due under *Te Tiriti*.

Within the same timeframe, Māori were creating initiatives and cultural revitalisation projects that have endured through to today (Smith, 2012). The Māori Education Development Conference (1984) and the Māori Economic Development Conference (1985) set the precedent of Māori perspectives and influence on education and economic policy (Smith, 2012). Also, in the 1980s, *Kohanga Reo*<sup>16</sup> and *Kura Kaupapa*<sup>17</sup> were established (although this is debated among various *iwi* as many *marae*<sup>18</sup> and *hapū*<sup>19</sup> had their own total immersion Māori learning institutions), ensuring the longevity of *Te Reo* Māori. *Te Reo* Māori became an official language in 1987, closely following these achievements. These cultural initiatives should be given as much weight as the protest action in terms of how they have empowered Māori throughout this time.

Importantly, in 1975 Parliament signed the Treaty of Waitangi Act, which established the Waitangi Tribunal – Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti. This tribunal was established to investigate breaches of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and provide recommendations for redress. This tribunal would become the stage for the negotiation of biculturalism throughout the 1990s and 2000's. The large range of historical conflict and compromise between Māori and *Pākehā* have created a unique societal environment in which biculturalism developed.

### **Psychological Perspectives of Biculturalism**

Biculturalism in *Aotearoa* was born out of colonisation, whereas in the international context it is generally linked more to migration. In international literature, biculturals are

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<sup>16</sup> Preschool Māori language centers

<sup>17</sup> Māori language primary schools

<sup>18</sup> Courtyard in front of the whareniui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often used to refer to the buildings around the marae

<sup>19</sup> Subdivision of *iwi*, a subtribe determined by genealogical descent

defined largely as people who have had significant and sufficiently lengthy exposure to two cultures (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006), whether these people are immigrants, sojourners, people with dual (or more) heritage, or citizens who live in multicultural societies (West, Zhang, Yampolsky, & Sasaki, 2017). Bicultural identification can also be diverse, with many people bicultural ethnically, but others exposed to two cultures through region, *iwi*, religion, or social classes. Worldwide, these biculturals are growing, with the United States census observing a 32% increase in the number of people identifying as bicultural between 2000 and 2010; a 2011 Canadian survey reporting that approximately 42% of the population identified with multiple ethnicities; and global statistics recording more than 231 million immigrants living internationally in 2013, a figure that has doubled the 1990 statistics (West, Zhang, Yampolsky, & Sasaki, 2017).

Recent research has attempted to unpack how bicultural people identify and operate in their everyday lives. Studies that prime different cultural identities have acknowledged that bicultural people can access and adapt different cultural meaning systems and thus perform culturally appropriate behaviours in a variety of contexts (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). However, these studies often examine “biculturals” not “biculturalism” – people rather than societies or systems; and furthermore, people who are bicultural through migration – for example expatriates, or international students. There is little examination of the biculturalism of indigenous peoples, or how biculturalism can function as a system in the international literature.

Contrary to the international literature, the term biculturalism came to prominence in academic circles in *Aotearoa* throughout the Māori renaissance and activism of the 1970s and 1980s. In *Aotearoa*, the generally accepted use of the term biculturals would be to describe Māori or *Pākehā*, who in theory should operate in a space where both of their cultures are given equal weight; and would not necessarily include migrants who identify with two

cultures due to their immigration to *Aotearoa*. The first appearances of the term biculturalism in *Aotearoa* are often attributed to the Māori psychologist and activist Donna Awatere (1984a, 1984b). Awatere wrote that she began arguing for biculturalism as she felt multiculturalism was an issue within *Aotearoa*, and that by discussing biculturalism and challenging the status of *Pākehā* it would draw attention to the need for Māori sovereignty. Awatere defines Māori sovereignty as:

“the Māori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence Māori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Māori land, and further seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society, one in which *taha* Māori (Māori culture) receives an equal consideration with, and equally determines the course of this country as *taha Pākehā*. It certainly demands an end to monoculturalism” (1984a, pg. 38).

In this context, the meaning of biculturalism is that Māori and *Pākehā* must have equal input and receive equal attention within society in *Aotearoa*. It is worth noting here however that *Aotearoa* was never bicultural in the sense that it only had two cultural groups present, as non-*Pākehā* migrants settled here even before *Te Tiriti* was signed. However, *taha Pākehā* at this time was defined by Anglo-Celtic culture, and migrants that were cohesive with this culture were still preferred in terms of immigration. This definition reflects the status of Māori culture at the time – largely subjugated by the *Pākehā* majority. This biculturalism was about gaining *mana* for Māori and was born out of many historical activist movements – the work of Te Rauparaha, Hone Heke, and the Kotahitanga movement. The focus was gaining what had been promised to Māori in *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. In the political field, institutions began to use the term biculturalism to signal their efforts to recognise and promote Māori culture, with many beginning to incorporate considerations of *Te Tiriti o*

*Waitangi* to their values. At present, *Aotearoa* operates using a bicultural framework that shifts and evolves alongside *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*; with biculturalism widely practised in society (Sibley & Liu, 2004). The evolution of this relationship has given rise to principles of biculturalism such as *kāwanatanga* (governorship) and *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty or autonomy). Furthermore, biculturalism creates the premise that *Te Ao Māori*<sup>20</sup> must have a significant place in *Aotearoa*, and Māori culture generally must contribute to the national identity in a way the migrant cultures would not.

In psychological literature, biculturalism is often linked to New Zealander's national identity. Sibley and Liu (2007) found that national symbols of *Aotearoa* were strongly linked to Māori and European faces, but not Asian faces, creating a New Zealand = bicultural effect. The authors argued that this effect occurs as a result of exposure to continued support for biculturalism in society, which results in an unconscious association between Māori, *Pākehā* and "New Zealandness" (Sibley, Liu & Khan, 2010). In 2011, Sibley, Hoeverd and Liu again found that a New Zealand national identity includes an awareness of cultural diversity and pluralism in society, but this awareness is primarily of biculturalism with weaker awareness of multiculturalism. In general, the many different faces of biculturalism in *Aotearoa* have not been investigated thoroughly in psychological contexts, and there is little literature discussing the meaning to Māori.

### Contemporary Relations

Thanks to the political action undertaken by Māori throughout the 1960s-1980s, Māori did not disappear or assimilate, contrary to the aims of the Hunn Report (1961). At 30 June 2018, New Zealand's estimated Māori population was 744,800, and this population is steadily increasing (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Speakers of *te reo* Māori are increasing,

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<sup>20</sup> The Māori world

with the government pledging one million people in New Zealand should be able to speak basic *te reo* Māori by 2040 (Radio New Zealand, 2019). Although *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* does not have formal legal status, or superior constitutional status, the recognition of it is increasing, as is the sense that we have a bicultural society that joins an indigenous culture with an ex-colonial culture (James, 2016).

Throughout the 1990s, many claims were made to the Waitangi Tribunal, and the Treaty became built into power structures through this process. For example, Ngai Tuhoe now manage Te Urewera National Park, *iwi* groups now govern *awa*<sup>21</sup> and *ngahere*<sup>22</sup> in their territories, and money has been given by the Crown across many settlements. These actions are all examples of practical biculturalism that would have been inconceivable in *Aotearoa* before the 1970s. Māori culture is also increasingly present within “general” culture, with traditional activities like *pōwhiri*<sup>23</sup> and *waiata*<sup>24</sup> present in schools, universities and companies. Schools now incorporate Māori cultural content, with the current government implementing legislation that Māori history will become a compulsory aspect of the curriculum by 2022 (New Zealand Government, 2019).

However, equality has not yet been established, with many unresolved issues between Māori and *Pākehā* in recent years. The legacy of colonisation has lived on through notable events such as the debate surrounding the Foreshore and Seabed Act, as well as 2007 raids on Tuhoe people. Demographic data also shows the institutional racism present in *Aotearoa*, with Māori disadvantaged in areas of education, employment, and health (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Māori have significantly lower life expectancies than non-Māori, and are overrepresented in the prison population (Liu, 2007). Protest action is still occurring, with

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<sup>21</sup> Rivers, streams

<sup>22</sup> Forest, bush

<sup>23</sup> Welcoming ceremony often done on marae

<sup>24</sup> Song, chant



debated around land rights still prominent – in 2019 many Māori are petitioning the government to return Ihumātao to *iwi*.

Despite this, at present, *Aotearoa* is generally classified as a bicultural country, with many governmental policies and departments publicly declaring that they abide by Treaty principles (Heyward, 2012). However, this biculturalism is still debated, with no settled definition, and the Treaty remains an evolving document, with many differing interpretations across groups (Orange, 2012). Our biculturalism is specific to *Aotearoa*, noting the unique status of Māori as *tangata whenua*<sup>25</sup>, and the significance of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* to our history. Principles of *Te Tiriti* such as autonomy and recompensation and acknowledgement of past injustices seem to require a bicultural position. The bicultural partnership created by *Te Tiriti* also provides space for Māori to have a unique role in the national identity of *Aotearoa*.

It is also important to note that the biculturalism described in *Aotearoa* by Awatere (1984a) is still largely practiced by Māori, although there is growing interest from *Pākehā* and other migrants into what a bicultural *Aotearoa* could look like (James, 2016). This reflects the general rule that minority cultures cannot ignore their ethnicity, while dominant groups can remain largely monocultural rather than bicultural. There is also a gap between a theoretical support for biculturalism and a practical, resource-based biculturalism. *Pākehā* students implicitly associated Māori faces with a New Zealand national identity, reflecting the common practice of Māori cultural symbols such as the *haka*<sup>26</sup> becoming paired to New Zealand culture as a whole (Sibley & Liu, 2004). Biculturalism as a symbol affords *Aotearoa* a distinct and unique identity, which can generally be considered positive by all (Liu, 2005). However, New Zealanders generally do not accept resource-based biculturalism, where

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<sup>25</sup> Local people, hosts, indigenous people, people born of the whenua

<sup>26</sup> Māori ceremonial dance

Māori are afforded a higher distribution of resources due to their historic marginalisation, with a study by Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, and Khan (2008) finding that *Pākehā* were likely to engage in “historical negation” where they declared the past irrelevant to the present and future, thus nullifying the need to provide more resources to Māori as reparation for past wrongs.

With more people beginning to question and unpack what biculturalism is in *Aotearoa*, the number of migrants is also rising, and the concept of multiculturalism is becoming more popular. There are also critiques of biculturalism, with some Māori groups rejecting biculturalism in favour of *Kaupapa* Māori<sup>27</sup>, as biculturalism does not align with their perspectives, not allowing Māori sovereignty (Stewart, 2018). This begs the question – what does biculturalism mean? It is clearly a word that splits *Aotearoa* into two cultures (indigenous-settler) and presumes equality of these two. It has a rich context that is specific to *Aotearoa* and has been moulded by the historical processes outlined in the previous section, as well as the political relevance. But with a diversifying country, does multiculturalism suit us better?

## Multiculturalism

### Historical Relations

The Treaty of Waitangi has also been noted as *Aotearoa*’s first immigration policy (Walker, 2004). Both the English and *te reo* Māori versions note there will be further migration to *Aotearoa*, with the English versions referring to ‘the rapid extension’ of migration, and *Te Tiriti* includes the words ‘na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tēnei wenua, a e haere mai nei’ (and also because there are many of her

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<sup>27</sup> Māori approach, Māori customary practice, Māori agenda, Māori principles, Māori ideology - a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society

subjects already living on this land and others yet to come). As discussed above, European migration to *Aotearoa* began largely in the 1800s, with the European population growing from 200 residents to approximately 2000 between 1830 and 1840 (Fry & Wilson, 2018). This migration was orchestrated by the New Zealand Company, who had goals of building a ‘better Britain’. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the founder of the company, planned this systematic colonisation while serving a jail term for abduction, and made dubious “purchases” of land to be sold to settlers without consultation with Māori (these purchases were later investigated and disallowed by colonial authorities; Orange, 2012). This assisted passage for English, Scottish and Irish migrants continued through the New Zealand Company until the dissolution of the company, after which the Crown government took over, and continued the same pattern. In 1854, provincial governments were formed, and these governments could collect revenue from land sales to fund further migration. In 1870, the Immigration and Public Works Act was established by Julius Vogel, the Colonial Treasurer, in which £1 million was spent on assisted immigration, and approximately 118,000 settlers migrated to *Aotearoa*. These settlers were largely English; however, some were admitted from other European countries (Fry & Wilson, 2018). Although this period was largely characterised by English migration, and the Crown had explicit goals to create a society similar to English, there were no laws preventing the migration of other peoples. In 1881 this changed, with the Chinese Immigrants Act, which limited the number of Chinese migrants by allowing only one migrant per 10 tonnes of a vessels weight, as well as taxing each Chinese person entering *Aotearoa*. This Act was followed by more racially targeted legislation against Chinese people, which in turn was followed by general restrictions such as the Immigration Restriction Act 1899. This act allowed entry only to those who could fill out an application form in English, which in theory did not explicitly discriminate against Asian migrants; but in

practice largely stopped Asian migration. These policies remained the same until the twentieth century.

From 1920, changes were made to immigration policy due to world wars and economic depressions. Migration was low and mostly was accomplished through assistance schemes run by the government. Temporary migration was made distinct in 1920, where those who wanted to visit were allowed six months. After the second World War, immigration to *Aotearoa* began to pick up again, with the assisted migration scheme was restarted by the government in 1947. From 1947 to 1990 over 1,300,000 people migrated to *Aotearoa*, with net migration positive every year from 1947 to 1976 (excluding 1968-1970 during the recession) (Statistics New Zealand, 1947-1980). After 1976, there was net negative migration, as many people began to depart to Australia (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). This pattern has continued, with Australia's GDP growing at a much faster rate than *Aotearoa's*.

In 1974, the New Zealand government initiated the first major immigration policy review since 1920, which meant that all migrants faced the same legislation governing their entry. This review also removed the right of British and Irish citizens to enter *Aotearoa* freely, and restricted all citizens except those of Australia to apply for residence under one of several new categories: family, refugee, humanitarian, or general business. This review created policy that focused less on where migrants were coming from, and more on how migrants could contribute to the economy.

**Table 1***Arrivals and departures before 1950*

Years	Arrivals	Departures	Non-European arrivals included in the total
1883–92	161,204	Not recorded	1,220
1890–99	194,004	171,659	Not recorded
1900–9	328,614	243,779	2,494
1910–19	299,888	257,203	7,070
1920–29	393,004	316,056	9,770
1930–39	285,764	283,640	7,383
1940–50	193,640	167,853	Not recorded

*Note:* Adapted from Fry & Wilson, 2018.

It is worth discussing further three areas of significant importance in the area of migration in *Aotearoa*: Asian migration, Pacific migration, and Australian migration.

There are two notable waves of Asian migration in *Aotearoa*'s history. The first wave began largely with the gold rush of the 1860s, with approximately 6000 Chinese entering *Aotearoa* between 1870 and 1880 (Ward & Liu, 2012). Throughout the late nineteenth century, politicians introduced more than twenty bills to parliament with the aims of restricting Asian migrants (Moloughney & Stenhouse, 1999). Anti-Chinese sentiment was rife, and many *Pākehā* agreed with the governmental aims of creating a “white” New Zealand. Racial attacks and murders, such as that against Joe Kum Yung in 1905, were not condemned, but indirectly supported by the politicians of the day (Moloughney & Stenhouse, 1999). It is important to note that Māori politicians objected to discriminatory legislation against Asian migrants throughout this wave (Ward & Lin, 2006). These racist beliefs were underpinned by illegitimate concerns of economic threat and encouraged the government to create further legislation barring Chinese from *Aotearoa*. In 1908, Chinese people were

denied permanent settlement, and these rights were not restored until the mid-twentieth century. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Chinese women were barred entry. Despite the hostility and racism against Chinese migrants, many settled in *Aotearoa* permanently, and were integral to the economic and social development of this country. Indian migration began in the late 1800s, largely due to agricultural opportunities in *Aotearoa*, and faced discrimination from the White New Zealand League, which encouraged segregation through banning Indian peoples from public spaces – some of these bans lasted until the 1950s (Spoonley, 2011). By 1986, more than 50,000 (1.7% of the population) Asian people (majority Chinese and Indian) had settled in *Aotearoa*.

The second wave of Asian migration began in the mid-1980s, with a more diverse range of migrants from smaller Asian countries. Sadly, the same racial discrimination occurred, with many negative stereotypes endorsed by the *Pākehā* majority. Throughout the 1990s Asian migrants were perceived as being an economic threat, with more disposable income, and were linked to a shortage of housing and an influx of drugs into the country (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Many of these sentiments are still held by *Pākehā* today, although apologies have been made by governmental figures for past treatment of Asian migrants (along with financial reparations).

Pacific migration led to some of the first settlements in *Aotearoa* and has continued throughout our history. As *Aotearoa* had previously held dominion over the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Tokelau throughout history, the people of these nations could travel freely to *Aotearoa*. The further waves of Pacific migration occurred post World War 2, with the economy in need of semi-skilled labour. Due to this labour shortage, migration from the Pacific was left unexamined: many Pacific peoples were able to easily get visas or work without having a legal right to. This saw many Samoan, Tongan and Fijians migrate for seasonal employment, which did not last when unemployment began to rise throughout the

1970s. In this period police began to target Pacific migrants that had overstayed their visas, through an era commonly known as the “dawn raids”. These raids are now understood to be racist attacks against the Pacific peoples residing in *Aotearoa* and are a national shame. However, Pacific peoples now have many paths to migrate to *Aotearoa*, with the Pacific Access visa category established to allow citizens of Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu, and Kiribati residence, along with a Samoan Quota scheme. *Aotearoa* also celebrates a Treaty of Friendship with Samoa, which has been in place since 1962. A large proportion of the population residing in *Aotearoa* that identify as Pasifika are now born here, and there is now recognition of the different Pacific cultures within society.

Lastly, it is worth noting the special relationship held between Australia and *Aotearoa* in terms of migration. Australian migrants were common in the late 1800s and early 1900s, following the gold rush and better economic prospects *Aotearoa* could offer. Citizens of both countries travelled freely between the two until the 1970s, when the Australian GDP began to grow at a much faster rate than New Zealand’s. This changed the relationship, and in recent years Australia has created legislation that forces citizens of New Zealand to apply for a visa, which does not give them a way to citizenship or permanent residence, contrary to the legislation in *Aotearoa* which allows Australians the rights to citizenship. The relationship has further soured with Australia’s racist treatment of refugees and asylum seekers, which the New Zealand government has largely condemned.

### **Multiculturalism: Theory and Practice**

Multiculturalism is a concept that has grown from, and remains situated in, an international context. Alternatively to biculturalism, multiculturalism came to *Aotearoa* much later, with pro-multicultural policy first observed in Canada in the 1970s. Canada has been a culturally diverse region with multiple distinct indigenous groups residing there prior to the

arrival of European settlers; of which many of these groups have distinct indigenous languages. However, the discussion of multiculturalism in Canada largely excluded the perspectives of Aboriginal Peoples and focused on the large number of migrants (Fleras & Elliot, 1992). The diversity of migrants in Canada have encouraged the government to pursue a multicultural ideology and policy for the country, to promote ethnic cohesion and inclusion (Berry, 2013). The first policy that defined multiculturalism was the “Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework” in 1971. This policy stated:

“A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. . . (is) the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of all Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one’s own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others, and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions ... The Government will support and encourage the various cultural and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all” (Government of Canada, 1971).

The maintenance of heritage cultures, the equitable participation, and the encouragement of bilingualism were unique to previous policy and created a clear exemplar of how countries should manage and support diverse populations; reflecting a shift toward integration from the assimilation that was previously preferred (Berry, 2013). This policy was followed by the Multiculturalism Act of 1988, which ratified multiculturalism as a “fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future” (Berry, 2013). This act took steps to acknowledge that multiculturalism does not equate to cultural diversity – while Canada was culturally diverse, the government made the distinction that all groups must also have equity



and inclusion (Berry, 2013). This is key to the definition of multiculturalism – there must be intercultural interaction and equitable participation, not simply the presence of different cultural groups for a society to be multicultural. When using this definition, claims from countries such as the UK and Germany that multiculturalism has failed become invalid – these countries may have cultural diversity but do not necessarily seek equitable participation or cultural interaction between groups (Kymlicka, 2013). However, this rhetoric can still create negative repercussions, with Kymlicka (2013, p. 108) warning it can undermine an “inclusive sense of identity and belonging” despite the existence of policies that support multiculturalism.

This publicly recognised multiculturalism of Canada has only reached *Aotearoa* long after the development of biculturalism as a core belief. Lobbies for a Multiculturalism Act have come from ethnic communities that have settled here, but the only legal recognition of multiculturalism comes from the Bill of Rights and Human Rights Act, which provide protections against discrimination and the freedom to practice one’s culture, language and religion. *Aotearoa* also has an Office of Ethnic Communities (established in 2000) that is tasked with promoting diversity and ensuring prosperity for New Zealanders regardless of ethnicity (Sibley & Ward, 2013).

In the psychological sphere, the definition that includes intercultural interaction and equitable participation has been maintained, with most research examining multiculturalism through three components: diversity, policy, and ideology. Multiculturalism is often examined at a national level, using data such as censuses, policy and surveys, although more recently studies have examined multiculturalism in *Aotearoa* from an individual perspective; creating perspectives that unpack everyday interpretations and experiences (Ward, Gale, Staerklé & Stuart, 2018).

### Contemporary Policy and Migration

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the consideration of economic benefits of migration lead to a development of multicultural policy (Ward & Lin, 2006). New Zealand is often considered a multicultural society, with very little race-based discrimination and crime, and high levels of diversity and inclusion (Ward & Liu, 2012). Multicultural ideology is widespread in *Aotearoa*, and multiculturalism is preferred by minority migrant groups (Ward & Lin, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). New Zealand scored 7.5 on the Multicultural Policy Index (MPI; 2010) and is currently ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> out of 38 countries in the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MPIX; 2014). These indexes measure government policy and practises, school curriculum, labour market mobility and political participation for migrants, among other factors that indicate multiculturalism and inclusion. Both migrants and New Zealanders agree that integration is preferable in terms of acculturation strategies, with studies showing both groups feel that retaining cultural heritage as well as gaining new cultural knowledge is good for *Aotearoa* (Ward & Lin, 2006).

However, political figures have challenged multiculturalism and attacked migrants in public forums. Two examples of these critiques from the early 2000s have become infamous – Winston Peters’ campaign speeches against immigration in 2002, and Don Brash’s speeches throughout the 2000s. The speeches by Peters highlighted potential economic losses from acceptance of migrants, as he argued that migrants would compete with Māori for housing, healthcare, and employment. He also contended that New Zealand values would be lost due to increased immigration. Don Brash again discussed values, discussing how Muslim migrants apparently reject “New Zealand values” – consistent with his past speeches in which he espoused biculturalism as perpetuating inequality. Recent policy has reduced the number of immigrants accepted into *Aotearoa*, with governments citing not enough infrastructure and

high levels of unemployment as reasons for this decrease. Migrants continue to face discrimination in *Aotearoa*, with a salient example being the Christchurch Terror attacks on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2019. These incidents show the need for increased clarity about multiculturalism in *Aotearoa*, and examinations of how we can encourage inclusion and compassion within our country.

Similarly to biculturalism, academics are beginning to disentangle what multiculturalism can mean in the context of *Aotearoa*. Again, there are critiques – the “failure of multiculturalism” has been commonly proclaimed throughout the European Union (with David Cameron, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy all arguing this; Chin, 2017). However, within the psychological literature multiculturalism has grown to have a more solid meaning, and can be split into three areas: diversity, policy, and ideology (Berry & Ward, 2016). *Aotearoa* is extremely diverse (although some areas more than others), and as previously discussed has many multicultural-friendly policies, and largely a positive multicultural ideology (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). However, in terms of ideology, while all migrants are generally perceived positively, there are clear preferences for those from majority White, English as first language countries than those from Asia or the Pacific.

Another challenge for multiculturalism is the perception of new migrants by Māori. Scholars have argued that *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* permitted settlers from Europe, Australia, and the United Kingdom to migrate to *Aotearoa*, but further migration would require consent from Māori (Walker, 2004). Discussions of relative deprivation have given a negative tone to some Māori-migrant relationships; and relative deprivation is commonly linked to prejudice (Ward & Liu, 2012). The claims that migrants will take the jobs, housing, and healthcare of Māori by prominent political figures have created further tension in these relationships, and Māori are generally less enthusiastic about migrants than *Pākehā* (Leong & Ward, 2011). The unease of Māori may also be due to the inevitable loss of the ‘majority minority’ status Māori

currently hold, as population growth fails to keep pace with Asian migration (Kukutai & Rata, 2017). We must not dismiss these concerns as racism, and consider the colonial history and systematic inequality in *Aotearoa* – displacement and inequality are still real and raw concepts for many Māori (Kukutai & Rata, 2017). The lack of consultation about immigration for Māori, along with their relative disadvantage to their *Pākehā* counterparts can contribute to distrust and animosity toward migrants. It seems that when migrants enter *Aotearoa* the first contact should be with Māori to help bolster relations and provide some level of familiarity in collective processes such as community on marae. However, research with Māori participants discussing multiculturalism is still limited largely to survey-based designs, which may not capture the nuance of views; and thus, more complimentary forms of investigation such as *hui*<sup>28</sup> or group-based qualitative enquiry should be employed.

### **The Current Research – the Tension between Indigeneity and Multiculturalism**

There are many perspectives on the apparent conflicts between biculturalism and multiculturalism, with some parties arguing multiculturalism is equality, and others critiquing this as it does not provide Māori the rights of a unique indigenous culture. Biculturalism is also critiqued for only acknowledging two cultures in *Aotearoa*, which can marginalise other migrants who have made *Aotearoa* their home throughout history. There is also research documenting an alternative perspective, that biculturalism and multiculturalism can be positively correlated, and not mutually exclusive (Ward & Lin, 2006; Ward & Liu, 2012).

*Aotearoa*'s formally bicultural framework leaves open questions as to where new migrants fit into the country's changing landscape (Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins, 1999). There is a multitude of research that paints biculturalism and multiculturalism as opposition, as well as much research that argues multiculturalism will crush the rights and privileges of

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<sup>28</sup> Gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference

indigenous peoples. Ward and Liu (2012) argue that much of this debate is due to a lack of consensus of the meanings and understandings of biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa*; suggesting that when multiculturalism is defined as all cultures being able to participate fully in society, there is no threat to the principles of biculturalism. The fundamental principles of biculturalism as taken from *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* can be consistent with a multicultural approach – *kāwanatanga* and *rangatiratanga* are not bicultural specific; and can be applied in a multicultural system. However, it is the additional rights provided by biculturalism that Māori are reluctant to abandon. Despite attempts by ethnic groups to promote a Treaty-based multiculturalism as a way to bridge the two systems; mainstream *Aotearoa* is not yet understanding how these ways of operating could co-exist.

While previous research has treated Māori perspectives as a monolithic perspective, more nuanced investigations on this topic are indicating that Māori differ in their perceptions of migrants and multiculturalism. In economic terms, both Māori and *Pākehā* perceive Asian New Zealanders as posing more threat than other ethnic groups and 44% of Māori (compared to 19% of non-Māori) agreed that Chinese migrants were displacing New Zealand workers from jobs (Leong & Ward, 2003). This perceived competition for resources might dissuade Māori from welcoming a multicultural system, as within a bicultural framework Māori are perhaps more likely to have a larger share of economic opportunities. Further, Māori have had little to no consultation about immigration; and this can promote antipathy toward migrants. It is necessary to recognise the status of Māori as *tangata whenua*, and not simply include Māori as an ethnic minority group – which multiculturalism can be seen as having the potential to do. Further research describes how aboriginal peoples across the world dislike the term “multiculturalism” due to its political implications, with the fear of becoming one culture amongst many (Curthoys, 2000). This potential “displacement” of Māori by new migrants can create social friction and promote tension between these

groups. On the other hand, Māori expressed the highest support for resource-based multiculturalism, (where all ethnic groups have equal access to resources; compared to *Pākehā* and Asian participants, Ward & Sibley, 2013); which reinforces literature that shows generally multiculturalism is supported more by minority groups (Plaut, Garnett, Buffari, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Another more recent survey found that Māori were predominantly positive about the impact of Asian peoples on New Zealand (Asia NZ Foundation, 2018).

Migrant perspectives of biculturalism and multiculturalism are also diverse; but are more limited as this is an under-surveyed population. Asian New Zealanders perceive race-based economic entitlements as less favourable than their Māori counterparts, which Kukutai (2008) argued may be due to their position as *Aotearoa*'s "model minority". Further research also found that Asian peoples expressed the highest levels of warmth outside of their ingroup to *Pākehā* participants, which may be due to the previously discussed antipathy of some Māori, or simply due to exposure. Migrant groups can also perceive biculturalism as only acknowledging and incorporating two cultures – Māori and *Pākehā* – thus marginalising migrants (Ward & Liu, 2012).

As previously mentioned, not all research paints biculturalism (or indigenous rights) as opposing multiculturalism for people in *Aotearoa*. New Zealand European youth showed that support for biculturalism was positively related to support for multiculturalism; showing that the majority perspective is not necessarily that biculturalism and multiculturalism are in conflict or opposition with each other - and those who support cultural recognition and equitable participation of ethnic groups other than their own do so whether the outgroup is Māori or another group. Although support for biculturalism and multiculturalism were unrelated in Māori, Pasifika and Chinese youth, there was no evidence that these systems were seen as conflicting or mutually exclusive (Ward & Lin, 2006). Sir Durie (2005) also

argued that from a legal perspective, biculturalism and multiculturalism are completely different concepts that can peacefully coexist, with different objectives. To Sir Durie, biculturalism's objectives are to respect Māori *taonga*<sup>29</sup> and *tikanga*, to make state operated organisations more amenable to Māori (as well as national institutions such as parliament), to foster *Pākehā* engagement with Māori culture, to promote the settlement of land claims, and finally to combine elements of *Pākehā* and Māori cultures to form a common national identity. Alternately, multiculturalism to Durie has two aspects: the toleration of cultural differences and the celebration of cultural differences. The only potential overlap is with the celebration of cultural differences, which may compete for resources with the resources allocated to the promotion of Māori culture, but the two systems are largely mutually supportive.

As outlined, there are many differing perspectives of biculturalism and multiculturalism, and many opinions of if they can cooperate; or if one must occur exclusively; or if biculturalism must be achieved prior to multiculturalism. The relationship between biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa* warrants further investigation, especially considering that those who are affected most by this distinction are minority populations – Māori and migrants – who are not often asked their perspectives and expectations. Both Māori and migrant communities have undertaken their own connections – the Multicultural New Zealand Councils throughout *Aotearoa* have lobbied the government for legislation that promotes multiculturalism while maintaining special status for Māori and *tangata whenua*. The Māori party have also had *hui* with migrant community groups, and highlighted Māori values that promote multicultural legislation. However, there is little

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<sup>29</sup> Property, goods, possessions, treasures

psychological research that discusses these relationships, and indigenous and migrant opinions.

The current research aims to examine these perspectives, exploring how Māori and migrants navigate *Aotearoa*, and if they feel that they operate biculturally, multiculturally, or in a different way altogether. From this, we can make conclusions on whether *Aotearoa* should be formally identifying as bicultural or multicultural, what a “New Zealand” national identity is to minority citizens, and how immigration policy could be shaped to better fit the ideals of our indigenous and “newest” New Zealanders.

### **Approach to the Research**

Due to the political contexts around research into biculturalism and multiculturalism, it is important that I consider my positioning relevant to the research, and my approach to the research. In this chapter, I will discuss my background; why I chose this topic and methodology; and reflexivity.

I started studying psychology in 2014, at Victoria University of Wellington. In the three years of my undergraduate degree, my fellow students were largely *Pākehā*, and the curriculum was largely white. Not until I began my postgraduate study did I begin to learn about cross-cultural psychology, and eventually indigenous psychology (although this was still a small proportion of the curriculum on offer). I began my honours year largely ignorant of indigenous and minority perspectives within psychology, but ended the year more informed, thanks to the content of my now-supervisor, Dr. Tia Neha, and my co-supervisor, Prof. Colleen Ward. While considering what topic I would choose for this thesis, I did research into how psychology as a discipline had been conceptualised by different cultural groups in *Aotearoa*, and found that studies using *Pākehā* participants largely ignored culture, and these populations were categorised as the majority, and there was little research critically



analysing their cultural perspectives. Māori and migrants, on the other hand, when researched, had more analysis of culture, but a lot of this analysis was deficit focused or stereotyping (for a particularly infamous example, see Hook's analysis of "the warrior gene", 2009). Māori participants are often categorised simply as "Māori", with little discussion of how this is not a homogenous group, but more an ethno-cultural group split through many variations such as *iwi* affiliations, kinship ties and cultural nuances and practices. The same mis-categorisation occurs commonly for "Pacific Islanders" which lacks important distinctions between Samoans, Tongans, Fijians, and others. Asian migrants also were largely categorised under the "Asian" moniker, with not many researchers clarifying which Asian countries these people migrated from. Historically, psychological study was largely undertaken by *Pākehā* academics, and was largely "thoughtless, exploitative, mercenary academic objectification" (Te Awakotuku, 1991; p. 12). This research did not consider that Māori knowledge and understandings may not fit into Western psychological knowledge, and thus many studies found Māori "deficient" (Cram, 2001). Smith (1992, in Cram, 2001; p. 403) described *Pākehā* researchers as "willing bedfellows of assimilationist, victim-blaming policies". However, Māori psychologists have long been doing culturally appropriate and empowering research with Māori participants – for examples, see work by Donna Awatere, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Michelle Levy, Moana Waitoki, Lyn Dogherty, Clive Banks, Simon Bennett, Brigid Masters, and Fiona Cram. After learning about these psychologies, I decided that in this thesis I wanted to explore perspectives of populations within *Aotearoa* that were not necessarily present in typical cultural research.

However, as I am *Pākehā*, I had to carefully consider how I could examine these perspectives without furthering the colonial legacies of "mainstream" psychology in *Aotearoa*. Particularly in terms of working with Māori participants, I needed to ensure that I was aware of how I could respect and empower my participants as collaborators; and create a

project that would be meaningful to my participants and not simply satisfy the academic requirements of a Masters degree. This was a process of considering my own privilege, attempting to deconstruct and decolonise my authority as a researcher – while also considering that I do have skills that can be used for community empowerment. Many Māori academics believe that there is no place for *Pākehā* researchers to work with Māori (for examples see Cram, 1997), however others argue that due to the majority of *Aotearoa*'s academics being *Pākehā*, there must be concessions made (at least until there are enough Māori researchers to take these roles; Cram, 1997). However, some frameworks have been developed to allow *Pākehā* to carry out culturally appropriate research alongside Māori. Smith (1992) proposes four models *Pākehā* researchers can employ: Firstly, a *Tiaki*<sup>30</sup> model where the research process is guided and mediated by authoritative Māori people. Secondly, a 'Whāngai'<sup>31</sup> model where the researcher becomes one of the *whānau* who just happens to be doing research. Thirdly, a power sharing model: where community assistance is sought by the researcher so that a research enterprise can be developed in a meaningful way. Lastly, an empowering outcomes model is where the research supplies answers and information that Māori want to know. In this thesis my approach largely takes a *Tiaki* model, where I have been mentored by a Māori academic, Dr. Tia Neha. Most of my Māori participants had already established relationships with Tia, and her extensive experience in research in *Te Ao Māori* allowed her to mentor me and ensure I was culturally sensitive.

It is also worth noting that a lot of *kaupapa* principles align with indigenous psychologies from other nations – some of which the migrant participants in this study were from. For example, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (indigenous Filipino psychology) has many similar guiding principles to *kaupapa* Māori, with this psychology developed as a result of limited

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<sup>30</sup> To guard, look after, protect

<sup>31</sup> Foster child, adopted child – a customary practice for Māori

studies about Filipino people that were appropriate and/or significant to the Filipino community (Pe-Pua, 2006). Indigenous methodology such as Pakapa-kapa arose from this theory, which allowed researchers to examine culturally significant topics in an appropriate way, ensuring that the research was relevant to the community, and there was emphasis on the process of the research rather than the data. Through using this methodology, researchers must examine their relationships with participants (generally the closer the relationship the higher the quality of data); ensure they approach participants as equals if not superiors; ensure that the welfare of participants is valued more than the benefits data could have for the researcher; empower participants; and adapt methods to suit the cultural norms of the population. The language of the population should also be used whenever possible. There are many non-Western and indigenous psychologies that tap into these key principles – from First Nations researchers, Aboriginal researchers, and many more (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). These principles are often used within research that addresses de-colonisation.

It was important to me that I established my own relationships with participants, so I was not a complete “outsider”, which I believe is a problematic role to hold as a researcher. I had no desire to simply take knowledge from my participants to bring into the academic setting; my aims were to work collaboratively with my participants to create a project that was also meaningful outside of academia. To do this effectively, I also questioned my research process, attempting to answer questions from Smith (2012): Who defined the research problem? For whom is this study worthy and relevant? Who says so? What knowledge will the community gain from this study? What knowledge will the researcher gain from this study? What are some likely positive outcomes from this study? What are some possible negative outcomes? How can the negative outcomes be eliminated? To whom is the researcher accountable? What processes are in place to support the research, the researched and the researcher? These questions were all carefully considered, and I spoke

with Māori and migrant community members to find answers. When balancing my research interests (understanding biculturalism and multiculturalism) and the interests of the communities I was working with (promoting indigenous and migrant views of biculturalism and multiculturalism), I came up with research questions that I thought could provide positive outcomes for all, and these questions were then approved by community members. I also considered where the ownership of the research would rest, I positioned myself within a *kaitiaki*<sup>32</sup> role, which meant that the responsibility and care of the data would largely rest with me. Ownership also rests with Victoria University of Wellington, who legally will hold de-identified data that may be used in other projects. However, ownership of the outcomes and concepts within this research still sit within the communities that gave permission and contributions to this thesis. This information will be disseminated back to the community through *hui*, and summary reports of key findings will be written (without the use of jargon) and given to all participants and advisors that request them.

When considering the topic of interest, and after developing my research questions, I chose a purely qualitative design for this study. Upon further research, I decided to use an experiential approach, as I felt this method prioritised participants' perspectives on biculturalism and multiculturalism. This approach is characterised by the researcher attempting to understand and promote the participants beliefs and perspectives, rather than analysing data for disguised meaning. Per Braun and Clarke (2013), in experiential research "participants' interpretations are prioritised, accepted and focused on, rather than being used as a basis for analysing something else" (pg. 21). In this study, experiential methodology and analysis allowed me to prioritise the thoughts of Māori and migrant peoples on the topics of biculturalism and multiculturalism. I debated what ontology (ontological positions specify relationships between the world and our interpretations of it) and epistemology

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<sup>32</sup> Trustee, minder, guardian, caregiver

(epistemological positions specify what we count as legitimate knowledge) I wanted to use within this project (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In terms of ontology, I approached this research from a critical realist position, as I believe that there is a “real and knowable world which sits ‘behind’ the subjective and socially located knowledge a researcher can access” (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 27). This approach draws from both realist and relativist ontologies and allows me to interpret participants’ thoughts and experiences as valid and real; as well as analyse these experiences within the context of social and historical norms, values, and discourses. This position allows me to challenge the dominant perspectives of biculturalism and multiculturalism from *Pākehā*.

Following from my ontological approach, I chose the epistemological approach of contextualism, as I acknowledge that context is important in the development of knowledge (especially in regards to cultural context in this study) (Madill et al., 2000). In my view, contextualism allows me to balance realist and constructionist epistemologies (although it leans closer to constructionism) and validate the many “knowledges” of my participants, while still attempting to understand what an objective biculturalism or multiculturalism could look like (Tebes, 2005).

Working from these perspectives, my goal as a researcher is to understand the thoughts of my participants without allowing my own biases to enter the data. In this project I tried to remove my own biases and personal frames of reference, and to allow participants to direct the conversation so that the collected data could be richer, and of higher quality (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). However, I acknowledge that I am not and cannot be completely neutral in this process, and obviously come to this project with my own perspectives of biculturalism and multiculturalism. I have attempted to minimise these biases by collaborating with participants throughout the research process. Although this process can be critiqued as a “bumper sticker” that is often used in qualitative fields to boast about authenticity of research

with minority groups, in this thesis I ensured that participant checking was done *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face); and repeatedly throughout the thesis (Coyle, 1996). Any comments participants made were incorporated into the dataset (for an example, refer to data collection), and participants did not simply check over transcripts, but assisted choosing which extracts would be incorporated into the results. I am lucky that my participants found this process empowering, and many gave feedback that they felt happy to have been part of the project, despite any initial concerns. I expect the relationships I have made with my participants will continue past the finishing of my thesis.

### **Method**

My research examined the perspectives of Māori and migrants on culture in *Aotearoa*. I focused on what biculturalism and multiculturalism meant to the participants, and how they understood and related to these concepts. I used a qualitative focus group design to gather information from a total of twenty-two community members. This qualitative approach was chosen because it allowed me to build a more full, contextualised picture of participants experiences of social phenomena (Leavy, 2014). I used Braun and Clarke's (2013) thematic analysis methodology to interpret the data, which produced themes that answered the research questions. Ethical approval was granted by the Sub-Committee of the Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington on 20th May 2019 (reference number 0000027386).

Qualitative analysis is a methodology largely developed in Western psychological circles, and it is important to note that there are indigenous methodologies that combine existing psychological approaches with indigenous practises. Simply applying a Western theoretical model to Indigenous and non-Western populations can create a mismatched fit to model; and in some cases, can promote ethnocentric assumptions that can harm the

community (Belcourt, Swaney, & Kelley, 2015). As previously outlined, I carefully considered how to ensure this qualitative model could be adjusted to align with *kaupapa* principles, and to indigenous methods found in other non-Western cultures. In this study, I attempted to integrate culturally sensitive practices into the methodology for both my indigenous and migrant populations. Using focus groups enabled participants to use indigenous methods such as storytelling, giving oral histories, testimonies and celebrating survival (Smith, 2012). I had extensive consultation with the community throughout this project, including them in all stages of the project from ethical application to publication. Integrating the space for my indigenous participants to celebrate their cultural and spiritual values has provided extremely rich data.

### **Participants**

Ten people participated in two Māori focus groups: six women and four men. Twelve people participated in two migrant focus groups: nine women and three men. Participants ranged in age from teenage to retirement age. I aimed to recruit 24 participants based on guidelines for qualitative research, which generally suggest that focus groups should be limited to six to eight participants per group (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The final sample size was 22 participants. Participants were given the option to fill in a sign-in sheet asking for demographic information such as age and gender, but this information was not volunteered by all participants, and some gave approximations. Tables 2 and 3 below give some demographic information, with participants assigned pseudonyms and assigned to an older or younger group. In this context, “older” refers to participants that took part in a focus group with a majority of participants over the age of 30, while “younger” refers to participants that took part in a focus group with a majority of participants under the age of 30.

**Table 2***Māori participants demographic information*

Pseudonym	Gender	Age (Older/Younger)	Iwi Affiliation
Ria	Female	Older	Taranaki, Ngāti Porou
Anahera	Female	Older	
Kauri	Male	Older	Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou
Kaia	Female	Older	
Tiare	Female	Older	
Jamie	Female	Younger	Ngāti Porou
Kelly	Female	Younger	Te Ati Haunui-a-Pāpārangi, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou
Thomas	Male	Younger	
Arthur	Male	Younger	Ngāti Porou
Richard	Male	Younger	Ngāti Porou



**Table 3***Migrant participants demographic information*

Pseudonym	Gender	Age (Older/Younger)	Home country
Edgar	Male	Younger	Chile
Keiko	Female	Younger	Canada (Japanese heritage)
Francisco	Male	Younger	Chile
Puteri	Female	Older	Malaysia
Padma	Female	Older	India
Saba	Female	Older	India
Talita	Female	Younger	Iraq
Amira	Female	Older	Iraq
Ohda	Female	Older	Iraq
Yingjun	Female	Older	China
Samantha	Female	Older	China
Syed	Male	Younger	Iraq

**Measures**

I developed questions following a process outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013); firstly, brainstorming topics and creating questions based on past research into the areas of biculturalism and multiculturalism. After I had created a rough list of questions I consulted with peers as well as academics and community members to ask for their perspectives on these.

Māori participants were asked five open-ended questions, spanning biculturalism, multiculturalism, and migration. These questions were (1) “What do you think biculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?”; (2) “What do you think multiculturalism is, and what

does it mean to you?"; (3) "Do you know any migrant people?"; (4) "Do you feel New Zealand is a more bicultural or multicultural country?" and (5) "Do you believe that Māori views and perspectives are being considered when the government makes policy about biculturalism, multiculturalism and immigration?".

Migrant participants were asked six open-ended questions, spanning biculturalism, multiculturalism, migration, and exposure to *Te Ao Māori*. These questions were (1) "What do you think biculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?"; (2) "What do you think multiculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?"; (3) "Do you know any Māori people?"; (4) "Do you feel New Zealand is a more bicultural or multicultural country?"; (5) "When you arrived in New Zealand, were you exposed to Māori culture?" and (6) "Do you think that there are similarities between your culture and Māori culture?".

In some cases, I followed up these questions with further prompts. All responses by participants were recorded for analysis. The full list of questions with follow up prompts can be found in Appendix A.

## **Data Collection**

There are many ethical considerations when using focus group methodology, and in this study, I paid attention to ethics around withdrawal of participants during and after data collection, and confidentiality. I consulted with my supervisors, the ethics committee representative assigned to me, and finally my participants themselves to attempt to create a clear set of guidelines around these issues. In terms of participants wanting to withdraw from the study, I decided that consent and participation would be designed as active, and participants were advised that they may withdraw at any point, including after data collection. I advised participants that if they wished to withdraw after data had been collected, I would remove their contributions from all documents, and these documents would then be approved

by them before I submitted the thesis or any future publications. Confidentiality was another issue, as again I wanted to ensure that this was ongoing, and again I consulted with the participants themselves about what they felt was appropriate to keep confidential and what they felt was appropriate to share. Participants agreed that they would use pseudonyms (some participants selected their own), and that they would not share any identifying or sensitive information of any kind outside of the group. However, one group decided that they would like to talk to others about the general content of their focus group, as they felt it was empowering and could benefit others in the community to discuss.

Once ethical approval was granted for this study, recruitment of participants began. For the migrant participants, I recruited in collaboration with a community group (Upper Hutt Multicultural Council) that focuses on the wellbeing of migrants in *Aotearoa*, who sent emails on my behalf inviting people who had previously worked with the group, or who were known to participate in community activities, to participate in focus groups. For the Māori participants, I recruited based on connections through my supervisor and lab members, also initially using an email (see Appendix C). The email included an explanation of the research project, the aims of the research, and a brief description of who I and my supervisors are. Within this email, participants were asked to reply if they would like to take part in a focus group, after which I contacted the participants with the details of the focus group and attempted to organise a suitable time to hold a focus group. This recruitment method largely led to snowballing, where once one member of the group was recruited, they reached out to other potential participants. I met my older Māori participants multiple times prior to the focus group, to build relationships and discuss the research ‘*kanohi ki te kanohi*’ (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). This allowed me time to get familiar with this group and feel comfortable with them, as they were participants in the first group I had ever facilitated; as

well as allowing them to ask any questions and provide feedback on my process before I formally began a focus group.

From our initial recruitment, we held four focus groups. Focus groups were chosen as a methodology as they provide social support when speaking to a researcher about sensitive topics and can be used to empower marginalised groups (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Liamputtong, 2007). The setting of a focus group can also generate unexpected knowledge, as the interaction between participants can provide perspectives the researcher is unaware of – for example in one of the focus groups I moderated, participants were able to reference culturally significant aspects of their surroundings that would not have been accessible if the group took place in a lab (Wilkinson, 1998). Another important factor is the potential for empowerment focus groups provide (Braun & Clarke, 2013). As my goal with this project was to promote the views of under-represented peoples, focus groups proved an appropriate choice. While I also considered using interviews as a methodology, as an interview format may have allowed more detail and depth (Braun & Clarke, 2013), focus groups allowed me to collect data from more participants within the time and monetary constraints of my research.

I was the facilitator for all four of the focus groups, and the groups were largely held in English, as I can only speak basic *te reo* Māori – although some use of *te reo* Māori occurred, which I have included in the analysis. I decided to separate groups of Māori and migrants to create more homogenous groups, as I wanted to give space to perspectives of *tangata whenua* as well as “new” New Zealanders individually. Due to this, I anticipated that some results would potentially contrast indigenous and immigrant experiences, but as there are large differences between these groups, I could not avoid this potential. I also chose to seek groups of people that knew each other prior to the focus group, to create a more relaxed environment, as well as to make recruitment easier. These groups were held at locations convenient to participants, largely in community spaces or private homes.

The first group was held at a church hall in Porirua and had five Māori participants (four women, and one man: all over the age 50). The room for the first group was set up with all participants and the moderator sitting around a table, with the audio recorder in the middle of the table. The camera was set up in the corner of the room, where it had a clear view of all participants, and a research assistant operated it.

The second group was held at a private residence in Wellington, with three migrant participants (two men and one woman, from South America and Canada, all aged 25-30, who had all lived in *Aotearoa* for less than five years). Again, the room was set up with the participants and moderator around a table, with the audio recorder centred and the camera set up in the corner of the room. For this session, I operated the camera with no assistant.

The third group was held at a private residence, with nine migrant participants (eight women and one man, all aged over 30, from Asian and Middle Eastern countries, with a range of time spent residing in *Aotearoa* between five years to over 25 years). This focus group took place in a living room, with the participants seated on couches around a coffee table, while I sat on the floor. The audio recorder was set on a side table approximately in the centre of the participants, and the camera set in a corner of the room.

The fourth and final group was held in a conference room in a community library, with five Māori participants (three men and two women, aged 20-30 years). The room was arranged similarly to the other focus groups, with the participants and I sat around a table, the audio recorder in the centre of the table, and the video camera set in a corner of the room.

The focus groups lasted between 1 to 2 hours ( $M = 72$  minutes), and food and drink (which met dietary requirements and was culturally appropriate for participants) were supplied by the research team for all groups.

Participants were provided with an information sheet, consent form, and a one-page document with focus group rules (see Appendix B) to review and were asked to fill out an optional sign in form that recorded gender and age. The consent form gave the option for participants to request a full transcript of their contributions to the focus group, and/or a small summary of the findings once the research was complete. The participants also consented to having the conversation video recorded, audio recorded, and transcribed. Before the group began, I introduced myself; and asked everyone to then introduce themselves, to establish rapport (Braun & Clarke, 2013) and so the transcriber could later associate voices with names. While waiting for all participants to arrive, prior to the group commencing, I chatted with participants and shared *kai*<sup>33</sup>.

When all participants arrived and the group formally began, I posed the questions to the participants, one at a time. Participants were encouraged to reply in any way they felt fit, and were encouraged to bring up stories, myths, or their own experiences; this ensured that the focus groups remained flexible and I was able to follow new lines of questioning if necessary (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). As explained, the questions broadly covered three areas: what the concepts of biculturalism and multiculturalism mean, if participants have had exposure to Māori/migrants, and whether they feel reflected in *Aotearoa* policy and practice. Questions about the meaning of biculturalism and multiculturalism focused on the meaning of these concepts to the participants. Questions focusing on immigration policy and practices examined beliefs about minority voices in *Aotearoa* being heard. All questions are attached in Appendix A. After all questions had been asked, I gave participants the opportunity to express any other relevant information they thought had not been covered already. After this concluded, I turned off the video and audio recorder and again asked if the participants had any questions or comments that they had not felt comfortable expressing

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<sup>33</sup> Food, meals

while being recorded. In one case, a participant gave feedback that they would have preferred the groups to have been offered by a *Te Reo* Māori speaker; and information forms provided in *Te Reo* Māori, which is a valid request. In this case, this comment was incorporated into the data, as it provides insight into how research by *Pākehā* with Māori can be improved.

After the focus group, a debriefing sheet was provided to all participants. Supermarket vouchers were distributed to all participants, and they were encouraged to contact the research team at any point with any follow up questions or thoughts. For the Māori focus groups, the sessions began and concluded with a *karakia*<sup>34</sup>, led by participants.

Following the early stages of data analysis, consultation was arranged with the participants. This initial consultation occurred after transcription was complete, with all participants who requested a transcript sent one via email. Consultation happened again after further data analysis once themes were decided on. I met with the majority of the participants in person to go over these themes and get their approval, as well as to get approval for potential quotations to be used throughout the results section. For the participants who could not attend a meeting, I emailed the potential quotations from their focus group to them for approval. Of the participants that responded or attended the consultation, all approved the themes and quotations.

## Materials

The video camera used was a Canon Legria HF R806, and the audio recorder was a Sony ICD-PX470.

## Analysis

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<sup>34</sup> Incantation, chant, blessing - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity

Data were analysed using a thematic analysis approach, based on that of Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013). I chose this analysis technique for its flexibility, as it allowed me to focus on common concerns that were repeated across group settings, rather than individual perspectives. Thematic analysis is also a methodology that is well suited to researchers unfamiliar in qualitative approaches, such as myself. Thematic analysis is made up of six stages: data familiarisation, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and then the production of the report.

Firstly, the video and audio recordings were transcribed, and any *te reo* Māori words used were given English translations by a fluent *te reo*/English bilingual speaker from my lab group. *Te Reo Māori* words and phrases have been included and if needed a translation has been added in square brackets. Transcription was completed in an orthographic style and included indications of laughter, pauses, and overlapping speech. Some quotations used within this thesis have been edited for clarity with the approval of participants, but largely participants requested that they remain unedited. This decision was made between the participants and myself to ensure that I was unable to bias the extracts with my own perspectives through editing, and to ensure the meaning of these extracts remained as the participants intended. In some cases, ellipses have been used to aid clarity.

After this, data familiarisation began with rereading the transcripts of the focus groups that had been held, to ensure that I remembered accurately the content of these groups. Following this I began generating initial codes, which largely clustered around five broad areas of interest. The transcripts were then re-read to ensure that I could not identify any new codes. After the generation of codes had been completed, I began to separate out the groups of codes into themes – separating specific quotes from the research into distinct themes. Once all the codes had been sorted, the themes were finalised and named. Our final themes were

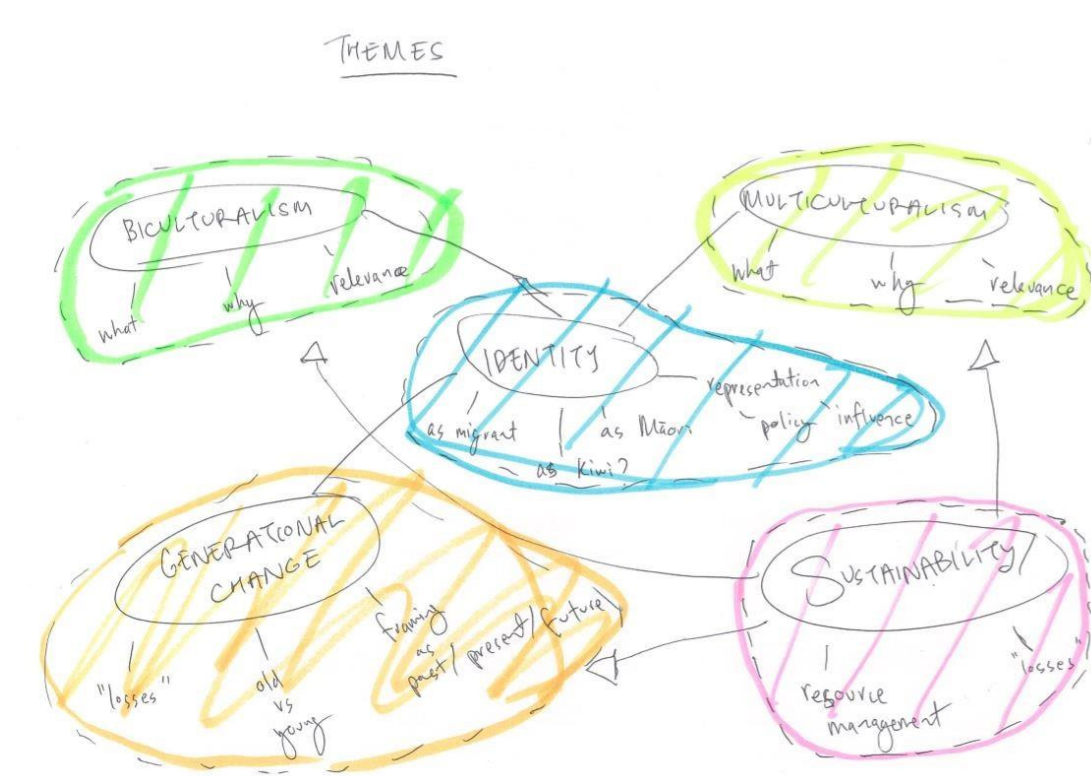


(1) biculturalism, (2) multiculturalism, (3) sustainability, (4) generational changes, and (5) identity.

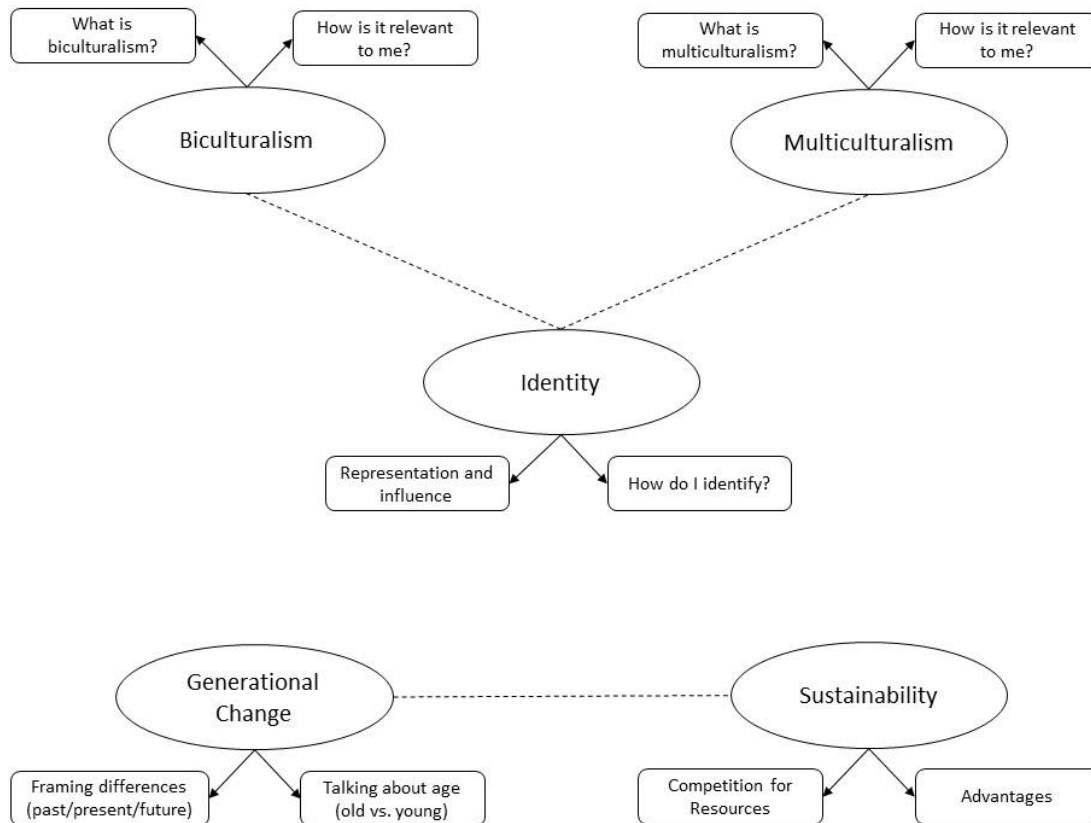
I primarily analysed themes at a semantic level, where I identified themes based on explicit surface content from conversations with participants. The data analysis was completed in an inductive framework, where I did not seek any specific information from the transcripts but did examine reoccurring themes that could be related to a psychological context. Finally, a thematic map was created to explore how themes fit together in a meaningful way (see Figure 2 and Figure 3), and extract examples were narrowed down and chosen for use within the results section.

**Figure 2**

*Draft thematic map of the themes and subthemes*



*Note.* Dashed lines indicate crossover between the themes. The subtheme "Losses" was switched to the theme of "Advantages" after further analysis.

**Figure 3***Finalised thematic map of the themes and subthemes*

*Note.* Dashed lines indicate crossover between the themes.

### Results and Discussion of Themes

In this analysis five broad themes were identified across all focus groups, with each theme made up of several subthemes. These themes were labelled Biculturalism, Multiculturalism, Sustainability, Generational Change, and Identity. Table 4 presents the total number of data extracts for each theme and subtheme, and the percentage total. This section will examine the results and discuss these themes and will be followed by a general discussion which critically evaluates this study in terms of strengths, weaknesses, and implications; and makes recommendations for future research.

## Biculturalism

Over a quarter of participants' responses discussed experiences of biculturalism in their lives. Two major sub themes are identified under this heading: (a) What is biculturalism?; and (b) How is it relevant to me?

**Table 4**

### *Prevalence of Themes and Subthemes*

Theme	Subtheme	References	Total (%)
1. Biculturalism	What is biculturalism?	22	26.8
	How is it relevant to me?	48	
2. Multiculturalism	What is multiculturalism?	17	27.6
	How is it relevant to me?	55	
3. Sustainability	Competition for resources	183	12.66
	Advantages	200	
4. Generational Changes	Framing differences	16	13.4
	Talking about age (old vs young)	19	
5. Identity	How do I identify in Aotearoa?	23	19.5
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#### *a) What is biculturalism?*

The definition of biculturalism had a clear split between participants, with many Māori participants considering the word in an *Aotearoa* specific context:

*Kaia: "Biculturalism to me was ahem Māori and Pākehā"*

*Anahera: “If we talk about biculturalism in New Zealand, in Aotearoa umm is tangata whenua Māori umm British Crown Pākehā”*

As outlined in the introduction, biculturalism is a highly politicised and debated topic in *Aotearoa*. The split between Māori and *Pākehā* into two distinct cultures that are partners, formalised in *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, seems to be a pervasive view that is maintained today. Alternately, when discussing what biculturalism is, some participants questioned the meaning of biculturalism, and discussed how “that word” could capture the complexity of the relationships in *Aotearoa* between Māori and *Pākehā*:

*Arthur: “Cause bi means two right two yeah I have to say the same thing multiculturalism I have heard that phrase a lot but biculturalism this is one of the very few times that I’ve actually heard that word but one of the things that stood out to me immediately was that bi means two am I understanding that right so like the majority of kiwi people would be bicultural?”*

*Richard: “Well up until 5 minutes ago it was the first time I actually ever heard that word ... given I automatically just well ((pause)) automatically just thought of myself you know being Māori”*

Other Māori participants also questioned the popular view of biculturalism as being a relationship between Māori and *Pākehā*, drawing attention to the fact that Māori are a non-homogeneous group, and that Māori can operate biculturally between *iwi*:

*Kauri: “I come from another iwi from Whānau-a-Apanui and I come down here eh and I work alongside Ngāti Toa out of respect for them. But that’s that bicultural element eh working with another iwi too that’s multitasking and everything with that that’s another bicultural”*

Migrant participants discussed the word biculturalism in relation to their own cultural experiences, largely relating biculturalism to their “home” culture and “new” culture:

*Padma: “Biculturalism is probably following two cultures um um like one is my culture obviously um Indian so I will have um Indian culture um and but the other culture I most relate myself to is the New Zealand culture”*

*Saba: “I didn’t even know where New Zealand was should we start there eleven years ago I didn’t even know on a map where New Zealand existed... everything was new face colour dress type everything was new so and so I didn’t even know about the Māori”*

Although participants were asked about biculturalism within *Aotearoa*, for the majority of migrants the most salient expressions of biculturalism within their lives was a culture they identified as their “own” culture; and a general “New Zealand” culture, largely skewed toward cultural beliefs and systems of *Pākehā*.

*b) How is biculturalism relevant to me?*

Again, a split was shown between how migrant participants and Māori participants experienced biculturalism both theoretically and in everyday life. Most Māori participants expressed that they worked biculturally more often than not, and expressed that it was relevant to their lives, and many participants expressed disappointment that Māori put more effort into operating biculturally than *Pākehā* or migrants:

*Arthur: “I feel like I think the truth is like if we’re engaging then everyone should be engaging but the tru- the reality is that that’s not happening”*

*Kelly: “both the Pākehā and the Māori got to have those conversations”*

The ability for *Pākehā* and migrants to operate without the consideration of *tangata whenua* has been discussed at length within indigenous circles (Awatere, 1984a). This division can mean that Māori must take on more labour to fight to validate their place within *Aotearoa*, although this should be given as per *Te Tiriti*'s agreement (Walker, 2004). This struggle has been well documented throughout other indigenous cultures, such as Aboriginal peoples in Australia, and First Nations peoples in Canada; and can impact on wellbeing in a variety of ways (Curthoys, 2000; MacDonald, 2014).

Some migrant participants talked about how they perceived biculturalism as relevant to them by describing the difference in treatment of indigenous peoples in *Aotearoa* and in their home countries:

*Keiko: "there's a bit of a divide and as much as its better than the rest of the world like say for instance in the US there's really no um there's really no biculturalism in that sense with um Americans and native Americans which so it's better here but it's still not as integrated"*

*Francisco: "we were meant to be like ah bicultural too because we have an indigenous people but um it's so different so I think that New Zealand has done great overall even though it could be better but comparing to other countries it is so good"*

While these participants discussed the areas in which *Aotearoa* was doing well in the bicultural sphere, they also noted potential barriers, such as symbolic biculturalism from *Pākehā*. This lack of resource-based biculturalism was generally perceived negatively, and the idea that it is not sufficient has been thoroughly documented in past research (e.g. Sibley & Liu, 2007; Liu, 2005):

*Keiko: [Discussing exposure to biculturalism] "it's more like the token kind of things that are slipped in ... it almost seems like um like I would have to travel somewhere*

*else to really experience it like if I went to Rotorua ... I might really see it maybe in like a day to day like natural environment but then it probably wouldn't even be that natural but um yeah for me I think very little which is a bit of a shame"*

*Keiko: "it would be interesting to know like what New Zealand Europeans opinion is on it because like from my perspective like yes everyone does make a huge effort ... like at my office we do like the kupu of the day... but it feels almost like really weak white people efforts"*

*Syed: [Discussing an ideal New Zealand] "it should include everybody else not just European cause even for they treat Māori really bad as well"*

Migrant participants often expressed how little they were aware of biculturalism within *Aotearoa*, with a participant stating, "New Zealand doesn't sell their country as a bicultural country". Many migrant participants also stated that the promotion of the indigenous culture to them as migrants could have assisted their acculturation to *Aotearoa*, as Māori culture was seen to be more similar to their "home cultures":

*Amira: [Speaking about Māori] "But our neighbours they are very nice people when we bought the house they bought food for us because that's their culture its similar to our culture"*

*Saba: "yeah I think Māori culture um I could relate a lot to my culture uh the language and the way they speak and the pronunciation"*

*Edgar: "I think that definitely it would have helped for example when you go to Easter Island you know you're going to get involved in that culture immediately because the first thing you see are those figures... but here when I arrived I knew about rugby I knew about the haka but I didn't know... ah getting to te reo for example and I work with people who knew te reo and I didn't care in that moment but*

*maybe it would have been a really nice experience to ask more about that you know but I didn't because no one told me like how important it was ah it is so um yeah definitely definitely it would like maybe New Zealand doesn't doesn't like sell their country or like as a bicultural country just about like the land and about landscapes and about like geographical beauties but not like really like we have the Māori culture alive here"*

Although refugees are given some information about Māori culture, immigrants are occasionally unaware of Māori culture altogether upon arrival in *Aotearoa*, as shown in these extracts. However, the migrant participants in this study unanimously agreed that they would be able to acculturate easier to *Aotearoa* if given knowledge about Māori, and that they often felt it was easier to relate to Māori than *Pākehā*. This finding can be linked to past acculturation research by Schwartz et al. (2010), that discuss the difficulties of moving to a new culture that has extremely different cultural norms; compared to moving to a new culture with more similar norms.

### ***Discussion***

When discussing biculturalism, participants had a variety of different perspectives about what biculturalism is; and how it influences them in their everyday lives. For the Māori participants, contrary to the literature (for example, Sibley & Liu, 2004; 2007) biculturalism was not as salient as multiculturalism. Many younger Māori participants questioned what biculturalism was, and when discussing the traditional definition usually used in *Aotearoa* (that biculturalism would mean a society that recognises *taha* Māori and *taha* *Pākehā*); many were initially dismissive. Older Māori more often knew and understood biculturalism as it is described in the literature, but many also discussed how biculturalism in their lives is more relevant as an inter-*iwi* way of relating; with many participants discussing the importance of



knowing and respecting the *iwi* of the area you are residing in. Many participants identified Ngāti Porou as their *iwi* and discussed that although the *tikanga* of Ngāti Porou was essential within their lives, understanding and acculturating to the *iwi* of the area they lived was extremely important. This understanding of biculturalism is not discussed in any psychological literature to my knowledge. It seems that even when discussing biculturalism within *Aotearoa*, and with the awareness of the context that this term is used within this country, there are assumptions made that reduce Māori to one cohesive group, an assumption the participants debunked completely.

For migrant participants, discussions of biculturalism lined up with the more traditional definitions seen in international literature (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006). These participants largely discussed the process of acculturation and how they used biculturalism as a bridge between their “home” and “new” cultures. The “new” culture most migrants discussed was more closely aligned with the *Pākehā* culture than with Māori culture. This potentially raises questions about how *Aotearoa* is promoted to migrants, with many seeming unaware of our unique bicultural commitments, even when asked about biculturalism within *Aotearoa*. Obviously, new migrants may not yet be aware of the history of *Aotearoa*, and the obligations citizens and residents have under *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, but this raises the question of how they will gain exposure to this knowledge. This knowledge may only come from Māori becoming more involved in immigration decisions and holding greater influence in the spheres of policy and legislation. The promotion of knowledge of *Te Ao Māori* is essential to encouraging social cohesion.

A common discussion across both groups of participants was that they felt while they actively operated in a bicultural manner, they did not feel *Pākehā* operated in this way. The perception of all participants was that there were minimal or merely symbolic or tokenistic efforts by *Pākehā* to engage with Māori *tikanga*. Literature discussing aboriginal and migrant

rights in Canada and Australia make the point that both biculturalism and multiculturalism are often used as a pressure for minority groups to adapt their behaviours to the majority preference (MacDonald, 2014; Curthoys, 2000).

Many of the migrant participants in this study expressed that they felt an obligation to learn and know about Māori culture, but did not feel they had many opportunities to engage with this culture. This finding has been seen before in a research report by Ward, Lescelius, Jack, Naidu & Weinberg (2018), who investigated the needs of migrants and former refugees in the Nelson Tasman region. The participants in this study reported desire for more opportunities to learn *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori.

This is an important consideration again for immigration policy makers, as it seems the desire to know about Māori culture was present for migrants, but not offered or encouraged through the processes of immigration. Furthermore, the migrant participants in this study expressed a belief that knowledge of and exposure to *Te Ao* Māori would help them acculturate – with all migrant participants agreeing that their acculturation process would have been easier if they had this exposure. This finding can be linked to past acculturation research by Schwartz et al. (2010), that discusses the difficulties of moving to a new culture that has extremely different cultural norms compared with moving to a new culture with more similar norms.

### **Multiculturalism**

The theme discussed the most across focus groups was multiculturalism (27.6% of responses). This theme can be split into the two sub themes that reflect those of the biculturalism theme: (a) What is multiculturalism?; and (b) How is it relevant to me?

#### *a) What is multiculturalism?*

The definition of multiculturalism was largely agreed on by participants across the Māori and migrant groups. Every participant had heard of the term “multiculturalism” prior to attending the focus groups, and most participants gave definitions that were framed more positively than biculturalism - stating that multiculturalism was more inclusionary:

*Anahera: “Multiculturalism is diversity and it’s about accepting people’s differences and respecting others’ values”*

*Richard: “I think I’ve grown to find that um multiculturalism was a lot more welcoming ... That word that’s a word that I can personally relate to um and feel more comfortable when it’s it’s being asked or talked about mm”*

The positive framing of multiculturalism was especially visible within the migrant group, which is to be expected considering that people who favour multiculturalism generally have good perceptions of migrants (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). However, Māori participants also spoke positively of multiculturalism, and discussed the long history of migration in *Aotearoa*:

*Kauri: “when we came on the waka, they came on the aeroplane”*

Largely, participants saw multiculturalism as a good thing for both migrants and Māori in *Aotearoa* and associated the word multiculturalism with others such as diversity, inclusion, and welcoming.

*b) How is it relevant to me?*

For the migrant participants, multiculturalism was experienced in everyday life in a generally positive way. Participants spoke of how it pleased them to live in a country that was accepting of many different cultures, and in specific to live in a city that hosted many events promoting different cultural groups:

*Amira: “we learn from each other in New Zealand because New Zealand is an open country and its very peaceful country, and we love New Zealand because we are here”*

*Saba: “I think that there are so many multicultural councils growing in so many other cities around the country I think that more of those and more of these meetings kind of in small groups and in those councils will probably make them understand that this is life this is the country and this is what we are so we need to be happy about it and be more inclusive”*

Māori participants also largely felt positively about multiculturalism:

*Jamie: “I have no problems with migrants coming over like I love it and I love that we are becoming such a vibrant country”*

*Arthur: “my kids will literally be multicultural like they will be and I want the best for them”*

However, some migrants felt that the cultural groups were not necessarily cohesive; and that more could be done to ensure migrants felt part of *Aotearoa*, with some participants stating that they felt the culture was “basically a bicultural thing like the European New Zealanders and the Pacific Islanders [Māori] that’s the big two groups all the rest are just participating in that world”. Both Māori and migrant participants both expressed that there were barriers to multiculturalism, with the largest being discrimination:

*Kauri: “there you know challenges are there like ah kaikiri, racism”*

*Saba: “I think there needs to be now that there are so many people coming into the country we need to be doing more I think to bring people together because it’s so nice*

*I think to actually have so many different cultures sitting together and talking like this”*

*Syed: “this country’s still I’d say it’s still a bit developing as a multicultural country cause I don’t know it’s like there’s still prejudice there’s still racism”*

Some Māori participants also expressed wariness about multiculturalism being given precedence over biculturalism, which I will analyse further when discussing the theme of Sustainability.

### ***Discussion***

All participants discussed how multiculturalism was undoubtably a goal for *Aotearoa*. Both Māori and migrants defined multiculturalism as encouraging diversity, and ensuring equality and inclusion for all, akin to the definitions found in international literature (Berry, 2013). Participants also seemed more aware of multiculturalism than biculturalism, which may perhaps be due to the endorsement and promotion of multiculturalism across multiple countries. However, there were some critiques of multiculturalism in *Aotearoa* – while participants agreed there were some forms of multiculturalism, they did not see the presence of other forms. In specific, many migrants felt that while their specific ethnic groups were pro-multiculturalism, there was not necessarily cohesion between ethnic groups. This echoes Berry’s (2017) argument that research must examine mutual and reciprocal perceptions and relations across all groups – not just minority-majority relations.

Participants also felt that although multiculturalism was generally viewed as a positive system for *Aotearoa* to aspire to, there were barriers to its success. *Kaikiri*<sup>35</sup> and discrimination were brought up repeatedly by participants, with some describing again how

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<sup>35</sup> Racism, discrimination, hostility

*Pākehā* seemed to view multiculturalism as something that could be “completed” by having a minority member at their workplace or in their community, rather than a process that requires active engagement with other cultures. Many participants described personal experiences of tokenistic inclusion, or outright discrimination or racism. Lyons et al. (2011) discussed how *Pākehā* talked about immigrants in *Aotearoa*, with most participants in this study drawing on nationalist rhetoric, with many conversations focusing on how migrants must fit in to an English-speaking, English-looking, “one society”. Further studies have highlighted the presence of verbal abuse against migrants from various ethnic communities (Chang, Morris & Vokes, 2006; Guerin, Guerin, Diiriye & Abdi, 2004). With the majority explicitly expressing support for multiculturalism, but implicitly expressing preferences for assimilation, more needs to be done to encourage the inclusion of minority cultures into the majority. Obviously, discrimination and abuse create negative consequences – increased stress, negative self and group esteem, negative health and wellbeing outcomes, as well as increased antisocial behaviours for individuals (Ward & Liu, 2012). More pertinent for migrants, perceived discrimination has been linked to negative intergroup attitudes and a decreased willingness for integration as an acculturation strategy (Ward & Liu, 2012; Barry & Grillo, 2003). This relationship is clearly outlined in a quote from Berry (2006, p. 726): “If one group likes another group, the other tends to reciprocate that positive affect; and if one group dislikes another, this negative view tends to be reciprocated as well”. More work needs to be done with the majority ethnic groups to help educate and promote multiculturalism as a system that requires not only diversity, but interaction and inclusion with minority groups in *Aotearoa*.

### **Sustainability**

Participants’ raised concerns with the sustainability of biculturalism and/or multiculturalism throughout our discussions. These concerns were largely surrounding the

topic of resource allocation and competition; however, participants also discussed the beneficial nature of being able to sustain their home or indigenous cultures and adapt these to their “other” culture/s. This category was again split into two subthemes: (a) Competition for resources and (b) Advantages.

*a) Competition for Resources*

Competition for resources is a subtheme that is defined by participants’ conversations about how migration could affect the resources allocated to specific cultural groups in *Aotearoa*. Māori participants in particular were concerned that by focusing on multiculturalism and equality for all diverse cultural groups; resources might be reallocated to this cause rather than the recognition of Māori as *tangata whenua*. This issue has been raised in a variety of past research, with studies finding that although *Pākehā* support symbolic displays of biculturalism and multiculturalism, they generally show resource-based marginalisation to Māori (Liu, 2005). Participants in this study described how they perceive multiculturalism to be taking the resources of biculturalism in their lives:

*Kauri: “some of them are uh some of these other doctors though are coming to New Zealand they need a job so they can get a permanent residence I’m looking at that you know and he’s saying what do you think mātua this one do you think this one we should just tick the box and I say no where’s our Māori I’m not saying I’m racist or anything I’m just pushing for Māori you know in those top notch positions”*

*Interviewer: “Do you believe that Māori views and perspectives tikanga are being considered when the government makes policy?”*

*Ria: “NO”*

*((General laughing))*

*Kauri: “a te putanga kei a ratou te mana they’ve got the power”*

*((General agreement))*

*Kauri: “And they’re in charge of the money and all”*

Migrants in *Aotearoa* face a similar struggle, with *Pākehā* agreeing that theoretically *Aotearoa* should be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures – but balking at the idea of making concrete changes that would accommodate multiculturalism (Stuart & Ward, 2009):

*Syed: “some stuff I’ve read in the media it’s been disgusting even like the best example about the house shortage you’ve heard about how there’s homeless people and stuff like that some of the media some of the people that are keyboard warriors what they’re saying is like oh migrants should get out of this country”*

The lack of consultation about migration in *Aotearoa* has also faced criticism from Māori researchers and scholars (Walker, 2004). However, migrant participants generally agreed that resources should be invested in the recognition of Māori as *tangata whenua*.

*Puteri: “I think we should respect I mean if we were to go to your country you would feel like what is this people trying to trample our land but you know we want them to respect the land and that’s really important it’s just like in a house okay you come into somebodies house okay you don’t- culturally you don’t cross the front door until you are invited if you have to wait there for a while I’m sorry but you just have to wait there until you get invited or ask to sit that’s the culture in most cultures it’s just like that so once you have been invited to the house you got to respect the rules and regulations of the house you cannot just go into somebody’s house and open up the windows or open up their cupboards or do that kind of thing so it’s the same we can look at it that way yeah and people feel um the um the Māori um the iwi the Māori people will feel good about you that that their generosity has been respected and that people don’t take advantage of them”*



Other cultural resources, such as language, were also brought up by Māori participants, with many noting that although they could be jealous of the perceived positive welcome migrants received in *Aotearoa*, they did not wish any harm to migrants; and all participants expressed that if Māori and migrants were both given enough resources, they could both thrive together.

*Richard: “You almost feel envious in a way because they have their culture and even though they come to another country they don’t lose it but often being Māori in your own country you often feel like you’re fighting for something that should have been yours”*

*b) Advantages*

This subtheme is closely related to the previous subtheme of sustainability, as well as the forthcoming theme of generational change. Although participants noted many “losses” that they felt had happened through migration, such as loss of language, practices and customs, they also talked about what they had gained from migration, and discussed plans for the future that encouraged further advantages. I want to stress that although the conversation about biculturalism and multicultural is often framed in a negative light, all participants in this study expressed positive views toward all other communities in *Aotearoa*, and their views for the future were largely hopeful. Older Māori participants discussed how *rangatahi*<sup>36</sup> were already growing into responsibilities:

*Kauri: “Bottom line is how do we sustain how do we sustain that ... in terms of sustainability how do we sustain that and I think like uh Anahera was talking about we’re passing the reigns over here they call it succession planning Anahera give it to our young rangatahi to hoki mai nga [come back] to take on those skill based roles*

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<sup>36</sup> Youth, young people

*hopefully we get to pass it on to you later and I can retire and just watch my Coronation Street”*

*Anahera: “tangata whenua, te reo Māori, rangatira all those things there is a revival it’s better but there’s still a lot more work to be done”*

*Kauri: “Oh, we have the power I’ll tell you we have the power in our hands Māori we have the power. Cause you got the power in your own uh [gestures towards heart] ... That’s why I’m talking about my mother said to us take the goodness from both worlds but you can use that as a power thing you know ah once you got the knowledge of that other side that I’m talking about that clinical academic side on the Pākehā side you can balance it if you’re born in the rural with the Māori you can use that too as a power”*

Migrants also discussed how their “home” cultures could enrich their lives in Aotearoa, and how they used the best of all the cultures they were exposed to:

*Samantha: “I find out sometimes I don’t really like my communities views so I was struggling so I asked myself which is most important, if I don’t like it it’s not right so then I take the right side. But I still need to know where I belong to, where my blood is, I have my culture in my blood but I don’t want to take the bad values I just kick it out and pick up the good stuff”*

*Padma: “We need to be super confident we should have good self-esteem about us and about our countries and then we should treat this as our mother country”*

Māori participants also expressed similar sentiment; along with ideas about how both biculturalism and multiculturalism should be implemented in a way that worked for all cultures:

*Kauri: “Take the goodness from both worlds and she taught me about mātauranga<sup>37</sup> knowledge and all that ... and she used to say if you’re sick Kauri I try [name] he’s our tohunga<sup>38</sup> Māori healer down home and if he can’t fix you up eh māuiui tonu you’re still sick I’ll take you over to the Pākehā to get you know get medicines from the doctor from whatever’s the best”*

*Kauri: “And the methodology we should be looking at is like on the marae kaore tika ki muri, kaore tika ki mua if the back is not right the front would be wrong so that’s how I look at biculturalism the ringa raupa<sup>39</sup> the cooks at the back and the paepae will be right if we didn’t have our ringa raupa you know the manaaki<sup>40</sup> all those beautiful words coming to manaaki tautoko<sup>41</sup> āwhina<sup>42</sup> and everything like that and eh its right there in front of you when you go onto the marae”*

The many ways participants used their abilities to adapt to a variety of cultural settings were often spoken of as an advantage to them, and many participants spoke of the way being bicultural or multicultural (or bilingual or multilingual) by default added to their lives.

## ***Discussion***

When discussing the sustainability of biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa*, participants had concerns largely about the preservation of their “home” cultures. Both Māori and migrant participants discussed how their communities could access resources through these systems that could ensure their cultures could flourish in *Aotearoa*. Māori participants discussed the sustainability of the current bicultural system, with many again expressing how

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<sup>37</sup> Knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill

<sup>38</sup> Skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer

<sup>39</sup> Calloused hands – a symbolic term for hardworking

<sup>40</sup> To support, take care of, give hospitality to

<sup>41</sup> To support, give backing

<sup>42</sup> Assistance, aid, help, benefit

this system could work theoretically but is not being sufficiently resourced to function, in line with research from Sibley & Liu (2004). These beliefs may also reflect the commonplace political perspectives of politicians such as Winston Peters, who advocate that there are diminishing resources for Māori due to immigration. Migrant participants supported the struggle of Māori to gain appropriate resources that would enable them to exercise more sovereignty in *Aotearoa* and acknowledged the uniqueness and sacredness of the status of *tangata whenua*.

Social psychological theories may help to explain the perception of some Māori that migrants are in competition for resources. An instrumental model of group conflict (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998) can help explain this attitude, with this model suggesting that the combination of resource stress and salience of a potentially competitive outgroup can lead to a competition for resources. In turn, this can lead to attempts to reduce or remove sources of competition, which in the perception of some Māori (such as Peters) could be migrant communities. Strategies for reduction can range from attributing negative stereotypes to outgroup members, opposing social programs that assist outgroups, as well as attempting to deny outgroup members the ability to exist within the “realm” of the ingroup (e.g. denying immigration). In this study, participants did not engage in any of these strategies, and were more focused on preserving their own culture than limiting the ability of others to express themselves or exist in Aotearoa.

In a more literal sense, participants also discussed sustainability in terms of environmental and social structures that could be impacted by immigration. For Māori, understanding historical *kōrero*<sup>43</sup> about physical landmarks, such as areas prone to flooding or earthquakes, was vital; policy around migration may not consider this knowledge.

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<sup>43</sup> Speeches, stories, accounts, discussions, conversations, discourses

Participants expressed concerns not only for the safety of the *taiao*<sup>44</sup>, but also for the sustainability of migrants who are being settled in remote areas that are not necessarily economically viable. Again, this is an area where we must consider how Māori can become involved in creating policy and legislation around immigration.

### **Generational Change**

Generational change was a theme highlighted largely by the differences in the groups. Two focus groups were largely comprised of people that were over the age of 50, while the other two groups were comprised of participants under 30. The differences in perceptions and expectations of biculturalism and multiculturalism were clear between these two groups. The two subthemes of this theme are slightly different: (a) Framing differences examines how participants discuss the states of biculturalism or multiculturalism as in the past, present or future; and (b) Talking about age examines the generational divide between the perspectives of the older and younger participants.

#### *a) Framing differences (past/present/future)*

Participants in both groups spoke of biculturalism and multiculturalism in a variety of tenses. Migrant participants often discussed how it was “worse” in the past, with many New Zealanders not having awareness of other cultural norms:

*Amira: “so it was very difficult here when we started here they don’t accept different cultures especially when you go to the supermarket people watch what you eat why you wear this [gestures to headscarf] and all the time they ask you why you wear this”*

Māori participants also discussed how past injustices hindered the development of biculturalism and multiculturalism, with one participant stating “*I think that Māori people*

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<sup>44</sup> Environment, nature

*have been ah given a dungeon to start from in regards to not necessarily like a platform like a lot of other cultures*". Māori participants articulated how they would not want migrants to go through the struggle that Māori have been through to have their culture recognised, however they did express that generational *mamae*<sup>45</sup> needed to be addressed before biculturalism or multiculturalism could be successful in Aotearoa:

*Richard: "maybe two three hundred years ago there's a one of my ancestors standing here fighting just to be able to say like the simple stuff that I can say today um but I think when all that stuff is dealt with first that naturally what would come would be something that would be a lot more inclusive"*

On the other hand, many participants framed the success of biculturalism and multiculturalism as something that was still to come, with many extracts referring to how they "could" be achieved in the future, especially in terms of the next generation:

*Samantha: "biculturalism is for the next generation because like my daughter is growing up here and ... she's going to grow up completely a kiwi girl"*

*Padma: "I think over the years because New Zealand is a multicultural country and it is improving and people are learning to accept and then understand different cultures and they are more open"*

In general, Māori participants were more likely to discuss biculturalism in terms of a historical perspective when framing their speech, and multiculturalism in terms of a future focused goal. Migrant participants framed both biculturalism and multiculturalism largely in the current or future goals, and only used references to the past to show how far we have come.

*b) Talking about age (old vs. young)*

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<sup>45</sup> Ache, pain, injury

Many points of conversation referred to different perspectives on cultural issues between generations. Māori participants often referred to specific cultural knowledge or *taonga* passed down from *kaumātua*:

*Anahera: “what you bring with you is just so special uncle all of the experiences you have when you’ve grown up whereas I am unfortunately colonised you know where I’ve been brought up here and not had a real authentic rich experiences that you’ve had”*

*Ria: “they would have passed on their kōrero about the land ... and that’s what to me tangata whenua means knowing your land when they come and change it because the weather patterns will come back and you know they can dig out the river and try to change it again it’ll go back to where it’s been ... just gets back to its keeping the history of the land”*

However, younger Māori participants found this both a blessing and a struggle, with the differing viewpoints from the different generations sometimes splitting the perspectives:

*Thomas: “It’s kind of weird because Māori well the younger people have a different view to the older people because they still clinging on to ways that...”*

*Kelly: “Don’t exist”*

*Thomas: “Yeah don’t exist anymore like the world changes every day and you’ve gotta learn to adapt and change with that and that’s where multiculturalism is coming from because they’re thinking just Māori Māori Māori way, Māori do this Māori do that”*

The younger participants recognised their perspectives as born out of those of their *whānau* and *whakapapa*, with many speaking of how grandparents encouraged them to

embrace their Māori *tikanga* and *whakaaro*<sup>46</sup>. Participants occasionally struggled to reconcile how to embrace and understand the push for biculturalism from the previous generation with the multitudes of new perspectives of multiculturalism they were exposed to:

*Kelly: “where it’s generational like biculturalism is really heavily still say in my grandparents ... you’ve got a really two culture mind like there was nothing else that existed there was nothing better than Māori and that’s it ... so I think it’s really valid mentioning the generational thing”*

*Anahera: “But uncle your lens is so different to what my lens is”*

Migrant participants also discussed the struggle of balancing their cultural expectations for the next generation with their children’s exposure to *Aotearoa* culture – specifically, discussing how they could ensure their children could maintain the cultural awareness of their “home” culture that those born in their home country had. Many participants acknowledged that, although this was a struggle, the situation in *Aotearoa* was improving over generations:

*Saba: “it is a bit of a challenge definitely for all of us to actually preserve that but we are all trying and the good thing is that the country is understanding that too the kindergartens, schools wherever we go I think they are encouraging us motivating us to perform our culture and talk our language and in fact they know the basic words they do try ... the next generation I think will be very good”*

I had not framed any specific questions in this study around age differences in perceptions of biculturalism and multiculturalism, but as this topic was often brought up by participants, this merits further investigation.

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<sup>46</sup> Thought, opinion, plan, understanding, idea, intention



### *Discussion*

As I had not discovered much literature that discussed age differences, I did not create any specific research questions around this topic. A study by Trilin and Tolich (1995) discussed how migrants, particularly second generation onward, were skilled at managing dual or multiple identities, and were adept at integrating these identities. In this research, I spoke to exclusively first-generation migrants, so the differences in generational experience could not be measured in the same ways. Research from Ward, Ng Tseung-Wong, Szabo, Qumseya & Bhowon (2018) also examined different identity styles between different generations of migrants, and found first generation immigrants were more likely to use an alternating identity style (AIS), while second generation immigrants were more likely to use a hybrid identity style (HIS). Again, this study did not examine the identity styles of participants, but this literature could explain some of the generational differences and between-group differences in perceptions seen in our results. As all migrants in this study were first generation immigrants, there may be reason to believe that they would be more present and future oriented than Māori participants, who have been negotiating biculturalism in *Aotearoa* throughout many generations.

However, in this study there were clear differences in how participants framed their conversations around biculturalism and multiculturalism. The older participants across both groups discussed biculturalism and multiculturalism in the context of their historical experiences in *Aotearoa*, where younger participants discussed both systems in a more future focused way – considering how these systems could be implemented. Obviously, older participants would likely know more of the history of biculturalism and multiculturalism, and for example likely lived through events such as the Māori cultural renaissance in the 1970s. However, this switch in framing between generations needs further investigation, as how younger people view these two systems could shed light on how these systems could work in

*Aotearoa* – for example, how interaction and inclusivity (the aspects of multiculturalism participants said were not currently widespread around *Aotearoa*) could be encouraged.

Further discussion of the differences between generations could also take into account how traditional knowledge is transmitted between generations (with Māori for example there may be a gap in this transmission as a result of the period where assimilation was actively encouraged in *Aotearoa* and some *kōrero* was lost). Globalisation will also account for some of these differences and should be investigated alongside biculturalism and multiculturalism.

## Identity

The final theme examined in this study is Identity. This theme was interrelated with all other themes, as the participants largely discussed biculturalism and multiculturalism in relation to their own beliefs, perspectives, and experiences. This theme again was split into two subthemes: (a) How do I identify in *Aotearoa*?; and (b) Representation and influence.

### *a) How do I identify in Aotearoa?*

Participants spoke about the identities of being Māori and migrant in *Aotearoa* at length, with a similarity across both groups being that they felt they should be doing more to promote the indigenous culture within *Aotearoa*. For example, when migrant participants spoke about their knowledge of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, many expressed embarrassment that they did not fully understand its relevance to New Zealand society – with one participant stating “*I feel a little bit embarrassed cause I should really know about this*”. Some Māori participants also discussed shame and *mamae* about being Māori, but not being able to speak *te reo* or engage regularly with *Te Ao Māori*:

*Richard: “that you know you’re being told to be proud of who you are be you know we come from a strong people but you’re always the minority in your own country ... I’ve gotta be honest I just automatically I was raised up to be Māori or nothing you*

*know but our parents love that and I love that they're keeping their culture I love that because that's the beauty is that when I see like people that know their reo they know their language they know native language you know like that's the thing I think that is the most beautiful thing is that when you get to hear other people's language you know that's something for me that as Māori I'm still trying to learn how to discover and journey for myself ... there's so many ways to be Māori but I wanna know what it was like to truly connect back to my people and to be the person who I was born to... how can I best live my life to carry on that so I can leave something for my children so they're not trying to fight this identity battle"*

*Arthur: "I'm on a journey trying to discover the real me but I know that my people were really beautiful people in all honesty in the same way that I think that Pākehā people are beautiful I just think that there's this underbelly side that hasn't been addressed and like I feel like were battling the like the fight that should have been sorted generations ago"*

Migrant participants also discussed the politicisation of different terms used to describe migrant peoples, making distinctions between immigrants, expats, and refugees:

*Keiko: "I've actually never really thought of myself in that way like I never thought I'm a migrant ... And I feel like that's maybe it's almost weird because like you have different terms depending on like your social status almost it's like you're an immigrant if you're poor and you're an expat if you're rich"*

However, all participants spoke of their pride in their own unique identities, with many discussing that regardless of whether Aotearoa identified as bicultural, multicultural, or other, they felt secure in how they fit in the picture:

*Kauri: “Ae I acknowledge the multiculturalism but the tūturu<sup>47</sup> will always be Whānau-ā-Apanui, always know your whakapapa know your identity ahakoa pehea [how you] know your identity and then uh are receptive to other people and say hey we are multicultural yeah we are multicultural but ahakoa pehea a ko kowai [no matter what you are] regardless of what uh I will always be tūturu Whānau-ā-Apanui”*

Many participants expressed that their identities were not closely linked to formal recognitions of culture, but more how their communities and *whānau* recognised their culture.

*b) Representation and Influence*

Another aspect that influenced participants’ pride in and expression of identity was their ability to see their identities reflected to them via the government. However, participants were largely critical about how governmental policy captured biculturalism and multiculturalism, with Māori participants citing a lot of talk and a lack of action as one of the main reasons they did not consider the country wholly bicultural:

*Ria: “What you’re talking about is actually reflected in parliament and look at parliament and how it’s set up”*

*Ria: “Right it’s exactly what I’ve said you’ve got some Pākehā that quite like those Māori but alternately you’ve got those who don’t like the Don Brashes and you know you just know who they are so it’s it’s really reflective there, the mirrors in there”*

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<sup>47</sup> Commitment, dedication, devotion

*Kauri: “It’s reflected also in legislation [inaudible] its already in their legislation in their legalities et cetera where you talk about the Treaty of Waitangi etcetera and then have a look aue hang on is this ah supporting us as Māori”*

This criticism is historically well founded, with much documentation of governmental failures in reference to bicultural practice and policy (Walker, 2004; Orange, 2012). Many Māori participants felt that the government was improving in this area, although some noted the forced nature of this endeavour and hoped that genuine attempts would be made by the government to connect with *tangata whenua*.

*Kauri: “Well they’re incorporating it more into procedures and policies ah now in these government agencies are talking about ah in terms of recruitment and retention ah we were sitting on interview panels etcetera like in our ah recruiting”*

*Richard: “in theory it’s something that I’m all for it but practically there hasn’t been enough yet between Māori and Pākehā and I think when that’s settled you know ah that’s when the true healing can start to happen and that process just becomes like natural it doesn’t have to be forced anymore because a lot of it is just like yeah a lot of forced policy and legislation and what not but it’s like yeah I look forward to when it’s just natural a natural process”*

Migrants also expressed concern about a lack of policy focused on issues specific to immigrants and refugees, especially considering the terror attacks of March 15<sup>th</sup>. Migrant participants also spoke of how they felt they could be excluded from *Aotearoa* due to financial constraints:

*Keiko: “I feel really lucky that I can that I have the opportunity to um you know have a work VISA here to potentially get residency um but I also have enough resources to pay for all of those things because it is really expensive”*

In summary, governmental policy and practice can have a profound impact on how residents of *Aotearoa* feel secure in their identities. It is essential that our government reflects the diversity of the people of *Aotearoa*.

### *Discussion*

Identity is a topic that influenced the four prior themes and was present in almost every aspect of the discussions in these focus groups. Every person who participated in this research expressed a strong sense of identity in relation to their culture and felt that the maintenance of their culture was integral to their success as a person.

Migrant participants identified in a variety of ways: immigrants, expats, or in reference to their visa status, for example permanent resident. Regardless of these distinctions, all migrant participants discussed how they used both their “home” and “new” cultures every day and relied on hybridizing or switching between these cultural norms to function in different situations. This is well documented throughout past literature, with research with migrants finding integration as the preferred acculturation strategy – retaining heritage culture as well as adapting to their new culture in *Aotearoa* (Ward & Lin, 2006; Ward & Kus, 2012). Participants discussed how they felt that the multiple cultures or identities they used were more often harmonious than conflicting, and that although they would like to see more representation through government policy, the most important recognition of their identities came through their communities. Representation in political and legislative spheres, such as through a Multiculturalism Act, could allow migrant groups a perception that their cultural identities are aligned with and incorporated into a national identity.

Māori participants also expressed the value of identifying within a community group. Many participants discussed their *whakapapa* and *tīpuna*<sup>48</sup> as central to their identity, and heavily referenced their *iwi* and *hapū* while discussing how they identified. Contrarily, younger Māori participants also discussed how a lack of exposure to Māori language and *tikanga* caused *mamae* and uncertainty within their sense of identity, and discussed how resources and reparations provided toward education would help them strengthen their links to their Māori identity. The differing dynamics of Māori identity amongst participants reflects McIntosh's (2005) identity positions for Māori: fixed, forced and fluid. Fixed identity is characterised by links to *whakapapa*, fluency in *te reo* Māori, and Māori cultural competency. Forced identity refers to an identity formed under deprivation, where Māori may not have been exposed or fluent in Māori culture, and are assigned negative stereotypes by the majority. Fluid identity is a newer "type" of identity, which is formed based on specific contemporary ideas, and a rebellion against traditional *tikanga*. Participants across Māori focus groups displayed how they could identify with aspects of these three models.

Across these conversations, participants discussed their identities and how these related to biculturalism and multiculturalism. Although many participants expressed many different perspectives, one thing was clear across conversations: without a national identity representative of both Māori and migrant groups, biculturalism and multiculturalism would fail.

### General Discussion

Although research that examines biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa* is plentiful, it is important that this research reflects all people of *Aotearoa*, including *tangata whenua* and our "newest" New Zealanders. The current research aimed to add to the

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<sup>48</sup> Ancestors, grandparents

established literature by investigating how migrants and Māori operate in *Aotearoa* – to further diversify perspectives on biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa*. It also aimed to further understand the tensions between biculturalism and multiculturalism and discovered gaps between popular opinion and academic theory. In brief, this thesis used qualitative methodology (focus groups) to unpack how participants understand and relate to biculturalism and multiculturalism. Thematic analyses revealed five key themes: biculturalism, multiculturalism, sustainability, generational change, and identity. These themes highlighted the confluences and divisions between biculturalism and multiculturalism in the eyes of participants, as discussed throughout the results and I will here summarise the major findings across themes.

### **Summary of Findings**

Across four focus groups, I identified five themes: biculturalism, multiculturalism, sustainability, generational changes, and identity. Each of these major themes contained two subthemes. Biculturalism was made up of “What is biculturalism?” and “How is it relevant to me?”. Multiculturalism mirrored these themes; made up of “What is multiculturalism?” and “How is it relevant to me?”. Sustainability subsumed “Competition for resources” and “Advantages”. Generational change included “Framing differences (past/present/future)” and “Talking about age (old vs. young)”. Lastly, Identity was comprised of “How do I identify in *Aotearoa*?” and “Representation and Influence”. These five themes and their subthemes were comprised of perceptions and experiences participants felt were relevant to the systems and processes of operating culturally in *Aotearoa*, and the discussion of how these themes interacted in both positive and negative ways provided a fuller picture of the community perception of migration.



**Theory versus Practice: Biculturalism**

The “founding” of *Aotearoa* through the signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* established the significance of biculturalism in this country and created a dichotomy of Māori and *Pākehā* that has persisted from 1840 until today. However, the mistranslations of *Te Tiriti* are still debated today, with many Māori continuing to seek equality with *Pākehā* – both in resources and in representation (Orange, 2012). While we do not see the wars of the 1800s, Māori are still fighting for reparations for the land stolen in these wars. Policies of assimilation and practises such as pepper potting, although challenged by the cultural renaissance, have had long lasting negative effects. Participants in this research had varying opinions on what biculturalism is, and how it is relevant to *Aotearoa*, but none of these perspectives aligned with the “expert” opinion often discussed in academic literature, or governmental policy in *Aotearoa*. Participants largely discussed biculturalism as relevant to *them* – for the Māori participants, biculturalism within their own iwi, and for the migrant participants, biculturalism as a way of combining or switching between their “home” and “new” cultures. The literature in *Aotearoa* largely frames biculturalism between Māori and *Pākehā* as integral to national identity, and generally discusses how biculturalism is actively practised in society (Orange, 2012; Sibley & Liu, 2004). Participants challenged this perception, labelling biculturalism as it stands mostly as tokenistic and discussing their displeasure at how majority groups did not have to operate in a bicultural way, whereas they felt they could not avoid being able to operate in *taha Pākehā*. Obviously, if Māori and migrant participants see biculturalism as it currently stands as a tool of assimilation, and feel its goal is simply to ensure minority groups take on majority groups cultural norms, we must consider how it has been conceptualised. This is more significant when we consider whom has conceptualised and implemented our societal biculturalism – a majority *Pākehā* government and majority *Pākehā* researchers.

Although there is extensive literature that discusses symbols of *Aotearoa* being linked to Māori and *Pākehā* faces (Sibley & Liu, 2007), creating a perception that *Aotearoa* is bicultural (Sibley, Liu & Khan, 2010), many participants in the current study felt that biculturalism was not relevant to their personal identities, and was not an aspect of national identity they could relate to. The nature of biculturalism, currently conceptualized as an indigenous-settler system (being relevant only to relations between Māori and *Pākehā*), did not capture the nuance of minority perspectives in this study. This was largely due to the current conceptualisation of biculturalism in *Aotearoa*, which the participants noted needed work: some participants went so far as to say that they felt treaty relations must be improved before the discussion of multiculturalism could occur (in line with research from Kale et al., 2018). Previous conceptions of biculturalism as a way of encouraging equality between Māori and *Pākehā* must be reconsidered; and we must consider if biculturalism in *Aotearoa* is simply a postcolonial ideology, or one that can be adapted to suit our growing diversity. In future, further examination into what biculturalism looks like within indigenous communities is needed. As this study found there are bicultural ways of operating between *iwi*, further knowledge of these processes could provide context to how indigenous people operate as a non-homogenous group that is a minority. In this case, could Māori-*Pākehā* relations be considered as multiculturalism? Further study is needed to develop a decolonized biculturalism that guarantees Māori *tangata whenua* status and ensures *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* breaches are redressed, if biculturalism is going to remain a system in use in *Aotearoa*.

### **Theory versus Practice: Multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism, although a much newer concept in *Aotearoa* than biculturalism, has increasingly become a topic of discussion in the areas of policy and government, with migrants campaigning for legal recognition of their struggle for inclusion and equality. *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, while framed as *Aotearoa*'s first immigration policy, has not been reviewed

for its stance on immigration since writing, and, as outlined in the introduction, many policies that have followed it have been discriminatory to migrants. This discrimination has continued through to the present day, despite the fact that *Aotearoa* is often considered a multicultural society (Ward & Liu, 2012). Events such as the Christchurch Terror attacks in 2019 have shown that further work is necessary to understand how *Aotearoa* can implement multiculturalism in a way that reflects not only diversity, but also encourages multicultural ideology and policy. As discussed throughout the results, multiculturalism was perceived by all participants as a goal, however, contrary to common “expert” perspectives, most participants did not feel that *Aotearoa* was multicultural. Participants discussed similar barriers to those of biculturalism – the largest being that *Pākehā* could choose not to engage, while both Māori and migrants had no choice but to engage. Participants again described experiences of tokenistic inclusion, or discrimination and racism, which is well documented throughout past research (Chang, Morris & Vokes, 2006; Guerin, Guerin, Diiriye & Abdi, 2004).

Although definitions of multiculturalism in the academic literature have evolved to encourage integration rather than assimilation, the policies of *Aotearoa* still seem to favour assimilation, for example with the large focus on employment for migrants (Kale et al., 2018). It seems that, as academics, we must broaden our definitions of multiculturalism to incorporate feedback from communities – namely that the majority must make more of an effort to encourage and support the integration of minority cultures – before it can succeed. Although multiculturalism in the literature is generally defined as having three aspects – diversity, policy and ideology (Ward et al., 2018) – the participants in this study do not agree that these aspects are currently present in *Aotearoa*. Further contact between groups was highly promoted by participants within this research, and is backed up by past research that suggests social bridging and connectedness promote happiness and wellbeing (Kale et al.,

2018). It is also worth considering if conceptualisations of multiculturalism should take into account experiences of discrimination – if we have diversity, but see discrimination against migrants or minority groups, then how can we say we have succeeded in this diversity?

Further discussion must also aim to understand if *Te Tiriti* principles can fit into a multicultural model, and if this is a desirable path forward for all ethnic groups. The obvious lack of consultation with Māori about all immigration and settlement in *Aotearoa* must be rectified, and Māori must be given more power in discussions of migration. *Tangata whenua* should be influential (if not integral) to any immigration policy and practice; as we must not devalue the importance of our indigenous peoples in *Aotearoa*. However, we must also balance our international obligations in allowing migrants (and in particular refugees) to settle with our internal ethnic relations.

### **Bridging the Gap**

Regarding the apparent tension between biculturalism and multiculturalism, most literature argues that these two systems are opposing, with a variety of definitions assigned to both bi- and multiculturalism. Arguments often follow the reasoning that Māori prefer biculturalism as it recognises their status as *tangata whenua* and provides context for *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, an essential document to *Aotearoa* (Walker, 2004). Conversely, migrants are often discussed as preferring multiculturalism, rooted in policy and with clear legislation that promotes ethnic cohesion; and perhaps with little understanding of why Māori have special status and special rights (Johnson, 2008). It is important that we pay attention to the relevant conversations, which discuss how Māori and migrants feel and think, largely take place without the consultation of these communities. Participants across this research had a variety of perspectives as to whether biculturalism and multiculturalism were compatible or not, but on the whole participants agreed biculturalism and multiculturalism were not necessarily

opposing systems. This finding challenges many assumptions in past research in line with Durie's analysis (2005) and the argument advanced by Ward and Liu (2012). Participants largely felt positively about both biculturalism and multiculturalism and were extremely concerned about the position and rights afforded to the oft painted "opposing" group. Māori participants discussed how they would prefer migrants to be able to settle in *Aotearoa* without facing some of the challenges they as a group have historically faced; and migrant participants discussed the importance of engaging with and respecting *Te Ao Māori*. Participants felt that both *Māori* and migrant communities were politicised, and the discrimination against these groups was the main barrier to *Aotearoa* forging a national identity that is inclusive. However, all participants agreed that within their lives, they operated in both bicultural and multicultural systems, and felt that the major issue with the debates around these systems were that they were not clearly defined or implemented at a societal level. Their ideas and understandings of biculturalism and multiculturalism did not match "expert" or governmental ideologies or systems; and due to this mismatch further research must be done to ensure that *Aotearoa* can move forward in a positive direction.

The findings of this study also question who benefits from biculturalism or multiculturalism (or a combination of the two). For *Pākehā*, which system is preferred does not seem to significantly change how they operate in *Aotearoa*. When discussing these systems, we must understand how they have been conceptualised – largely by the white majority, whether it be in *Aotearoa*, Australia, or Canada. Whether you are *Pākehā*, Māori or *Tauīwi*<sup>49</sup> is hugely influential on how you will perceive these systems, and whether they will succeed by your community's metrics. Kukutai and Rata (2017) outlined this gap perfectly: "Nominal biculturalism and demographic multiculturalism aside, the 'mainstream' into which migrants are expected to integrate remains a fundamentally *Pākehā* one" (p. 31). The debate

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<sup>49</sup> Foreigner, person coming from afar

between biculturalism and multiculturalism is perhaps not relevant in *Māori* communities, some of whom are still fighting for sovereignty which is bigger than both systems (Awatere, 1984). In migrant communities, these two systems are perhaps only pertinent as metrics for legal protections that ensure equality for all (Ip, 2003). There must be further research that examines indigenous and migrant systems of operating in *Aotearoa*, rather than those created from a western lens.

### **Implications**

The findings of this research have many implications for immigration in *Aotearoa*, both theoretically and practically.

The first major implication is for policymakers and government in *Aotearoa*, as it is clear from our findings that these organisations need to rethink how they conceptualise biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa*. Government in particular has a responsibility to ensure that ethnic relations are positive, and to steer the country in a positive direction regardless if this is via a system of biculturalism or multiculturalism.

There are many paths government could take to bridge the gap between its perspectives and those of the public. The government could provide education to the public around how it conceptualises biculturalism and multiculturalism as well as about whatever prescriptive values they assign to these systems, with programmes such as Mana Aki beginning to do this in new migrant communities (Fuseworks Media, 2020). Groups such as Multicultural New Zealand, Treaty Resource Centre – He Puna Mātauranga o Te Tiriti, STIR and Network Waitangi are among many others that do work in this space, and could be resourced further to assist with this education. Alternatively, government should consider a revision of its policies and strategies to ensure they are aligned with public perceptions and understandings (for example, reconceptualising biculturalism to focus on inter-*iwi*

relationships; or reconceptualising multiculturalism to meet community expectations of diversity, policy and ideology). Regardless of the strategy chosen, open lines of communication must be established between government, and in particular Immigration New Zealand, and minority groups, and these organisations must be willing to receive and incorporate feedback about how they should conceptualise biculturalism and multiculturalism. Policy design needs to be reflexive and responsive to the needs of Māori and migrant groups. Both groups in this study strongly advocated for increased community involvement within systems of governance, to ensure that their perspectives were not excluded from decisions around what it is to be a New Zealander. Greater efforts should be taken to ensure that governmental and policy spaces are inclusive for Māori and migrant peoples; and *Pākehā* must do more to ensure they are interacting with the diverse peoples in *Aotearoa* in non-tokenistic ways. Intercultural relations and cohesion can be increased through the development of policies and practises fostering a national identity that embraces all diversity (Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

Considerations of the intercept between Māori affairs and migration has been prevented by the erasure of Māori voices in conversations about immigration, and individual Māori who have challenged the governmental approach to immigration are generally vilified in the media (for example, in the cases of Dame Tariana Turia and Professor Margaret Mutu) (Kukutai & Rata, 2017). However, many Māori academics and researchers have discussed a variety of *kaupapa* approaches to immigration, which the government could consider. Durie (2005) discussed a biculturalism and multiculturalism that could operate collaboratively with *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Kukutai and Rata (2017) have discussed how multiculturalism could work through a consideration of *Manaakitanga*, a Māori value that revolves around showing and receiving care, kindness, and hospitality. This system would consider and promote the economic benefits of migration but underpin this with care and respect for migrants through a

focus on mutual respect, power sharing, and environmental protections. This system would also consider whakapapa, with processes such as easing restrictions on family reunification visas. Inherent in a *manaakitanga* system is the recognition of *mana whenua*, and this is achieved through Māori self-determination, as well as through having migrants educated in and committed to *Te Ao Māori*. If more emphasis is placed on the *kōrero* of Māori academics and researchers, the gap between community and “expert” understandings of biculturalism and multiculturalism will shrink.

Outside government, contact between Māori and migrants (as well as contact with majority groups) should be encouraged to increase positive perceptions and relations between these groups (Ward & Liu, 2012; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Schools and education providers must ensure they are creating programmes and curriculum that promote preparedness towards diversity and inclusion, as these settings can encourage positive intergroup attitudes (Ward & Masgoret, 2005). The government has taken a positive step in introducing history of *Aotearoa* into the curriculum, but this should be followed with curriculum that includes *te reo* Māori, and *tikanga* Māori. Increasing workplace participation in cross cultural awareness, multicultural awareness, and cultural competency trainings indicate that workplaces in *Aotearoa* are facilitating this contact at a growing rate.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

While this research provides valuable contributions to the literature, it is not without its limitations. Firstly, the results of this study may have been affected by a social desirability bias that can occur in focus group settings, especially as these groups were held with participants that were generally known to each other. Participants may not have felt comfortable expressing their beliefs fully as there may have been adverse reactions from their group members. Secondly, this research only worked with participants from a limited number



of countries within the migrant group and a limited number of *iwi* in the Māori group. Ideally, we would hold focus groups around *Aotearoa* with many different groups to ensure the most diverse sample we could access, and to ensure these communities are given space in research to show their intra-group diversity. This would also allow data collection to occur until saturation was reached, which I did not have the resources to do in the case of this thesis. For example, future research could investigate if different *iwi* groups show the “inter-*iwi* biculturalism” discussed in this thesis. Thirdly, it would be good to increase consultation and collaboration with participants. Although we carried out extensive consultation with participants during the administration and implementation of the focus groups and the analyses of the collected data, I would prefer in future to discuss the needs and desires of the communities prior to developing research questions, to ensure that I could address specific interests or needs through the research.

There are also limitations to the methodology of thematic analysis, with potential for the researcher to project their own perspectives and understandings onto the research. This issue is particularly relevant to the current research as the participants are members of ethnic minority groups while I am a member of the ethnic majority. Although I attempted to minimise my influence on the data by attempting to remain as faithful to the raw data as possible and by engaging in thorough consultation, there is still potential for bias projection. It would be beneficial to do future research in this area with a more comprehensive team of advisors representing the different ethnic groups participating in this research. Finally, future research could add quantitative elements to this area of research, with this study generating many potential hypotheses that could be investigated through survey-based research.

In terms of future research, this study has provided valuable insight into minority perspectives of biculturalism and multiculturalism but could be furthered by investigating both globalisation and colonialism/post-colonialism. Globalisation could be extremely

relevant to the generational differences seen in the results, as the younger participants have been exposed to a more globalised *Aotearoa*, whereas older participants have experienced a far less diverse nation. Acculturation research is increasingly examining globalisation and its influences on identity development, with studies finding that more people are developing a sort of bicultural identity, where they identify with both their local culture as well as a global culture (Arnett, 2002). There is a lack of research examining this process within the *Aotearoa* context, however; and this is a gap that demands attention.

Colonialism in *Aotearoa* also warrants further investigation, as the current status of biculturalism and multiculturalism is entrenched within the historical indigenous-colonial relationship between Māori and *Pākehā*. It is worth asking if *Aotearoa* has reached the status of post-colonial in the opinion of our indigenous people, and further research should investigate the legacy of colonialism in terms of ethnic cohesion. We must also consider the inequalities between Māori and migrant communities when compared to *Pākehā* arising out of multiple systems that reinforce structural issues such as deindustrialisation, economic and public sector reforms, marginalisation, and a legacy of historical dispossession.

However, these conversations need to happen simultaneously with conversations around biculturalism and multiculturalism, to ensure that our increasing cultural diversity is not used as a tool to ignore historical injustices and reinforce *Pākehā* hegemony.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, this project contributes to a growing literature discussing biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Aotearoa*. Ensuring that this literature considers the perspectives of *Māori* and migrants is important, as it can influence how policymakers and academics conceptualise immigration issues. From this research, we can evaluate how a national identity within *Aotearoa* must respect and encourage Māoridom, as well as include and interact with

our growing diversity. With many debates increasing about the benefits and pitfalls of our immigration system, we must endeavour to humanise migrants, and develop an inclusive *Aotearoa* New Zealand.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Interview Questions/Prompts



## Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS/PROMPTS

The focus groups will be based loosely around these questions. Before commencing, the researcher will ask that people express any thoughts that are relevant to biculturalism or multiculturalism at any point throughout the focus groups.

For the Māori Participants:

- 1) What do you think biculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?
- 2) What do you think multiculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?
- 3) Do you feel New Zealand is a more bicultural or multicultural country?
  - a. Do you feel that biculturalism has been achieved?
  - b. What are your understandings of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to biculturalism and multiculturalism?
  - c. How do you think New Zealand should formally identify? (e.g. bicultural, multicultural, other)
  - d. What do you think happens when migrants arrive in terms of exposure to te ao Māori? (Can give background of what exposure happens through immigration/refugee processes generally).
- 4) Do you believe that Māori views and perspectives are being considered when the government makes policy about:
  - a. Biculturalism
  - b. Multiculturalism
  - c. Immigration?
- 5) Do you know any migrant people?
  - a. In what capacity?
  - b. Do you believe there are benefits to knowing migrants? If so, what are they?



- 6) Can you see similarities between Māori culture and any migrant cultures?
  - a. Do you think these could benefit you to experience? (e.g. sharing kai, sense of community)
- 7) Do you think Aotearoa New Zealand can have a treaty-based multiculturalism?
  - a. If so, what would that look like to you?

For the migrant participants:

- 1) What do you think biculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?
- 2) What do you think multiculturalism is, and what does it mean to you?
- 3) Do you feel New Zealand is a more bicultural or multicultural country?
  - a. Do you feel that biculturalism has been achieved?
  - b. What are your understandings of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to biculturalism and multiculturalism?
  - c. How do you think New Zealand should formally identify? (e.g. bicultural, multicultural, other)
  - d. Do you think that there needs to be more thought about migrants when developing policy?
- 4) Do you know any Māori people?
  - a. In what capacity?
  - b. Do you believe there are benefits to knowing Māori people? If so, what are they?
- 5) When you arrived in New Zealand, were you exposed to Māori culture?
  - a. Did you have options to learn te reo?
  - b. Have you been on a marae?
  - c. Did you expect to be taught more/less about Māori culture?
- 6) Do you think that there are similarities between your culture and Māori culture? (e.g. sharing kai, sense of community)
- 7) Do you think Aotearoa New Zealand can have a treaty-based multiculturalism?
  - a. If so, what would that look like to you?

**Appendix B: Focus Group Rules****Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand****FOCUS GROUP RULES**

- *The information shared in this meeting is confidential. You should not discuss the opinions and comments made by other focus group participants with anybody outside this room. We would like you and others to feel comfortable when sharing information.*
- *You do not need to agree with others, but you should listen respectfully as others share their views.*
- *We would like to hear a wide range of opinions: please speak up on whether you agree or disagree.*
- *There are no right or wrong answers, every person's experiences and opinions are important.*
- *The meeting is video recorded, therefore, please one person speak at a time.*
- *Please turn off your phones.*
- *Please sign the sign-in sheet, which asks for your gender, birth country, profession and age.*

**Appendix C: Recruitment Materials**

Hi [participant name],

We are contacting you as we are currently working with a Victoria University Masters student (Tyler Ritchie) who is studying biculturalism and multiculturalism, and wants to hear the perspectives of [migrants/Māori]. This research will involve a focus group, where you will talk about what thoughts and understandings you have about biculturalism and multiculturalism. If this sounds like something you would like to participate in, I will give your contact information to this student, and she will contact you to give you more information.

Thank you,

[Representative name]

Multicultural New Zealand

Kia ora e [participant name],

My name is Tyler Ritchie and I am currently doing research on [migrant/Māori] perspectives on biculturalism and multiculturalism. I have got your contact information from [person], whom has told me you may be interested in participating in this study. This research involves attending a focus group, where we will talk about what thoughts and understandings you have on these topics. I have attached an information sheet to this email where you can see more detail of what will happen. If you would like to participate, please reply to this email, or give me a call, and I will give you further information about the focus groups.

Thank you,

Tyler Ritchie

School of Psychology

Victoria University of Wellington

This content is unavailable as it includes private information.